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STORY OF THE

MAUMEE VALLEY
TOLEDO

and

THE SANDUSKY REGION

By

CHARLES SUMNER VAN TASSEL

Author of the "Book of Ohio"—The Maumee Country and the Old Northwest, and many other Historical Works.

Also special articles by able writers and Individual histories of Northwestern Ohio Counties by well known authorities.

Volume I

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1929

This "Story of The Maumee Valley, Toledo and The Sandusky Region", is hereby dedicated to the memory of Colonel Sheldon C. Reynolds, whose distinguished figure daily graced the old Toledo Produce Exchange floor in the early years of my newspaper career, when "The Markets and Exchange" were my regular reportorial assignments, and where pleasurable incidents took place which time can never efface.

Colonel Reynolds is also remembered as the president, then Chairman of the Board of Directors of The First National Bank, "Toledo's oldest bank," and as prominent in other leading business and civic enterprises of Toledo.

THE EDITOR.

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FOREWORD

A writer of history is comparable to an artist—a landscape painter. The artist paints his picture on canvas and the historian spreads his scene on the printed page. The painter must first become imbued with the spirit expressed in his theme. There must be the inspiration of true art, that his brush may transfer this inspiration to the canvas. After becoming thoroughly infused with the spirit of his idea, he sketches in the groundwork for his picture, then sets himself to his real task. Obtaining his proper distance, perspective, and background, he then gradually works out the details, the lights and shadows.

How like the work of the historian. The background is most important to an intelligent understanding by the reader of the details of the story as it unfolds. Like the painter he must be thoroughly saturated with his subject and enter into the spirit of his undertaking. His word picture must reflect his interest.

And what subjects for the historical writer to elucidate are the Maumee and Sandusky valleys! In these sections were enacted the great dramas upon which depended the fate of a New Republic. Upon the banks of the beautiful Maumee was fought at Fallen Timbers the last battle of the American Revolution; although American independence was not an actuality even then. It had been declared but not achieved. Real independence did not come until the War of 1812, when General Harrison successfully defended Fort Meigs, the military key to the great Northwest, against British siege; when Perry defeated the British fleet on Lake Erie; and as a finality, when Harrison routed Proctor at the Canadian Thames. Had these conflicts gone against the Americans, the territory north of the Ohio River, including the Maumee and Sandusky, might with Canada, be shown on the map as a British possession.

However, the Maumee River section cannot claim all the historical honors. At the mouth of the Sandusky was built the first military post within the bounds of present Ohio. Midway on the course of this "road that runs" was built, the first permanent home of a white family within this great state; and both

rivers share alike the distinction of being the great thoroughfares of the red man between the Great Lakes and the Ohio, and the south and southwest. From the dawn of American history French and English traders plied their canoes up and down these streams, and in earliest times French traders on the Maumee and French and English traders on the Sandusky, had their posts. With it all, the Sandusky had its Fort Ball, Fort Seneca and Fort Stephenson and the Maumee boasted its Fort Defiance and two Forts Miami.

The reason for the Maumee and Sandusky region being so rich in history lies in the fact that from time immemorial this territory has been coveted by man as a delightful abiding place. Prehistoric man, it is known, was a habitant here. The American Indian loved the woods and water courses so lavish in their bountiful blessings. The French and English braved dangers and hardships in order to explore these regions centuries ago. In the desire for its possession these two nations waged bitter contests of long duration and even wars. Then the English of the mother country were loath to give it up after the French had surrendered their claims.

As in the centuries past the beautiful Maumee and Sandusky valleys still hold their charm today. And it is not alone because of their wonderful commercial advantages, nor from the fact that this section is the garden spot of the world that developments are progressing by leaps and bounds. There is no finer scenic beauty of its character on all the continent than found along the Maumee and Sandusky and upon their tributary streams. There are delightful situations for large estates and beautiful homes, and the seed sown by the pioneer, attended by untold hardships and deeds of heroism, have ripened into rich and bountiful harvests.

The story of it all, abounding in romance and tragedy, is more fascinating than any tale of fiction. Consequently, no individual should be unfamiliar with these events as they unfold in each chapter. Again, in these days of modern methods of travel, when millions of people yearly seek out the charming scenic loveliness of the Maumee and Sandusky rivers as a restful enjoyment from the grind and toil of this commercial age, how much more delightful if they can intelligently read the story of the past brought into view at each bend in the road. For there

is a nook near every milepost which holds within its affectionate embrace a fascinating tale. As one travels about, either in city or village or in the broad, open space, be it for business or pleasure, life is made more interesting, more enjoyable, provided that one knows the story of the locality he is traversing.

Much has been written about the Maumee and Sandusky country of great merit, but priceless new material is continually being brought to light by research work. Then, too, there are great masses of human interest stories concerning the social conditions and everyday life of our people that have never appeared in print. They hold more value and a deeper interest than the details of conquests, diplomatic contests and wars.

In these volumes relating "The Story of the Maumee Valley, Toledo and the Sandusky Region," much rich, new material appears of a social character concerning its people, the conditions of living and descriptions of early home life. The history of communities is told by a writer who has his subject near to his heart; one who has devoted his life to his subject and has a deep interest in his work; one who delights in the waters and woods and the beauties of the country he writes about; one who knows the growth of the cities and villages and communities where the scenes of his narratives are laid and unfold. Accuracy is a vital point, and in treating his subject in a more human interest way than has ever before been attempted, it is hoped a new historical interest will be awakened in the minds of the readers, that will draw approval and commendation.

THE EDITOR.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Acknowledgment has been given at the various points in this story to those who have so generously contributed their knowledge on special subjects; and to the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society is due special mention for permission to draw generously from its pages information on various topics.

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CHAPTER I

IN THE BEGINNING

THE GLACIAL EPOCH—WORK OF THE GLACIERS IN THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY REGION—PRE-GLACIAL OR GLACIAL MAN.

They belonged to the bygone days in the country of the beautiful Maumee and Sandusky. They had in their time "killed many a b'ar," shot deer by the score, trapped muskrats by the thousands, and even taken the valuable skins of the beaver, otter and other fine fur bearers. They had in their vigorous, hardy, younger years had many thrilling experiences with wolves, panthers and other flesh eaters of the forest primeval.

They possessed too, their homely philosophy. Of evenings by their camp fires and on other auspicious occasions, they crudely discussed the sciences and religion and discoursed upon the planets and the stars in the mysterious heavens. They were withal true lovers of nature and all things beautiful with which they came in close, daily contact.

One bright morning when the magic of another spring began to touch the bordering forest monarchs and brushwood ever so silently and tenderly with a shade of living green, when the birds were again singing joyously their not forgotten songs, these two time tried comrades lazed upon the bank of the Maumee, fishing. After recounting as they had done again and again thrilling earlier experiences and hardships which had tested their mettle, their conversation drifted to the subject of creation and God. Environment added a feeling of awe to the discussion and there followed a deep silence in harmony with the stillness of the wilds all about them. Neither spoke a word for an extended period. Then Jed, as if he knew the subject had been upon the mind of the other as well as upon his own, after gazing meditatively up the delightful stretch of silver burnished by the morning sun, with surprising abruptness, turned and said:

"Hank, when do you s'pose God started in to make this world, anyway?"

Hank pulled in his line, put on fresh bait and deftly cast his hook into another pool. Then with a pause and with great de-

liberation he replied: "Jed, it was a long time ago. A l-o-n-g t-i-m-e ago."

With the observation by Jed that "He did a mighty good job anyway," Hank's answer seemed a finality. It settled the question satisfactorily to both of them. In the hands of such a wonderful Creator they were content to leave their destiny.

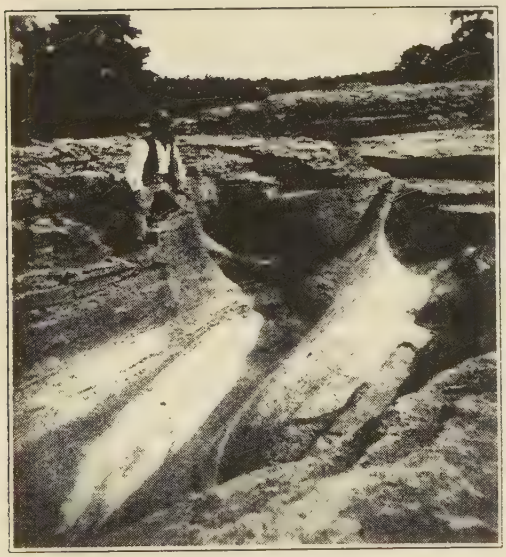
This answer of Hank the pioneer hunter and trapper leads to a short outline of the physical, formative period of this region, before taking up quite extensively the historical background to this story of the Maumee and Sandusky and following through from the dawn of civilization to the present.

Geologists say that at one time in the formation of the surface of the earth, or its changes, certain sections were covered deep with ice glaciers. Much of now Ohio, including the northwestern portion of the state was in the track of one of these great floes. The era is known as the "glacial period" or "ice age." The evidence according to geologists is unquestionable that so far as this section is concerned, "at a comparatively recent period," only a matter of ten to twelve thousand years ago, the northern portions of America, as well as that of Europe were covered with an unimaginable mass of slowly moving ice, "pressing down from the direction of the north pole toward the warmer latitudes." The regions over which these great glacial sheets spread, have been comparatively well defined. In the great movement of this untold mass of ice, it ground down the elevated surfaces and filled up the depressions of the country and brought down in its movement vast loads of granite boulders and finer material from the north. As it melted, the ice dropped these boulders and this finer material (till) here and there, it had picked up along the way and which had frozen to it.

The "home" of these boulders which can be seen today scattered about the surface of Northwestern Ohio as well as other sections, was in the north. They are totally unlike the natural rock formation here and could have been brought down in no other way than by this ice drift. One of the outstanding specimens of these "wanderers from home" is the noted Harrison Boulder or rock, lying in the Sandusky region, about six miles southwest of Fremont, on the Harrison trail running from Fort Seneca to Fort Meigs. It is of the species of granite belonging to the highlands of Canada, north of Lake Erie, a section pronounced by geologists the oldest land in the world. The age of this rock, at which General Harrison is said to have lunched with

GLACIAL EVIDENCES AT KELLEYS ISLAND

Note the smooth grooves in the rock made by the ice drift.



GLACIAL EVIDENCES AT
KELLEYS ISLAND

GLACIAL EVIDENCES AT
KELLEYS ISLAND

his staff on his military campaign, War of 1812, is estimated to be anywhere from 25,000,000 to 150,000,000 years. In size it is thirteen feet long, ten feet across and about seven feet thick, one half its bulk standing above the ground. Its weight is estimated at forty-five tons. It was evidently picked up by the glacial drift somewhere in the Labrador or Hudson Bay region. Among other noted specimens scattered over the Maumee and Sandusky regions is, or was before broken up, a Corniferous limestone boulder located at the side of the channel of the Auglaize River in Jackson township, Putnam County. Before blasted, it stood fifteen feet above the ground. The thickness or height of the ice in the Lake Erie section during the glacial age is estimated at eleven thousand feet. Prior to this period Northwestern Ohio, perhaps, was like the hilly regions of the southeastern part of the state.

In forming the topography of the Maumee and Sandusky valleys and fashioning the drainage system, Nature used the glaciers as a great instrument to scoop out the basin of Lake Erie, chisel out the rivers and drainage system and plane down the highlands. The general direction of the movement of the ice drift is shown by the grooves left on the visible rock surface which is from the northeast to the southwest. The most remarkable series of these glacial grooves has been found in the limestone formations at Kelleys Island. These grooves are several feet deep and are shown in the glacial illustrations in this volume. Prominent evidences are also found along the lake shore at Lakeside and Marblehead in Ottawa County.

Another evidence of the work of the glaciers in Northwestern Ohio is in the terminal moraines, found in several sections. In many places the depth of the glacial deposits exceeds one hundred feet. The rocks thereby being exposed to the air, frost and water, were decomposed and aided in forming the famously rich soil of this territory. Moraine means an accumulation of earth and stones carried forward and deposited by the glaciers. When it is at the extremity of the glacier it is known as terminal moraine. Thus the ridges of this transported and glacial deposited material are called moraines. The moraines show where the glaciers rested for a long period and the front which naturally gathered most of the material, dropped it as the glaciers melted.

There are three or four of these moraines in the section south of Lake Erie. The approaches are ordinarily so gradual that they are not perceptible, except by close observation. The De-

fiance Moraine extends northward and eastward from Defiance. The St. Joseph-St. Marys Moraine, so named because it follows these two rivers, has its apex near Fort Wayne, Indiana. The third, extending in the same direction is only a few miles distant. The Salamoine Moraine yet farther south crosses the southern boundary of Northwestern Ohio near Fort Recovery thence on to Kenton. The drainage system has been greatly influenced by the glaciers.

There was a time when a great lake covered the central portion of this territory, designated by geologists as the Maumee Glacial Lake existed between the Defiance Moraine and Lake Erie, Moraine and the St. Joseph-St. Marys Moraine. Its drainage was through the Tymochte Gap into the Scioto River and also through the Wabash.

Numerous sand ridges running across Northwestern Ohio, a majority from an easterly and westerly direction, were at different stages the shores of Lake Erie as its shore line gradually receded to its present outline. What is designated as Whittlesey Glacial Lake existed between the Defiance Moraine and Lake Erie, a later basin. The Wabash and Maumee rivers were once connected by a wide channel, easily defined, through which the confined water found its way to the Gulf of Mexico. The waters of the receding lake finally formed the St. Joseph and St. Mary's rivers, which in turn formed or fed the Maumee.

Following up the line of discussion by Jed and Hank, the fishermen, when did *man* first exist in America, in present Ohio and in these valleys of the Maumee and Sandusky? About all that can be said is that it was "a long time ago."

Whether there was a pre-glacial or glacial man in Ohio is an open question. Scientists of equal note take opposite views. The proof of the existence of man during this period rests on slender, circumstantial evidence. There have been discovered three paleoliths or flint implements in Ohio; one each in Hamilton, Clermont and Tuscarawas counties, and elsewhere one or two other like specimens. In each case the paleolith was found many feet below the surface in gravel deposits. Consequently, some scientists say, these implements must have been used by primitive man in the localities discovered, prior to the disappearance of the ice floe.

One argument in favor of this claim is that these paleoliths, the most primitive things made by man, are unlike the specimens of the Mound Builders, or the later Indians, familiarly known.

The late geologist, Dr. G. Frederick Wright, was a firm advo-

cate of the theory of glacial man and places the close of the glacial period at possibly ten thousand years ago. "In conclusion, then," he says, "we may say it is not so startling a statement as it once was to speak of man as belonging to the glacial period. And we may begin to speak of our own state (Ohio) as one of the earliest portions of the globe to become inhabited. Ages before the Mound Builders erected their complicated and stately structures in the valleys of the Licking, the Scioto, the Miami and the Ohio, man in a more primitive state had hunted and fished with crude implements in some portions at least, of the southern part of the present state. To have lived in such a time, and to have successfully overcome the hardships of the climate and the fierceness of the animal life must have called for an amount of physical energy and practical skill which few of this generation possess. They must, therefore, have had all the native powers of humanity fully developed and are worthy ancestors of succeeding races."

Doctor Wright also says there is enough to establish the fact that men, whose habits of life were much like the Eskimos, followed up the retreating ice of the great glacial period which covered much of Ohio in its great area, and deduces that "very likely the Eskimos are the descendants of that early race in Ohio."

Gerard Fowke in his discussion of the question in his "Archæological History of Ohio," sums up his conclusion after quoting what others have said upon the subject as follows: " The question must remain an open one until the claims of those who advocate and those who deny that man lived in Ohio, or in America for that matter, while the ice sheet held domain, are less open to dispute than they are at present." Even with all the claims put forth, Fowke says the age of man would not be carried to so remote a period of time as many assume.

CHAPTER II

THE MOUND BUILDERS

WHO WERE THE MOUNDMEN?—EXTENT OF THEIR OPERATIONS—OHIO THEIR FAVORITE ABODE—THEIR GREATEST MONUMENTS—EVIDENCES OF THEIR WORK IN NORTHWESTERN OHIO.

Coming down the centuries to what might be termed another race, the Mound Builders, archæologists have definite evidence to work upon. Although the time they were here and the cause of their passing is speculative, these mysterious people have left behind in their widespread handiwork wonderful tangible examples of their existence.

Evidences of their habitations have been found from the Allegheny River to the Rocky Mountains, and even on the Pacific slope. Examples of their work are known from Lower Canada to the borders of the Gulf of Mexico. The Ohio region along the Ohio River, and the hills and delightful valleys of the Muskingum, the Scioto, the Miamis and the Cuyahoga, however, were their favorite abodes. Summed up, the extent of their operations in present Ohio are almost equal to those in all the balance of America.

The probability is that their life in this region extended over a wide period, but that they were not great in numbers. Fowke has made some estimates upon this point. He says, considering their crude methods, it would have taken a thousand men, working a hundred years continuously, to have fashioned their mounds in Ohio alone.

Over five thousand locations are noted in Doctor Mills' archeological atlas, where the Mound Builder left his landmarks in this state. Those known as enclosures, the walled-in areas, comprising from one to over three hundred acres in area, total in number near to six hundred. They are mostly found in the southern part of the state, Ross County being the most favored section. But there are scattered all over Ohio, hundreds of single mounds of various sizes and designs. Placed in one continuous stretch, the Ohio earthworks would extend over a space of more than three hundred miles. They contained some thirty-two million cubic yards of earth and a considerable amount of stone.

The most conspicuously known works in Ohio are Fort Ancient in Warren County and the Serpent Mound in Adams County. Fort Ancient is on the east bank of the Little Miami River. The enclosure is really a promontory containing about 135 acres and descends from the eminence to the river as steeply as the soil will permit. The walls of the enclosure follow the windings of the natural embankment, forming re-entrant angles at the head of every tributary gully and running out to the extreme point of nearly every projection between the gullies. The whole length of the surrounding embankment is nearly four miles, while a direct line from the north wall to the south wall is five thousand feet. The outer side of the embankment coincides with the extreme edge of the promontory. The embankment, varying from four to twenty feet high, is intersected by seventy-two gateways and there is in this marvelous artificial structure 650,000 cubic yards of material. Fort Ancient is the property of Ohio and in charge of the Ohio Archeological Society.

The Serpent Mound, Adams County, the largest emblem of a spiritual character fashioned from earth by the Mound Builders, is located on a high bluff overlooking Brush Creek Valley. The entire length of this effigy structure following the convolutions is 1,350 feet. Beginning with its tail in a triple coil on a high place of the bluff, the earthen symbol curves gracefully down to the point of the "promontory," where immediately in front of the serpent's huge, open jaws, is a large egg-shaped hollow eighty-six feet long and thirty feet wide. When the late afternoon lights and shades bring out the contrasts of the landscape, the view of this marvelous structure, as Doctor Putnam says, is "strange and weird; and this effect is heightened still more when the full moon lights up the scene and the stillness is broken only by the unseen birds of the night." The Serpent Mound is also the property of the state.

The most famed and largest stone fort in America built by the Moundmen, is the Spruce Hill Fort, located on a hill by that name east of Paint Creek in Ross County. The elevation is some 400 feet high and is approachable only by a narrow neck or isthmus which connects it with a range of hills. The site is admirably chosen as a place of defense, commanding a view of the whole surrounding valley and inaccessable on all sides except at the point mentioned. The walls of sandstone and cobblestones found at hand, were built around the hill a little below the brow. The base of the wall is from eight to ten feet in width. There are a

score of other earthworks in the state of almost equal note, including those at Marietta and Newark.

Present Northwestern Ohio, much of the region being low and level, was not suitable for the habitation or operations of the Mound Builders. However, in every county in this section he has left his footprints. The only enclosure or fort of importance in this territory was situated on the right bank of the above where is now the east end of Fassett Street bridge and Maumee River within the present City of Toledo. It was just directly back of the Baltimore & Ohio elevator. Years back, when this section of Toledo was yet an unfenced common and after the ground and embankments had been cleared of trees, the site was reduced to practically a level by the plowman, who planted his crops there season after season.

Elias Fassett for whom Fassett Street was named, and who lived close at hand, remembered distinctly of this prehistoric earthwork before the tillers of the soil disturbed it. He said that the northern edge of the enclosure, which was evidently circular in form but which had partly been washed away by the encroachment of the river, reached near to the bridge, and that the rear embankment reached across the street that now parallels the river.

When the Fassett family settled there, the site of the fort or enclosure was covered with great sugar maple trees. The grove of maples not only covered the three-acre earthworks, but extended a short distance down the river. Evidently the ground had been cleared of the original forest growth and in the reforesting process, this new species, the maple, not indigenous to that special locality sprang up. This is known to be the way of nature.

In front of the old Fassett home there was a small elevation of sand, apparently an artificial mound. In using this ground to level up the Fassett lot, six or more skeletons in a perfect state of preservation were unearthed, buried face downward. These skeletons were evidently of Indians of a later period.

Reference is made to this local earthworks in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi," by Squier and Davis, 1848, a Smithsonian contribution. These two archeologists made the earliest extensive investigation in Ohio of the operations of the Mound Builders. Accompanying a plat of this Maumee River fort, are comments of the late Charles Whittlesey of Cleveland, a noted investigator of this subject, but who was rather extravagant at times in his claims and possibly not always accurate in his de-

ductions. Mr. Whittlesey, after giving the location of the enclosure, says, "The water of the river here is deep and of the lake level. The bluff is about thirty-five feet high. Since the work was built the current has undermined a portion. * * * The walls, measuring from the bottom of the ditches, are from three to four feet high. * * * As there is no ditch on the southwest side, while there is a double wall and ditch elsewhere, it is presumable that the work was abandoned before it was finished." As there are only rare instances in Ohio where mounds were not entirely completed, it would be of great interest to know why these prehistoric people did not complete the "Toledo works."

Mr. Whittlesey further says that the enclosure in question was the most westerly of a cordon of eight military forts along Lake Erie in present Ohio; and that while there had "not been found any remnants of timber in the walls, yet it is very safe to presume that palisades were planted on them, and that wooden posts and gates were erected at the passages left in the embankments and ditches." He remarks that these eight lake forts "form a line from Conneaut to Toledo at a distance of from three to five miles from the lake; and all stand upon or near the principal rivers."

Lucas County had a total of sixteen recorded prehistoric sites. Besides the enclosure described, there were before their obliteration, ten mounds, three village sites, one burial, and one petroglyph —Turkey Foot Rock. If the generally accepted story of this rock is true; that the marks were cut thereon by the Indians after the battle of Fallen Timbers, then this work could not be called prehistoric. But the story of a chief named Turkey Foot being killed there is probably romance. No evidence is at hand as to when some of these "Tracks" were cut on the rock, and they are probably very old.

There was a burial mound within Toledo limits south of the east end of Cherry Street bridge on the river bank, and two village sites further down the river on the same side. There were two burial mounds on the left bank of the river, on the west side of the river road, a short distance north of the present Country Club golf course, now a residential section. A third mound was in Ottawa Park on the crest of a hill. In Jerusalem township were five burial mounds, a village site and an ordinary burial; in Adams township two burials, and two ordinary burials in Providence township on the river.

In 1871 there was a survey of an enclosure, made from the

memory of citizens and the slight remaining outlines, located on the south bank of Swan Creek, which included within its interior the intersections of Oliver and Clayton streets. Near circular in form the shortest diameter of the enclosure was about four hundred feet and the earthen walls extended down the bluff to the early channel of the creek, which was about 1870, cut through in its old course.

Wood County had a few scattering prehistoric sites, mostly along the Maumee. Mills' archeological atlas marks an enclosure on the extreme northern border of the county on the river bank below the Ford Plate Glass Works, Rossford. Most reliable generally, it is possible that this was not an enclosure as Mills states, but a more than ordinary burial mound. Civilization long ago destroyed its identity. Above Perrysburg about two miles on a bluff overlooking the river was an ordinary burial, a village site just above the mouth of Tontogany Creek, Washington township, and two burials in section 4, Grand Rapids township. There was a village site in section 29, Plain township, four miles west of Bowling Green, and a couple of ordinary burials in Weston township.

Henry County had only two ordinary burials, one in the northern edge of present Napoleon and the other on the opposite side of the Maumee River south.

Fulton County contained more prehistoric works than any of the Northwestern Ohio counties. Quoting from authority, although it has no large streams, the topography is such that the county is well drained, the mean elevation being greater than that of adjoining counties. On the broad, level tablelands of the central portion of the county, prehistoric evidences were abundant, particularly in present Pike and Chesterfield townships. On the headwaters of Bad Creek in Pike township, there were twelve mounds which practically formed a group. There were six recorded enclosures in Fulton, and forty-five mounds, the total recorded earthworks numbering sixty-four.

Quoting from the late Doctor Mills, an interesting feature of the archeology of Williams County, is the fact that the mounds in every case were in groups. There were six groups as follows: A group of three each in Bridgewater and Florence townships; two groups of three in St. Joseph township; a group of four mounds in Northwest township; and a group of five west of the latter group, three of which were on this side of the Ohio-Michigan line in Northwest township and the other two over the line

in Michigan. Williams had one enclosure in Northwest township, one in St. Joseph and a total of eleven burials and four village sites.

The topography of the territory in present Paulding County was too flat and low for prehistoric works. Auglaize township contained one mound, one village site and one burial, all on the Auglaize River. Brown township had one burial on the Auglaize and Washington township one village site and one burial, located on the Little Auglaize River.

Van Wert County had one enclosure in section 17, Liberty township, one mound in Pleasant township within the present limits of Van Wert and one mound in section 17, Washington township. Pleasant township had two village sites and one cemetery and Wilshire township one cemetery. The county had six burial places.

Mercer County had three enclosures in Dublin township along the St. Marys River and one burial site. There was one enclosed structure in the northwest edge of Fort Recovery and a burial, and an enclosure within the present limits of Celina. Gibson township had one mound in section 24.

Along the old trail north of St. Marys, facing the St. Marys River in Auglaize County, were three enclosures of the crescent type, with two village sites on the Auglaize River and four burial places along the Auglaize and branches.

Along the Ottawa River and branches in Jackson township, Allen County, were two mounds, two burial places and two cemeteries. On the Ottawa River south of Elida was one mound, two village sites in Bath township and one burial place in Amanda township.

Prehistoric evidences in Putnam County followed the Blanchard River. Blanchard township had two mounds and four burial sites. Perry township three mounds near the junction of the Blanchard and the Auglaize rivers, with a village site north of Ottawa and a mound near the Blanchard in section 29, Ottawa township.

A total of forty-four sites have been noted and recorded in Hardin County. This, says Mills, is because of the county's position on the watershed between the Scioto and the Miami and the Sandusky and Lake Erie streams. The county was remarkable for burials as they have been found in almost every gravel bed. There was a group of four mounds near Forest. Of the sixteen other mounds, most of them were adjacent to the Scioto

River. Dudley and Goshen townships each had one enclosure, while Dudley had one cemetery and Roundhead township one village site.

Hancock County so far as recorded, contained two enclosed sites, four mounds, three village sites and six burial places. There was one enclosure near Janara, and one in section 12, Blanchard township. There were two mounds in Union, one in Pleasant and one in Albert township. Blanchard township had three village sites and there was one mound and one burial place at Van Buren.

Practically every gravel bank along the Scioto and Olentangy rivers in Marion County were utilized as burial places for the aborigines. Near Waldo, in Waldo township have been found many skeletons as is the case near Prospect on the Scioto. The county had seventeen mounds, seventeen burial sites and two cemeteries. No enclosures have been recorded.

Numerous prehistoric sites along the Sandusky River show that this valley was favorable to the habitation of this earlier people as well as a favorite locality for the Indians following. Within present Wyandot County have been noted fifty-three mounds, eight village sites, eighteen burials, one cemetery, and one enclosure in Pitt township with a mound within the circle. Most of the mounds were distributed along the banks of the Sandusky River and Tymochte Creek and tributaries. The Scioto-Sandusky Trail ran through the county, one of the great thoroughfares of the country. Jackson township had ten mounds, six of which were in a group. Pitt township had twelve mounds and Salem ten.

It seems strange, by reason of its situation and its watercourses that Crawford County had so few prehistoric evidences, mostly in the southern portion. Auburn township had one enclosure, Holmes one and Polk township one. There were eleven mounds within the county, two village sites and one recorded burial.

Seneca County had twenty-three recorded prehistoric sites. Two enclosures were located on Honey Creek—one in sections 7 and 8, Eden township, and the other in section 8, Bloom township. Thompson township had many prehistoric evidences and there was a group of three mounds in section 4, Eden township, with a burial adjoining.

Most of the prehistoric evidences within present Sandusky County were found along the Sandusky River. This section was

a great station where trails centered which were very important in early historical times, and evidences show that there must have been here at one time a considerable permanent population. Sandusky township below Fremont had on the river six enclosures, Ballville township two and Riley two near the bay. There were two village sites within present Fremont and a third near by. The county had only two recorded mounds.

Prehistoric evidences in Ottawa County were mostly in the eastern section east of Port Clinton near the lake shore. Kelleys Island, belonging to Erie County, had four mounds and two enclosures, besides the two noted petroglyphs which have been written about extensively.

"Taking into consideration" says Prof. H. C. Shetrone of the Ohio Archeological Society, "the histories of human races, nations and peoples, the disappearance of the Mound Builder should not present a particularly strange or incomprehensible phenomenon. When the stories of the nations of the world are considered, it is found that many of them, if not most of them, reached certain stages of development and then as such ceased to exist. The causes leading to their downfall are many and varied, but when set forth in recorded history are plainly apparent. The stories of some of these are plainly told, while those of others, which lie beyond the historic horizon are but dimly discernible. In all the pages of history, there are but few nations that survive from great antiquity. * * * Unsuccessful warfare, followed by annihilation, subjugation and assimilation by victorious opponents; decadences following social and moral depravity and other lesser causes, contribute to the downfall of nations. In the case of the Ohio Mound Builders, any of these causes may have played its part. * * * Many authorities, however, see in the mound-building peoples the direct ancestors of the historic Indians who occupied in general the country inhabited during the mound-building era."

They point to the fact that the Cherokees, Mandans and Natchez were known to have built mounds. The chroniclers with De Soto on his journey (1540) from Florida to the Mississippi noted that the Cherokees built mounds, upon the top of which they located their dwellings. On the other hand the late E. O. Randall says: "Whatever may be the inference of relationship between the Indians and Mound Builders elsewhere, the Ohio mounds suggest meager, if any cultural similarity to the Ohio Indians or the tribes of any other section." The Ohio Indians

had no knowledge or tradition of the builders of these earthworks and could give no light upon the subject. "If the Indian theory be correct," says Randall further, "it must be admitted that the American historic Indian who was discovered by the invading European, was a degenerate and unworthy descendant of his distant forebear." There was a broad chasm between the two peoples, at least as to architectural ability, artistic talent and characteristics of industry displayed by the moundmen.

Late authorities divide all mankind into three divisions—the White, the Black, the Yellow. The American aborigines are classified with the Yellow race. There were at least two distinct cultural groups among the Ohio Mound Builders. But, says Shetrone, if we persist in indentifying the high-culture Mound Builders as a race distinct from the Indian, shall we assume that the remaining mound-building cultures and sub-cultures represent still other races, or were they of the same race representing different cultures? "What of the Pueblos, the Cliff Dwellers, the Aztec, the Toltec, the Inca and others of North and South America?"

In brief, Prof. Shetrone says he is forced to conclude that the population of Ohio and America pertained solely to a single great race which in itself was distinct from any other. "The Mound Builders as with the Pueblo and the comparatively highly advanced peoples of Mexico, Central and South America, must be regarded merely as a stock of the native race, which, under favorable environment and an enjoyment of a period of peace and plenty, found time to develop its arts and industries, and its social, governmental and religious institutions."

One of the most advanced examples of the culture of these Mound Builders was found in the Feurt Village site of some four acres located in Scioto County five miles north of Portsmouth on the east side of the Scioto River, a description of which is taken from the writings of Professor Shetrone.

At the back door of this apparent capital city was the extensive hill country with its forest products of game, fruits and nuts. In front and on either side of the promontory on which it reposed was the great river bottoms or Scioto flood plain which furnished an ideal hunting ground and unsurpassed soil for the cultivation of corn, beans and other products. Within easy access was the river itself with its unfailing supply of water affording in season fish, mussels and waterfowl.

Approaching the village by the trail which flanked the high

hills along the eastern side of the narrow second terrace, there would have been found a community of several hundred people. These men, women and children, were of average size and physique and similar to the Indian of historic times.

The village was rather carelessly and unevenly laid out with a semblance of streets and passageways. On either side of these passageways were ranged tepees of skins and bark and rude huts built of poles and bark, and in some instances "chinked" with clay and grass, forming a sort of wattlework. Within these tepees and huts, or near by, were the family fireplaces, basin-shaped, of puddled clay. These were used both for cooking and for fires for warmth. All about the village the residents were occupied in their various pursuits.

The costumes of the inhabitants were made from skins of wild animals, feathers, and coarse fabric or cloth woven from vegetable fiber, grass and hair. The amount of clothing worn varied from practically nothing in hot weather to heavy garments made mostly from the furs of native wild animals for the colder seasons. As ornaments, men, women and children alike, were profusely adorned with necklaces, bracelets, and arm-bands of beads made from shell, bone or stone.

The principal industries and arts, centered about the securing of food and its preparation. There were games for amusement and recreation. The three most serviceable materials used in the manufacture of implements, utensils and ornaments, were wood, stone and bone. Wood was used for the construction of tepees, kindling of fires and cooking; as well as the making of bows and arrows, spears and many other objects. Various kinds of stone was the nearest approach to metal, used in cutting, scraping, pounding and perforating when manufacturing their products and in fashioning clay into potteryware.

Different kinds of bone, including antler and shell, was employed in making fish-hooks, awls, perforators, needles, arrow and spear points, scrapers, hoes, chisels; also ornaments of beads, pendants and other designs. Granite and other hard stone was used to make wedge-shaped tools something like an ax-blade. These were mounted on wooden handles and used as axes, hatchets or tomahawks. Hand hammers selected from water-worn stones, were used in cracking nuts, pounding grain, breaking bones and for other innumerable purposes.

Mortars, or metates made from stone, one face of which was ground out basin-shaped, were used in grinding corn into meal.

Stone disks from the size of a silver dollar to six times larger, were used for gaming purposes. Some of these had various designs worked on their sides. Evidently they had a pitching game like horseshoes and others akin to dominoes and dice.

There were expert workers in flint, the material being brought in from Flint Ridge in present Licking and Muskingum counties, and from across the river in Kentucky. The products were finely wrought into arrows and spearpoints, knives, scrapers and drills.

The highest skilled artisans were the pipe-makers and the workers in pottery. A variety of fine grained pipe-stone was used of varying texture and colors—grays, tans, browns, flesh pink and red. The carvings were in the images of animals, birds and the human face. The pottery was made from tough, clean clay, tempered by an admixture of powdered mussel shells.

Below the residential and manufacturing districts of the village were the gardens and truckpatches, mostly attended by the women and girls. Corn was the staple product, with beans, squash or pumpkin and other vegetables. The dried products not used when needed, were stored in pits dug in the ground, the receptacles being lined with bark.

The products of the forests and streams were bear, deer, wild turkey and numerous small animals; also game birds, together with fish and mussels. After the feasts came the smokers and the games before referred to.

Burial ceremonies were evidently quite elaborate, the burials being made on the ground, the bodies covered with grass and woven fabric, and then over all built a mound of earth.

In research work valuable strings of pearls have been found, also ornaments and implements of copper, such as bracelets, finger rings, awls, and beads.

Scores of volumes have been written about the origin of the native American. One suggestion is that they were indigenous to the country; that is, that they originated here, just as did the buffalo and other animals belonging to America; that the Indian race had its birth on this continent and that other continents had their indigenous people.

Other writers attribute the origin of the American aborigine to a foreign source. Almost every country, and people on earth as Professor Shetrone says, has been suggested as the source of this origin—Egyptians, the Chinese, the Japanese and other mongolians. It was originally quite generally believed that the first Americans came by way of the Behring Straits, either in boats

or on the ice. Other theorists put up the claim that the Mongolians from across the Pacific landed somewhere on northwestern South America and from there gradually spread over the continents.

These theories are put forward necessarily in abridged form for those who care to pursue the question farther. Even the theory that the American aborigine was indigenous to this continent, certainly does not conflict with the biblical story of creation.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

ORIGIN OF THE INDIANS—THEIR ORGANIZATION, GOVERNMENT, HABITS, MENTALITY, RELIGION

Leaving out the possibility of a pre-glacial man in Ohio, the opinion in general is that the human occupation of the western hemisphere was much more recent than in the eastern hemisphere —the Old World. From the fact that the American aborigine developed an absolutely distinct physical type "characterizing them as a race apart from all others" and considering their numerous distinct languages, there are other authorities who contend that the course of human existence in the Old and the New worlds has been practically the same. The native American has existed here at least thousands of years. Nothing more definite can be determined.

What of the Indian of North America as found here on the arrival of the first Europeans? There were then within the present bounds of the United States probably from one-half million to near a million of this Red race. From near their very first contact with the encroaching white man—the Virginia Colonists and the Pilgrim Fathers—down through three centuries, their story is one of a great and continuous tragedy. At first, as at Jamestown and in the New England settlements, there was at least a pretense of effort at friendly relations. But from the first friction the struggle resolved itself into open hostilities. "The friendship between Powhatan and Capt. John Smith, the treaty between Massasoit and the Plymouth Colonists and the justice of Rogers Williams," says Professor Shetrone, "were the bright spots" which ended in their decline and subjugation.

Columbus received his first impression of the natives at the Bahama Islands and upon the South American continent. He named them "Indians" because he mistook them for the natives of Oriental India, the land he supposed he had reached. Then, as has been observed, followed the Cabots, Magellan, De Leon, Balboa, Cortez, De Soto and at the north Cartier and many others —all viewing the native American in his natural, primitive con-

dition. Had these adventurers found in all sections the same degree of culture or intelligence and conditions, their accounts of their observations must have in the main been the same; which would have more easily aided in the correct understanding of the aborigine as a whole. But by reason of the diversity of climate, geography and other conditions which affect all human races, these Europeans found the natives over this wide section in many respects dissimilar.

The natural mental capacity of the Indian was not greatly inferior to that of the ordinary civilized white man. That is, an ordinary Indian child, when this people were first known, if reared in civilization and in proper environment and with proper tutorage, would have progressed in intelligence practically equal to a child of the white race. The transverse was or is true of a child of civilization reared in savagery.

Some writers have described the Indian as licentious and utterly immoral, and that they recognized none of the social or moral obligations of life. That by reason of their habits their mortality was great and that while the mothers were prolific not one child in thirty lived to maturity.

There were extremes of degeneracy no doubt as among individuals of civilization. However, in his native state the Indian knew and as a rule recognized the virtues of honesty, truth and the sanctity of human life. "Public opinion rather than law and the fear of punishment was the motive which compelled obedience to social decree;" although in many tribes, executive councils with power of enforcement existed. In his own clan or tribe, the Indian respected the rights and property of others. It was against hostile tribes and his white enemies that his indignities and cruelties at times were boundless. There are innumerable recorded instances, however, of his honesty, faithfulness, generosity, and courage.

As to the social and governmental organization, the most commonly known and representative unit was the tribe, a body of these people knit together by blood ties or relationship; by adoption and by a common language and certain definite ideas as to social, political and religious observances. While kinship, an authority says, remained the basis of tribal organization and government, the tribe was more or less fixed as to territorial district and as to residence, thus uniting the personal and geographic idea. When several tribes were united for mutual benefit the organization became a confederation.

Clans or gentes consisted of those people actually or theoretically related; organized to promote their social and political welfare. Members of a clan often assumed a common class name, or a totum, symbolized by some animal or object by which to identify them from another clan. Each tribe might have a number of clans, which in turn were organized into brotherhoods. The social and civil functions were lodged in a tribal chief or chiefs, who in turn were organized into a council with legislative, judicial and executive powers. These civil chiefs were not permitted to exercise authority in military affairs, which were usually left to war chiefs and to the grand council of the tribes. Ill success of the war chiefs meant their dismissal.

The Indian religion was based upon the supernatural and the mysterious; things they could not understand. Magic power, they believed was vested in various objects, animals, persons, spirits and deities. They believed in a hereafter. Their inclination was strong towards religious excitement. They had many "prophets" whose influence at times was seriously detrimental.

Neither the Mound Builders nor the Indians of history had a written language. Among the Indians known to history within the territory comprised within the United States near to sixty different linguistic families have been noted. That is, the various tribes have been classified as speaking that many different languages; these languages also being divided into numerous dialects as is the fact among the languages spoken by civilized people. Certain traits in their language, however, were common to practically all the Indians of the continent.

To attempt to follow the history movements and locations of even the leading Indian tribes of America from the time of discovery down through the three or more centuries, is to be "swept into a bewildering but delightful maze of legend, semi-history and romance." But a brief outline of the situation of the tribes found within the limits of present Ohio at the time civilization began to penetrate this section follows.

CHAPTER IV

THE OHIO INDIAN

ERIES THE EARLIEST KNOWN TRIBE—CONTEST WITH THE IROQUOIS—THE OHIO COUNTRY TRIBES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION.

The story of early mankind was the same the world over. Wars, bloodshed, conquests; the rise and fall of empires and nations, civilized and uncivilized. Confederacies, alliances, intrigue, diplomacy and the shifting of the line of demarcation. This story beginning with the American aborigine is no different. The story of the Indian and white man in Northwestern Ohio is no different. There was continual warfare and the shifting of territorial occupation by tribes and nations. There were intervals of peace and calm and then the fires of strife would break out anew with even greater fury. In the process, some nations were practically or entirely annihilated, or lost their identity by absorption or assimilation.

The Ohio country between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River with its temperate climate and geographical advantages; with its great forests and prairies teeming with game and its streams full of life, was a favorite land of the savage. Its possession was most desirable, and consequently an object of contention.

One of the earliest aborigine nations known vaguely to history in the Ohio territory was the Erie or Cat Nation, which occupied the lands south of Lake Erie. Their domain extended from the Genesee River, the frontier of the Five Nations on the east across nearly half the northern part of the present state to the Maumee River on the west. The belief is that they were a populous and powerful people with a permanency extending over a long period of years. It is evident that they once belonged to the country farther westward, and in this section possessed towns and villages of pretention. They were an Iroquoian people and the story runs that they took this name from the wildcat which infested this territory, and considered the reputed fighting qualities of the animal as symbolic of their courage and prowess.

According to the Jesuit Relations, the Erie country was a

"land of unusual fertility, with climate neither too cold or too warm." It is through the Jesuits that the first glimpse of the Eries is obtained, who, however, had not mingled with them, but had obtained their information from the Iroquois. The famous Etienne Brule, a trader and wood ranger, the first of the coureurs de bois, as Champlain relates, visited the Eries in the summer of 1615 for the purpose of securing their aid against the Iroquois. Brule was probably the first white man to set foot upon Ohio soil. The Eries were estimated to have at one time numbered some fifteen thousand, as many as the entire population of the red race within the limits of the present state one hundred years later. They mustered some four thousand warriors.

The Eries together with the Hurons and other tribes, had evidently been at war with the Iroquois proper for a long stretch of years before 1650 and always held their own. But the Iroquois effected one of the strongest Indian confederations known, and in their location east of the Eries, procured fire-arms from the colonists which they soon learned to use effectively.

As gleaned from the Jesuit Relations, then came the tragedy. While the Senecas, whose territory joined the Eries on the East, were keeping up a pretense of friendly relations with the Cat Nation, the other four members of the tribes of the Five Nations or the confederacy, were preparing for war. Evidently learning of this and for the purpose of continuing the peaceful situation and cementing it more firmly, the Eries sent a delegation of thirty representatives to negotiate the pact. By accident a member of the Seneca tribe of the Iroquois federation was killed by the Erie ambassadors, a spark which lit the great conflagration. In revenge the Senecas put to death all but five of the visiting Eries, whereupon the Eries retaliated by pillaging and burning a Seneca town, and in defeating a war party made captive one of the leaders. While they evidently desired little excuse, this aroused the Iroquois, who gathered a force of some eighteen hundred of the foremost warriors of the Onondaga tribe.

The invasion took place in 1655. The Iroquois people came down Lake Erie in canoes, landing probably near the site of Erie, Pennsylvania. Retreating into the forest, the Eries made a stand behind fortifications of felled trees in the vicinity of their principal town, called Rique. It was a desperate siege. While the Iroquois had firearms, the Eries were experts with the bow and arrow and used their poisoned arrows with great rapidity and effect against the slower process of loading and gun firing. As

protection, the Iroquois brought their canoes into use, lifting them bottom up over their heads and shoulders for shields. Then with further ingenuity the besiegers raised their canoes on end against the palisades of felled trees, mounted the canoe crossbars, like ladders, scaled the timber barricades and overpowered the desperate defenders. The brutal Iroquois "wrought such carnage among women and children the blood ran knee deep in certain places." Squaws and papooses were fiendishly slain by the hundreds.

Remnants of the vanquished Eries fled west and south, while large numbers were absorbed by the tribes of the victors. This disaster with minor defeats following, completely wiped out one of the greatest Indian nations of history. The lake which bears their name, the Ohio county on this lake and the City and County of Erie, Pennsylvania, are the monuments left to their memory.

By reason of their claimed supremacy over the Ohio tribes and the nations farther west and south, in fact by their alleged mastery over "all the nations east of the Mississippi," this Iroquois confederacy, the Five Nations, claimed by conquest a wide domain including all the hunting grounds in the Ohio country. They regarded the Delawares and Shawnees therein as mere tenants and the other tribes as trespassers, allowed to remain by sufferance. There have been many differences of opinion as to the real status of these Iroquois claims. Whatever the facts. the other Indian tribes of the Ohio country, especially the Miamis, the Shawnees, the Delawares, Wyandots, Ottawas, and Senecas, still played a prominent part in its early history. In the distribution of the various tribes in later years, the Iroquois were assigned only to Northeastern Ohio.

Conspicuous in the early history of the Ohio section were the Miamis, against whom the Iroquois also warred as well as against the Illinois. They were not natives of this territory, but were identified with the region they occupied longer than any other tribe figuring in Ohio annals. When first spoken of, about 1660, they were found by the French explorers in present Wisconsin, Northern Illinois, lower Michigan and in now Indiana. They were recorded by La Salle on the St. Joseph, called the Miami, and on the Wabash. Their extension into Ohio Territory gave their tribal name to the Big Miami and Little Miami and to the "Miami of the Lakes," the Maumee. Their great chief Little Turtle said: "My fathers kindled the first fires at Detroit; thence they extended their lines to the headwaters of the Scioto;

thence to its mouth; thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash; thence to Chicago over Lake Michigan." They in main withdrew to the Wabash from this country after the peace treaty of 1763.

The early Ohio history of the Miamis centers about their chief town Pickawillany, on the headwaters of the Great Miami River and near the present line between Miami and Shelby counties. This town was known as the "Ohio capital of the western savages." It was the dramatic scene of contest between the French and English for the possession of this region, had an important trading post and was a trail center. The head resident Maimi chief was called the Demoiselle by the French by reason of his passion for gay attire and fancy ornaments. On account of his loyalty to the English, the latter named him "Old Britain." The cabins of the Miamis were well furnished and they were a well mannered people. Their women were better attired than most squaws, while the men "used scarcely any covering and were tatooed all over the body."

The Shawnees figured prominently and for a long course of years in Ohio history centralized in the lower Scioto valley. When La Salle arranged in 1669 for his epoch making journey to the Ohio, he was told by the Iroquois to beware of the belligerant Shawnees he would encounter in his probable course. In 1680 in returning from their Illinois invasion, the Iroquois attacked the Miamis, giving as the cause that the Miamis had invited the Shawnees into the Ohio region to join them in war upon the Iroquois.

The Jesuit Relations reference to the Shawnees show that they were found in a wide range of territory. Capt. John Smith in establishing his colony on the banks of the James River came in contact with the Shawnees and they were mentioned as located on the Delaware by De Laet in 1632. Father Marquette met them in the Northwest and ten years later they were parties to the important Penn treaty in 1682. This treaty was faithfully kept and "not a drop of Quaker blood was ever shed by an Indian," says Bancroft. Always warlike, they were friendly with the French against the English and later took sides with the English against the Americans during the Revolution and War of 1812.

The Shawnees evidently came in from the south country in the early part of the eighteenth century when they located in the regions of the junction of the Scioto and the Ohio. They had

for a century and a half a settlement at the mouth of the Scioto known as Shawneetown. Celeron in his expedition encircling Ohio, found them there in 1749. Of the Shawnees, there was Black Hoof who was at the defeat of Braddock, and at the battle of Point Pleasant on the upper Ohio in 1774, called "the first battle of the Revolution;" also at the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair and at Fallen Timbers. He died at Wapakoneta in 1831. There was Cornstalk, the leader of the Indian allied forces in the Point Pleasant engagement; Black Fish, the captor of Daniel Boone; Blue Jacket at the defeats of Generals Harmar and St. Clair and who led the Indians at Fallen Timbers; and finally Tecumseh, the great Indian factor in the War of 1812, ever bitter and antagonistic to the whites.

The Delawares, an important confederacy, originally belonged in the central basin of the Delaware River in the territory of Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey and Delaware. They were subjugated by the Iroquois near the beginning of the eighteenth century who compelled them to do manual service like the squaws and took from them the right to make war or to change their location or dispose of their lands without the approval of the Five Nations.

Scattering numbers of the Delawares about 1750 began drifting westward into the Ohio country locating on the Muskingum and other contiguous streams. The Tuscarawas also settled on the principal upper Muskingum branch, giving their name to that river. The Munsee branch of the Delawares also came over the Alleghanies. Later a detached band of the Senecas with Iroquois blood and known as the Mingoes arrived and established Mingo Town; also villages on the headwaters of the Sandusky and Scioto. Strengthened by a coalition with these later bands and through their friendliness with the French, the Delawares threw off the yoke of the Iroquois and became a factor in Ohio history in opposition to the encroachments of the English.

The story of the missionaries Zeisberger and Heckewelder and the mission established at present Gnadenhutten, Tuscarawas County, in 1792, and the massacre ten years later by outlaw whites, has to do with the Delawares, as well as the battle of the Olentangy and the burning of Colonel Crawford.

The Wyandots were kindred of the Hurons and a surviving branch were referred to as the Tobacco tribe which belonged originally to the Iroquois stock. Driven from the Ontario region to Georgian Bay and Mackinac and yet to Green Bay by the

Iroquois proper about 1670, the Wyandots who survived came in contact with the Sioux who pushed them back again to Mackinac and the Georgian Bay region, which section the Iroquois had by then abandoned. Evidently still coveting the rich hunting grounds and more congenial section near their earlier abode, they returned to the vicinity of Detroit and settled in the lower Maumee section and upon the Sandusky. Here their kinsmen the Hurons joined them on the Sandusky in 1745 under Orontony or Chief Nicholas. The Wyandots prospered and expanded their territorial occupation until they were the dominant force in the later Northwestern Ohio area, and even east to the Muskingum and south to the valley of the Hocking.

The Hurons in their own language were known as the Wendats which the English spoke as "Wyandot" and on their settlement here they were soon known as Wyandots, the name of Huron being dropped entirely.

In present Northwestern Ohio and the Sandusky, the domination of the Wyandots was almost akin to that of the Iroquois in earlier times, as even the Delawares and Shawnees later occupied their territory by Wyandot sufferance. Tarhe the Crane was a Wyandot and one of the Ohio country's greatest chiefs.

The Mingos, a detached band of the Senecas, have been spoken of in connection with the Delawares and the establishment of Mingo Town. They drifted into the Wyandot region and established themselves upon the headwaters of the Scioto and Sandusky, where about 1800 they were joined by wanderers from the Cayuga tribe of the Iroquois. Henceforth they were known as the Senecas of the Sandusky. Seneca County, Ohio, took its name for them where they had their principal reservation. They had also settlements at Lewiston, Logan County, and villages in Delaware County and where is now Columbus.

In the history of Northwestern Ohio, as was the case with the Wyandots, the small numbers of the powerful Ottawa tribe of the Georgian Bay section who occupied local territory command much interest. An Algonquian people, these Ottawas were friends and allies of the Wyandots and like the latter had been driven from their Ontario abode. They lived on the lower Blanchard River section, also had villages on the Maumee in the vicinity of Roche de Boeuf, and evidently hunted and trapped over a wide range of the Wyandot district. Their name signifies "traders" and is perpetuated by the Ottawa River, Canada, Ottawa River, a tributary of the Auglaize, the Town of Ottawa, Putnam County,

and by the County of Ottawa on Lake Erie. Pontiac was their most noted chief, born at the mouth of the Auglaize, Defiance, in 1712.

Up to this point has been given a brief outline of aboriginal man in connection with the Ohio country. More of this story of the various tribes follows in connection with the treaties between the Indians and the government concerning the Maumee and the Sandusky.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN TREATIES

FIRST TREATY AFFECTING OHIO LANDS—THE GREENVILLE TREATY—TREATY AT THE MAUMEE RAPIDS—OTHER PARLEYS AND TREATIES.

The title to Ohio soil was obtained by oncoming civilization from the Indians by treaties of cession. The government claimed the right to extinguish the Indian titles of occupancy "by purchase or conquest" and also sovereignty. The government set the price they would pay in the form of goods, annuities and glittering gold in quantities enough to be attractive, and in their later treaties provided for homes for the dispossessed beyond the Mississippi in the broad expanse of the new West. These "original Americans," reading their destiny, made the best of a sad and forced situation. It is pertinent here to give in summarized form the Indian land cessions in Ohio taken from the Ohio Archeological reports, and shown by two maps:

The first treaty affecting Ohio lands was made with the Wyandots, Delawares, Chippewas and Ottawas in 1785, which defined the boundaries of the Indian tribes, and ceded certain tracts to the whites. This was followed by another in 1786 with the Shawnees. But neither of these was ever carried into effect because of continued warfare on the frontier between Indians and whites. Under them, however, Congress made three grants September 3, 1788, each of 4,000 acres, to Christian Indians in Ohio. These were at the Moravian missions of Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten and Salem, on the Muskingum. They are marked 1, 2 and 3 on the small map. They were repurchased by the government in 1823.

It was not until Gen. Anthony Wayne's expedition, in 1794, crushed the power of the Indians in Ohio at the decisive battle of Fallen Timbers, on the Maumee, some dozen miles above Toledo, that the United States obtained cession of Ohio lands which the tribes recognized. This treaty, the fruit of Wayne's victory, was made at Greenville, Ohio, August 3, 1795, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewa, Pottawatomies, Miamis, Eel Rivers, Weas, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws and Kaskaskias.

By this treaty the Indians gave up to the United States all lands lying east and south of the following boundary, known as the Greenville Treaty Line: From the mouth of the Cuyahoga River up that stream to the portage between it and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down the Tuscarawas to the crossing-place above Fort Laurens; thence westerly to a fork of that branch of the Great Miami River at or near which stood Loramie's store; thence westerly to Fort Recovery; thence southwesterly in a direct line to the Ohio River opposite the mouth of the Kentucky. The line is shown on the small map, and the area ceded is marked 4.

The Indians thus granted nearly two-thirds of Ohio's entire area, embracing the eastern and southern portions, and a small triangular portion of Southeastern Indiana. By the same treaty, the Indians ceded to the United States a number of smaller tracts of land within the general limits of the territory reserved to themselves in Ohio, Indiana and Michigan. The following is a list of these cessions in Ohio, the number preceding each indicating its location on the large map.

8. Six miles square at or near Loramie's store.*

9. Two miles square at the head of navigable water on St. Marys River, near Girty's Town. (Site of now St. Marys, Ohio).

10. Six miles square at the head of navigable water on the Auglaize River.

11. Six miles square at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee, at Ft. Defiance. This was surveyed in 1805.

12. Twelve miles square at the British Fort Miami, at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee. This was surveyed in December, 1805; subdivided and sold under act of Congress of April 27, 1816.

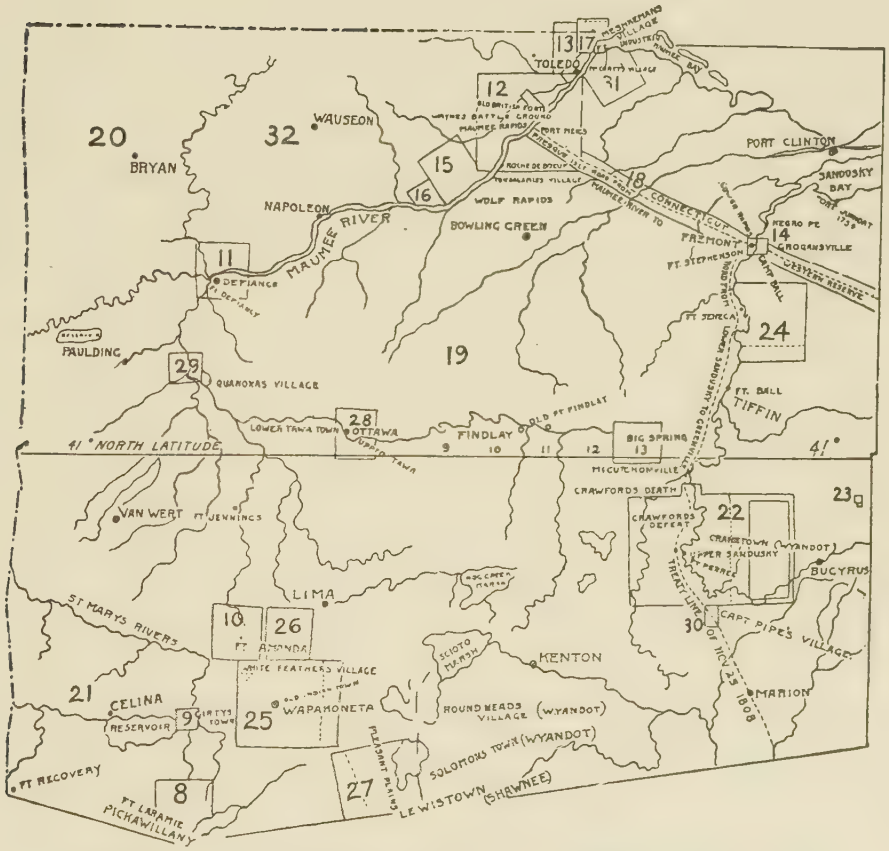
13. Six miles square at the mouth of the Maumee. Surveyed in 1806 by Ewing under act of Congress of March 3, 1805. This embraced all of the area on which Toledo now stands, and extended north just across the Michigan line.

Two miles square on Sandusky Bay, where a fort formerly stood. This was found to be within the limits of the Firelands, and hence was never separately surveyed.

14. Two miles square at the lower rapids of the Sandusky

*(This store or trading post, was established by Peter Loramie, or Lorimier, and his son Louis, both of Montreal, in 1764. It was at a vantage point on the portage between the Great Miami and Maumee rivers. The store was plundered and burned by George Rogers Clark and his Kentuckians in 1782, referred to later. The site is now Berlin, Shelby County.—Editor).

THE GREENVILLE TREATY LINE



CESSIONS AND RESERVATIONS IN NORTHWESTERN OHIO

River, at Ft. Stephenson, where Fremont now stands. Surveyed by Ewing in 1807; subdivided into town lots and sold under act of Congress of April 27, 1816.

The next cession in importance was that made by the treaty of July 4, 1805, made at Fort Industry, where Toledo now stands. The tribes participating were the Wyandots, Ottawas, Chippewas, Munsees, Delawares, Shawnees and Pottawatomies.

This treaty defined the boundary between these Indians and the United States to be a meridian line drawn north and south 120 miles due west of the Pennsylvania line, and extending from Lake Erie south to the Greenville treaty line. This embraced three tracts, all shown on the small map. The one bordering on Lake Erie west of the Cuyahoga, numbered 5 on the small map, is a part of the Western Reserve; the tract next west, numbered 6, is the Firelands, which are really a part of the Reserve; and third, the tract south of these two, numbered 7, between the 41st parallel and the Greenville treaty line.

The Western Reserve of Connecticut occupied the northeastern corner of the state. It was bounded on the north by Lake Erie, on the east by Pennsylvania, on the south by the 41st parallel of latitude, and on the west by the present east line of Seneca and Sandusky counties. In 1792 the Connecticut legislature granted 500,000 acres off the west end of the Reserve to such of her citizens as had suffered by British depredations in the Revolution—burning of Groton and New Britain especially. On this account this tract is called the Firelands.

On November 17, 1807, a treaty was made at Detroit with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots and Pottawatomies, by which they ceded to the United States a large area in Southern Michigan, and including, in Ohio, all lands lying north and east of a line beginning at the mouth of the Maumee, and running up that stream to the mouth of the Auglaize, thence due north. See No. 32 on the large map. From this area, however, the Indians reserved the following tracts, the numbers referring to positions on the large map.

15. Six miles square on the Maumee, above Roche de Boeuf, "to include the village where Tondaganie (or the Dog) now lives." This reserve was ceded to the United States August 30, 1831. The name of the Chief Tondoganie, the Dog, (which is spelled several different ways in the documents) is perpetuated in the name of the Village of Tontogany, Wood County, which stands a few miles east of the site of the Indian village.

16. Three miles square on the Maumee, above the twelve miles square ceded by the treaty of Greenville, "including what is called Presque Isle," which is the hill immediately south of and overlooking the battlefield of Fallen Timbers. This reserve was, however, located at Wolf Rapids, as Presque Isle was found to be within the twelve-mile square reserve, at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, ceded to the United States by the treaty of Greenville. This reserve was ceded to the United States by treaty of August 30, 1831.

17. Four miles square on Maumee Bay, "including the villages where Meshkemau and Waugau live." This reserve was ceded to the United States by treaty of February 18, 1833. It embraced the lands from Toledo to and across the Ottawa River, and a part of Michigan on the other side of that stream, on the western shore of Maumee Bay.

At Brownstown, Michigan, a treaty was made, on November 25, 1808, with the Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Wyandots and Shawnees, ceding to the United States a tract of land for a road, 120 feet wide, from the foot of Maumee Rapids (Perrysburg), to the western line of the Western Reserve; and all the land within one mile of said road on each side, that settlements might be established along it. It is numbered 18 on the large map. They also ceded a strip 120 feet wide, for a roadway only, settlements being barred, from Fremont south to the Greenville boundary line. This road followed up the Sandusky River, passing just west of Tiffin, through Upper Sandusky and Marion, and reaching the Greenville treaty line about half way between the latter place and Delaware.

These roads gave free access between the twelve-mile square cession at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, and the lands already in possession of the whites east and south of the Indian tract.

On September 29, 1817, a treaty was made at the foot of the Rapids of the Maumee, with several Indian tribes, by which the Wyandots ceded all the land in Ohio west of the line established by the Fort Industry treaty, except certain reserves hereinafter stated; and the Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippewas ceded the remaining Indian lands in the northwestern corner of the state, north of the Maumee, and west of the Detroit treaty line—numbered 20 on the large map. This extinguished the Indian title to all lands in Ohio but a small area south of the St. Marys River and north of the Greenville treaty line, marked 21 on the large

map—excepting the following named small reserved tracts. The numbers of the list below correspond with those on the map:

22. To nine chiefs, Doanquod, Howoner, Rontondee, Tauyau, Rontayau, Dawatont, Manocue, Tauyaudautauson and Hadaunwaugh, a tract twelve miles square at Upper Sandsky, its center being Fort Ferree. This was ceded to the United States by treaty March 17, 1842.

23. To the same, for the use of the tribe, one mile square in a cranberry swamp on Broken Sword Creek. This was ceded to the United States April 23, 1836.

24. A tract of 30,000 acres for the Seneca tribe on the Sandusky River. Ceded to United States February 28, 1831.

25. A tract to the Shawnees at Wapakoneta, ten miles square, the center being the council-house at that Indian village. Ceded to United States August 8, 1831.

26. A tract adjoining the above, on Hog Creek, of twenty-five square miles. Ceded to United States August 8, 1831.

27. A tract of forty-eight square miles to the Shawnees at Lewistown. Ceded to the United States July 20, 1831.

28. For the use of the Ottawas, five miles square on Blanchard's Fork of the Auglaize. Ceded to United States August 30, 1831.

29. For the use of the Ottawas, three miles square, including, Oquanoxa's village. Ceded to the United States August 30, 1831.

30. To the Delawares, nine square miles adjoining the reserve to the Wyandots on Sandusky River. Ceded to the United States August 3, 1829.

31. To the Ottawas, thirty-four square miles on the south side of the Maumee, including McCarthy's Village. Ceded to the United States February 18, 1833. This included all of East Toledo and Presque Isle.

There were also fourteen small tracts granted to certain individuals, aggregating 9,480 acres.

A supplementary treaty to the above was made at St. Marys, on September 17, 1818. By it there were additions made to seven enumerated reserves. These lands were ceded to the United States by the treaties of July 2 and August 8, 1831, January 19, 1832, April 23, 1836, and March 17, 1842.

The last treaty that concerned Ohio lands was made at St. Marys, on October 6, 1818, by which the Miamis ceded lands in Indiana and Ohio—the area in the latter being the small tract

between the Greenville treaty line and St. Marys River, marked No. 21 on the large map. This was the last tract in Ohio held by the Indians under the claim of original possession. Nothing was left except the reserves. These were gradually ceded to the United States, at the dates noted above where each is mentioned. The last was the Wyandot reserve at Upper Sandusky, which was ceded on March 17, 1842.

During the century this process which might be termed eviction was in progress, the Indians of the Ohio region were decreasing in numbers through wars amongst themselves, through fighting with the French against the encroachment of the English, or in their vascillation the transverse, provided they considered it for their interests; also by their contests with American arms and in individual skirmishes with the tide of oncoming settlers.

They always took enough time out from these military expeditions and contests for hunting excursions and trapping in season; bartering their furs and products with the traders, mostly for liquor, this firewater being their greatest enemy. It brought greater disaster in its way than war.

The first important treaties provided for no relocation of the Indians, for they were permitted to hunt and trap over most of their original haunts so long as they properly demeaned themselves. The Greenville treaty made by General Wayne, 1795, had this provision: "The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States, without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States." Further, another article of the treaty reads: "In consideration of the peace now established, and of the concessions and relinquishments of lands made in the preceding article by the liberality of the United States, as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquishes their claims to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi and westward and southward of the Great Lakes and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed upon by the United States and the King of Great Britain in the treaty of peace made between them in the year 1783." In this grant there were some reservations; also, these lands granted should the tribes desire to dispose of them, must be sold only to the United States.

With the settlers crowding in and game becoming scarcer each

year, it was in 1830 that the United States adopted the policy of providing new lands and for the removal of the Indians to the west. Congress then passed a law entitled "An act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing within any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the Mississippi."

While American independence became a theory with the treaty of Paris, signed with Great Britain, September 8, 1783, so far as the then west was concerned, the Revolution did not end until the victory of General Wayne at Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794. Even then, considering the Great Lakes region and present Ohio, full independence did not come until the close of the War of 1812, ended by General Harrison's victory over the British Proctor at the battle of the Thames in Canada, October 5, 1813, and where fell the intrepid Tecumseh, restoring to the United States the full possession of the Maumee and Sandusky country, Detroit and the Michigan peninsula.

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNING OF OHIO INDIAN REMOVAL

GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL AFTER THE REVOLUTION FROM THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY—SAD STORIES OF THEIR DEPARTURE—THE WYANDOTS THE LAST TO GO—SCENES AS THEY LEFT THE UPPER SANDUSKY—MORE PARTICULARS OF THE "RAPIDS" TREATY.

With British influence now wiped out, the Indians of the Ohio region had two alternatives: The acceptance of the conditions offered by the state and nation as to their status in remaining here, or their removal to other territory. The Indians who had espoused the cause of the British, especially the Shawnees and Miamis, elected to withdraw, although they still held reservations, while the Wyandots, Delawares and Ottawas, loath to give up their old surroundings, preferred for the time being to remain under existing conditions. But the latter tribes too soon yielded to the pressure of civilization and though never so satisfactory or congenial, passed westward and southward into less civilized sections. "The career of the Indians as a race had terminated so far as Ohio was concerned" and it only remains to write the finis.

The Miamis, earliest of the historic tribes to appear on Ohio soil and who figured so prominently in the upper Maumee Valley were the first to take their departure therefrom. At the close of the French and Indian war, as a result of the peace of 1763, the Miamis as a tribe removed from Ohio to Indiana, the Shawnees then occupying their lands. By 1827, they had sold most of their lands in Indiana and had moved to Kansas and thence to the Indian territory, where the remnant of the tribe continues to live. One band, however, remained in Wabash County, Indiana, until 1872, when their land was divided and apportioned among the individual representatives. The Miamis (1818) numbered about 400 in all, as compared with about 1,500 individuals at an earlier date.

Despite their early disappearance as a tribe from Ohio, the Miamis as noted in the summary of treaties, figured in the last treaty concerning Ohio lands held by the Indians under the claim of original possession. This treaty was held at St. Marys, as noted, October 6, 1818. The remaining Indian lands were reser-

vations which they were permitted to occupy after the main territory in which they were located had been relinquished by cession.

The Delawares as a people left Ohio comparatively early. Their head chief, Captain Pipe, died in 1794, at his town adjoining the Wyandot reserve near Upper Sandusky. The majority of the Delawares removed from the Ohio region before the American Revolution to lands in Indiana lying between the Ohio and White rivers and finally located in Oklahoma and the Indian Territory. Small numbers drifted to the Canadian Thames section, where they are known as the Moravians and Munsees of the Thames.

The Senecas, who occupied a reservation of 30,000 acres on the Sandusky below present Tiffin, and the mixed Senecas of the Lewistown, Logan County reservation, after the cession of their lands in 1831 as noted, removed to Kansas and in 1867 to the Indian Territory where they reside.

After the Battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, where General Harrison defeated the Indian forces under the Prophet, the reputed brother of Tecumseh, the Shawnees mostly scattered from Ohio, south and west. Like several other tribes they had their Ohio reservations. They possessed lands ten miles square at Wapakoneta and twenty-five square miles adjoining on Hog Creek. They ceded these lands to the government as noted, in August, 1831, and removed first to Kansas and then to the Indian Territory. Besides their noted chiefs, Cornstalk and Tecumseh, Black Hoof was a worthy foe. He was with Cornstalk at Point Pleasant, active in the campaigns against Generals Harmar and St. Clair and after the battle of Fallen Timbers was an advocate of peace. The first intimation the Shawnees of the Wapakoneta and Auglaize reservations had of their proposed removal came in 1831, when James Gardner an agent at Columbus sent word regarding a proposal to purchase their lands. As with the tribes of other reservations regarding such changes, it created great consternation. A council was held and a messenger dispatched to Gardner not to come. But Gardner brought to bear outside influences. As was the case in other places when the Indian lands were wanted, traders were induced to urge payment of the Indian debts and some of the chiefs were made drunk and bribed. While there was much opposition, those who had been bribed and influenced were in a majority. The dissipated members of the tribe were attracted by the distribution of much ready money and the

treaty was signed. Gardner was charged with misrepresenting its terms without reading its contents.

When the Shawnees found that they had been deceived, they appealed to the Quakers to aid them in procuring redress. A committee of Friends went to Washington and presented the matter to Congress, showing that the Shawnees were to actually receive $115,000 less than was represented. Whereupon, after a delay of twenty years, the amount received was increased by $96,000.

As the Indians had been informed by Gardner that they would be removed early in the spring of that year (1831), they sold their cattle and hogs and much of their other belongings. As it was nearly a year later that their removal took place, they suffered great privation in the meantime, and many reached almost the starvation point. The money finally was brought to the town on horseback in ten wooden kegs and disbursed from what was known as the Jones Woods in the northern edge of Wapakoneta Town where Gardner made his headquarters.

After the disbursement of the funds, the Indians engaged in a drunken revelry and round after round of festivities and dancing, until the traders had most of their money. In this situation, after recovering from their debauchery, they disposed of what property they had left, or buried what they could not sell or transport. After more sober realization of what was taking place, they began their farewell religious ceremonies, public and private. One act was to remove the fencing enclosing the graves of their ancestors, level the mounds even with the surrounding surface and cover the space so expertly with green sod that no trace of the burials remained. A visit by the chiefs to their neighbors and friends, some at considerable distance, and the exchange of presents, was the last act before they informed the agents in charge of their removal that they were ready to go.

Quoting a descriptive writer: "They mounted their horses, and such as went in wagons seated themselves and set out with their 'high priest' in front, bearing on his shoulders 'the ark of the covenant;' which consisted of a large gourd and the bones of a deer's leg tied to its neck. Just previous to starting, the priest gave a blast of his trumpet, then moved on slowly and solemnly, while the others followed in like manner until they were ordered to halt in the evening and cook supper. The same course was observed through the whole journey. When they arrived near St. Louis, they lost some of their number by cholera. The Shawnees who emigrated numbered about 700 souls."

The start from Wapakoneta began November 20, 1832. They reached Piqua on the first day's march where they remained two days paying tribute to the graves of their ancestors. They encamped at Hamilton on the night of November 23, where they again tarried for three days. On Christmas they made camp at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi, and immediately began building quite respectable cabins, and were by the last days of February protected in comparative comfort against the winter blasts. Including the Senecas with them, there were about 1,100 in all making the winter journey. The Shawnees of the Hog Creek reservation, followed west in the spring of 1833, under the supervision of Joseph Parks. On account of the season of the year, they were attended with less hardship.

The passing of the Ottawas holds much interest to the history of the Maumee country. While the tribe proper belonged more in Michigan where some of them still reside, they had reservations as heretofore noted in northwestern Ohio. As stated, it was on August 30, 1831, that the Ottawas of Ohio ceded to the government their reservation of five miles square on the Blanchard River in Putnam County and three miles square, including Oquanoxa's Village on the Auglaize a little west of the first reservation. On February 18, 1833, their remaining reservation of thirty-four square miles on the east side of the Maumee including McCarthy's Village, together with Presque Isle at the river's mouth was ceded and the Ottawas of this reservation at intervals withdrew to west of the Mississippi and to Oklahoma where a remnant now reside.

It is well to call attention to the fact that this thirty-four miles square reservation included present Toledo, east side, and that the Indians were still in possession there after the towns of Port Lawrence and Vistula, Toledo proper, had been consolidated, after a Toledo railroad had been projected and about the time Toledo was named—three years only before its incorporation as a city. As the first actual settlement was made in Toledo about 1817, for many years thereafter just across the river lived the Red man upon his own lands, his title thereto undisputed, and he was no doubt a frequent visitor to and walked Toledo streets and mixed with the early settlers.

In fact many of the Ottawas lingered here long after their lands were given up to the government, 1833, and the first delegation had passed to the west. A majority of those remaining followed August 31, 1837 and went to the same region. They

were transported on the steamboat *Commodore Perry* to Cleveland, thence by canal to Portsmouth and on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers west. They were under the care of Col. John McIlvane, Columbus, superintendent, with Capt. W. E. Cruger, Rochester, New York, as assistant and distributing agent. John Mack, D. H. Forsythe and C. Roby, Maumee, were attached to the expedition, the former as commissary and the other two as interpreters.

Several of the tribe yet remained, unwilling to join their fellows in removal. They numbered about one hundred and fifty, the chief Otteka being with them. It seems that the separation of the fragments of the colony was aided by merchants who were persuading them to stay, evidently wanting their trade especially in whiskey; and also for the reason that many of the Indians were in debt to the traders. In a notice published in Maumee August 19, 1837, by Superintendent McIlvane, he appealed to the alleged creditors of the Indians not to obstruct their departure, intimating that efforts were being made to do so. "They have now no country or home here," said the notice, "Therefore, in the name of humanity, in the name of justice, in the sacred name of mercy," it is hoped that if "any are secretly working to discourage the emigration of these unfortunate creatures, they will pause and consider the impropriety of their course. In conclusion it is requested that those who have been in the habit of selling liquors to these Indians do so no more, as it will be impossible to remove the dissipated."

The newspaper *Whig* of July 30, 1839, regarding the final exit of the the remaining Ottawas said: "The remaining few of the once powerful tribe of Indians (the Ottawas) who have lingered about this section for the past few years dragging out a miserable and precarious existence, took their departure for the west of the Mississippi, July 15, on the steamer *Commodore Perry* under the superintendence of Judge Forsythe of Maumee, the Indian agent. They went to Cleveland and then by the canal to Portsmouth and then west on the rivers, one hundred in number. They hated to go and much persuasion was required by Judge Forsythe. The villages of the Ottawas were once strewn along the banks of the Maumee from the bay to the mouth of the Auglaize and the bones of their forefathers are yet rotting in the unidentified and unknown graves of their forgotten cemeteries."

The last of the Ohio Indians to leave the state were the Wyandots who contributed so much to the history of Ohio and the north-

west section. They furnished Nicholas the great conspirator, that conspicuous character Tarhe the Crane, and were concerned in the American Revolution in this then west and in the War of 1812. Their last great chief was Pomoacan or Dunquard, known as Half King, the later of several Indians of that title.

The question of the removal of the Wyandots to the West was first proposed about 1824. The news immediately aroused consternation among their people until assurance came from the Great Father at Washington that force would not be used, but the matter would be left to the discretion of the tribe. Gradually they had been circumscribed in the freedom of their range by the white settlers whose attack upon the forests had encircled their reservation by clearings and cultivated fields. Their total numbers of all ages and both sexes had been reduced to less than 800. In 1800, they had numbered about 2,200. But there was great opposition among them from the first to the proposed removal and the fact was some eighteen years in consummation. Grey Eyes, an ordained Christian minister, was one of the leaders of the opposition who said he would never leave and the first votes were largely opposed to the change. The agitation ended in the same old story of the Indian, and at the last vote more than two-thirds of the man population voted for the transposition. Col. John Johnson was the commissioner for the Government. He had for years had charge of Indian affairs in Ohio.

By the terms of the treaty, the tribe was given 148,000 acres of land in Wyandot County, Kansas, opposite Kansas City. They were given $23,860 to wipe out the debts of the tribe, granted an annuity of $17,500 together with a perpetual fund of $500 for educational purposes. A later treaty reduced the size of the reservation and by the payment of $380,000 their annuity was abolished and they were removed to Qupaw Reservation, Indian Territory.

Preparations for the departure commenced in the spring of 1843 and actual removal began in July following. The head of arrangements for the Indians was Chief Jacques. Days and weeks before the departure, frequent councils were held in the council-house and religious worship carried on with devotion and solemnity in the mission church. Their dead that had been buried in other sections of Ohio were brought home and with deep emotion laid at rest again in the little mission cemetery. Stone or marble tablets were placed as tributes at all unmarked graves.

When all honor had been paid, when all the farewells to the

scenes they loved so well had been said; after looking over their beloved home again to the east where had risen many suns, to the north over the old Sandusky trail, to the south over the road towards the Scioto which had led for centuries to the beautiful Ohio, they turned their faces westward. In this last hour as the sorrowful cavalcade prepared to begin the march, Grey Eyes turned to the white people gathered to witness the leave-taking and on behalf of his people delivered an affectionate farewell. His words as summarized have been preserved by a local historian present at the scene, who recorded them as follows:

"He exhorted them to be good Christians and to meet him in Heaven. In a most sublime and pathetic manner he discoursed upon all the familiar objects of a home—no longer theirs. He bade adieu to the Sandusky, on whose waters they had paddled their light bark canoes and in whose pools they had fished, laved and sported. He saluted in his farewell the forests and the plains of the Sandusky, where he and his ancestors had hunted, roved and dwelt for many generations. He bade farewell to their habitations, where they had dwelt for many years and where they still longed to dwell. With mournful strains and plaintive voice he bade farewell to the graves of his ancestors, which now they were about to leave forever, probably to be encroached upon ere the lapse of many years by the avaricious tillage of some irreverent white man. Here, as a savage, untutored Indian, it is probable Grey Eyes would have stopped, but as a Christian he closed his valedictory by alluding to an object yet dear to him; it was the church where they had worshiped, the temple of God constructed by the good white men for their use, and within whose walls they had so often bowed down in reverence under the ministrations of Missionary Finley and his co-laborers."

When the final leave-taking came, the wagon train, the chiefs on horseback and hundreds following on foot, began the long journey. By the end of the first day they had reached Grass Point, Harden County, where they made camp. The second night found them near Bellefontaine, the third night at Urbana, the fourth at Springfield. On the seventh day they reached Cincinnati where they took boats, and going down the Ohio and up the Mississippi and Missouri reached their new abode—not home.

While the Wyandots were journeying towards Cincinnati, Head-Chief Jacques with some of the leading members of the tribe paid a visit at Columbus to Governor Shannon. Farewell addresses were exchanged and that by Chief Jacques is quoted:

"We have several objects in view in visiting you, the governor of the state. First, it was due him as the chief magistrate of this great state; secondly, it was due to the people of Ohio, to whom, through their governor we speak and bid an affectionate farewell. We came here also to ask for the extension of executive clemency to an unfortunate brother of our nation, and we thank you for granting our prayer in his behalf. We part with the people of Ohio with feelings the more kind, because there has been no hostility between your people and ours ever since the treaty of General Wayne at Greenville. Almost fifty years of profound peace between us have passed away, and have endeared your people to ours; whatever may be our future state beyond the Mississippi, whither we are bound, we shall always entertain none but feelings the most kind and grateful toward the people of Ohio. Before Wayne's treaty there had been one long war between our fathers and your ancestors. At that treaty they promised peace and they have kept that promise faithfully. We will forever keep that promise as long as the sun shines and the rivers run. When we arrive at the place of our destination, surrounded, as we shall be, by Red men, less acquainted with them than we are with white men, we shall always take pleasure in telling the Indians of that western region how kind, how peaceful, how true, faithful and honest your people have been to our people. If at any future day any of our people shall visit this state, we hope that your people will see that they do not suffer for food or any of the necessities of life; that when thirsty you will give him drink; when hungry you will give him food; when naked you will give him clothes; or sick, that you will heal him. And we on our part promise the same kindness to any of your people should they visit us in our far western future home. Our original intention was to pass through Columbus as a nation on our departing journey from Ohio to the West; but for the purpose of shortening our route on so long a journey, the principal part of our people have passed through Urbana. But although, for the reason stated, our people have passed through Ohio by the shortest route, yet they could not forego the pleasure of sending you their chiefs and addressing you, and through you the people of Ohio, in the language of truth, friendship and sincerity."

The sentiment expressed in the foregoing may be regarded as merely a savage, religious impulse and zeal, spoken under the spell of the moment by an Indian who realized the inevitable

results being brought about by advancing civilization and accepted the situation with fortitude and magnanimity.

Of course the Wyandots had in a manner received good treatment from the authorities, especially at the Upper Sandusky settlement, but this did not lessen the pull to their heartstrings when they were called upon to give up the home for which they had formed such an attachment.

One of the Wyandot chiefs in his own tongue gave expression in poetry to the sentiment of his people. The last verse as translated, reads as follows:

"Adieu ye loved scenes, which bind me like chains;
Where on my grey pony I pranced o'er the plains.
The deer and the turkey I tracked in the snow,
But now must I leave all. Alas must I go?
Sandusky, Tymochte, and all their broad streams—
I ne'er more shall see you, except in my dreams."

More of the details surrounding the Greenville treaty will be referred to further along in this story. Ranking next to it in importance to the Ohio section and especially to Northwestern Ohio, was the treaty of September 29, 1817, mentioned, held at the foot of the Maumee Rapids on the west side of the river, site of present Maumee. The negotiations were carried on by Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, both prominent figures in the War of 1812.

Previous to this treaty, all Northwestern Ohio west of the Reserve below the lakes and south to the Greenville treaty line was known as Indian Lands, and except certain reservations belonged to the Indians. This treaty opened a large portion of the Maumee and Sandusky valleys to settlement, and rapid changes and developments immediately followed. At this treaty some 7,000 members of the Wyandot, Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippewa tribes were present and took part in the negotiations.

There were a large number of small tracts reserved which the Government agreed to grant by patent in fee simple to Indian chiefs and to whites prominent in Indian affairs. Of the whites, some were considered by the co-mingling of blood and others by reason of adoption after capture. One of the most interesting grants requested of the Government by the Indians, was that of 1,280 acres of land situated on the west side of the Sandusky River near Croghansville, below present Fremont, to Elizabeth Whitaker. She was the widow of James Whitaker, a white

trader at Lower Sandusky after the Revolutionary period, who died about 1806. Whitaker and his wife, who was Elizabeth Fulks, were captured by the Indians about 1781 and 1783 respectively, and adopted by the Sandusky Indians. They were married at Detroit and occupied the body of land below Lower Sandusky (Fremont) where Whitaker built a cabin, the first permanent white residence in Ohio and where was born to them eight children. The grant to Mrs. Whitaker was a confirmation of the Indian gift.

Robert Armstrong who had been taken a prisoner by the Indians and who had married a Wyandot squaw was granted one section of land on the west side of the Sandusky near Fort Ball, now within the limits of Tiffin. The children of William McCulloch were given one section of land adjoining the grant of Armstrong. John Vanmeter who had been taken prisoner by the Wyandots and who had married a Seneca squaw, and to his wife's three brothers, was granted one thousand acres of land in now Seneca County near Honey Creek, a Sandusky tributary. This was adjoining the land of Vanmeter. Catherine Walker, a Wyandot woman who had been wounded in the service of the United States, was awarded 640 acres.

To Sarah Williams who had been captured by the Indians, to Joseph Williams and Rachel Nugent, the children of the late Isaac Williams, a half blood Wyandot, one quarter section of land below Croghansville on the east side of the Sandusky and to include their improvements at Negro Point.

Among further grants: To William Spicer, captured by the Indians and who married a Seneca woman, 640 acres of land on the east side of the Sandusky where Spicer had a corn field. To Nancy Stewart, daughter of the late Shawnee chief, Blue Jacket, 640 acres on the Great Miami River below Lewistown (Logan County). To the children of the late Shawnee chief, Captain Logan, who fell in the service of the United States during the late war (1812), 640 acres on the east side of the Auglaize River adjoining the ten mile grant. To James McPherson, taken prisoner by the Indians and who ever after lived with them, 640 acres of land adjoining the north and west line of the forty-eight mile grant at Lewistown. To Saw-en-de-bans, or the Yellow Hair or Peter Minor (Manor), an adopted son of Tontoganie, at the special request of the Ottawas, out of the tract reserved by the treaty of Detroit in 1807 above Roche de Boeuf, at the village of said Tontoganie, was given 640 acres on the north side of the

Miami (Maumee) at Wolf Rapids. This land in fact is at the site of old Providence, Lucas County, which plat was laid out by Manor opposite Grand Rapids, Wood County. Tontogany village and Tontogany Creek, Wood County, are named for Chief Tontoganie. Mrs. Whitaker, Spicer and others are mentioned by the missionary Joseph Badger, who was among the Indians of this section from 1800, until they left for the West.

The Government in this treaty at the lower Rapids also agreed to build a sawmill and a grist mill and maintain a blacksmith for the use of the Wyandots and Senecas upon the Wyandot reservation, and also a blacksmith for the use of the Indians at Wapakoneta, Hog Creek and Lewistown.

There was opposition from some quarters among the Indians under British influence, to signing the treaty. John E. Hunt in his reminiscences relates an experience with Mesh-ke-mau, a noted and savage warrior who prided himself on being a British subject and who had been bribed by the British to frustrate if possible the signing of the document. This warrior made a great speech in which he accused the paleface of cheating the red man and using all kinds of duplicity and trickery in their dealings. He even struck General Cass with his fist. Whereupon Cass turned to Knaggs, one of the interpreters, and said, "Put a petticoat on this woman and take her away." With this most belittling remark that could be applied to an Indian, he was led from the council-house.

Among those present at the treaty was a grand-niece of Pontiac. She was the mother of Otusso, the son of Kan-tuck-e-gun, and the last of the great Ottawa chiefs. This old and wrinkled squaw was regarded as a sort of Indian queen and exercised a great influence over her people. When it came to signing this important lower Rapids treaty, no chief would make a move until this old mother had indicated her mind. They all sat in silence under the roof of the open-sided council-house, their heads, bowed, their eyes cast to the ground. They awaited the verdict of this ruling spirit of past greatness. Then, bent and withered by the infirmities of age, the old queen arose, went forward and with deliberation touched the pen which made her mark on the great document. Without hesitation the chiefs all followed with their strange signatures.

In 1816, the year before the foregoing treaty was made opening the lower Maumee and Sandusky basins to the whites, the number of Indians of both sexes in Northwestern Ohio and their

location as reported to the Government was as follows: The Ottawas about the lower Maumee, the bay and Lake Erie and upon the Auglaize, about 450; the Senecas and others of the Six Nations, located between Upper Sandusky and Lower Sandusky (Fremont), at and near Seneca Town on the Sandusky, 450; the Delawares living about the headwaters of the Sandusky, 161; the Shawnees living in the Auglaize and the Miami rivers territory, with their main village at Wapakoneta, 840; the Wyandots with their homes on the Sandusky and its tributaries, 695; total, 2,596. As there was a somewhat constant shifting, this report does not fully agree with the numbers of each tribe, when they finally were called upon to leave their reservations.

CHAPTER VII

FIRST WHITE MAN IN THIS SECTION

CONDITIONS ON THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY THEN—ETIENNE BRULE—THE COUREURS DE BOIS—THEORIES OF FIRST EXPLORERS—OPENING CONTESTS FOR TERRITORIAL POSSESSION—ENGLAND, FRANCE AND SPAIN.

After the realization that a new continent had been discovered westward across the Atlantic and the dawn of approaching civilization appeared upon the eastern horizon of America, there passed more than a century before the light of this approaching civilization penetrated to the valley of the Maumee and the Sandusky. And what were the conditions of these valleys tributary to Erie when the first canoe of the white man came gliding over their rivers and his footsteps made their imprint upon its soil? What did he find and see?

Some time before him in the centuries past, a prehistoric man had been here. He left no record of his stay written on tablets of stone. He left no story in tangible form of his going nor an inkling as to whence he came. But it is known that he was here. This is told by his monuments fashioned of mother earth and by the works of his hand found therein, together with the bones of his dead.

Then there is the story, veiled somewhat by the distance of time, of the earliest savages known, who occupied the Maumee and Sandusky region, or a portion of it, told by the Indians of history. When the first white man arrived he found the red man here although it is said he was not native to this section. He was a hunter and a trapper and he roamed this territory because it gave him fine opportunities for the chase and for furs and skins for his bed and body—this before he had met the trader. He was a savage, warring with his neighbors perhaps; he was in his primitive, natural state, not yet contaminated by civilization. He probably had no permanent towns and villages here then, but roamed the forests in his hunts and plied the network of waters of this section with his canoe unhampered in his pursuits as was his humor for the occasion.

All Northwestern Ohio was deep forests then, with prairies

here and there and openings sparsely clad with oak. The territory, comparatively level, contained impenetrable swamps and marshlands. There were forest covered, low undulating hills and ridges running here and there with the watercourses; all of which with the densely wooded slopes and higher levels, produced a wondrous beauty and loveliness.

Whoever he was, the first white man to ascend the Maumee or the Sandusky from the lake with his savage companions, found the waters of a much higher mean depth than now. The river banks were bordered with brushwood, the great forests reaching back with interminable depth. The silence, broken only by the denizens of the wilds and now and then by the whoop of an Indian, must have been awe inspiring. While the smoke curled aloft from the Indian camp-fires along the banks, there were at this earliest period no evidences of village permanency or possibly cultivated fields. As the canoe glided on its way, upon its approach, deer and elk slaking their thirst were observed vanishing into the wilds from the river's edge, while buffalo standing in the mire of the shallow water, slowly took their way around a point of ridge. Bear might have been seen walking along the paths of the ridgelands, with wolves skulking here and there to cover. Buzzards overhead were circling to locate the carcass of some wild life whose end had been a tragedy. Eagles were high in the blue and many song birds known today, minus those which follow only civilization, were pouring forth their carols to an unappreciative audience.

And who was the first white man upon either of these watercourses? No one knows. It may have been La Salle. Upon his mission when he discovered the Ohio in 1669 or 1670, from Canada he probably crossed around the foot of Lake Erie to Chautauqua Lake, and to the headwaters of the Ohio, and thence down this "River Beautiful." He may have returned up the Great Miami, crossed from its headwaters to the Maumee and down to the lake. Again it is possible that he came up the Scioto and down the Sandusky and followed the south shore of Lake Erie to intersect his downward route. Two years of his exploits on this journey were lost, the most important to Ohio.

The remarkable Champlain may have been the first white man to have visited the south shore of Lake Erie, but it was probably Etienne Brule. An authority says, "Champlain, possessed of religious zeal as well as adventurous ambition, a few years after his settlement of the St. Lawrence, had invited the

French Recollects, a reformed branch of the Franciscan Monks, to join his explorations and establish missions among the savages who were 'living like brute beasts, without law, without religion and without God.' The Gray Friars, as the Recollects were called, landed in 1615. They soon found the field too vast for their order and the Jesuits were brought to their aid. This latter society, 'the most marvelous auxiliary of the Roman Church for the propagation of Christianity in all the heathen portions of the world, established its order at Quebec in 1625, and sent its teachers and preachers wherever it was possible for them to penetrate among the copper-colored nations of the New World.' "

Champlain founded Quebec in 1608. He went among the Hurons at their villages on Lake Huron and was with them some months in the year 1615. His map of this lake region shows that he had at least some knowledge of the contour of the south shore of Lake Erie and in winter may have traveled its course. More likely he gained his knowledge from Brule and the savages. For as Champlain relates, the Eries were visited by Brule in the summer of 1615, as noted heretofore in the story of the Erie Indians. His purpose was to have the Eries join the French against the Iroquois. In this journey, it is believed Brule landed on the south shore of Lake Erie.

The fur traders and missionaries were rivals in their persistent efforts to penetrate all the new and undiscovered regions. The Canadian fur trade had been made a monopoly, being controlled by the companies organized and chartered in France; only those holding stock or being properly authorized, could legitimately buy and sell peltries. This attempted monopoly produced outlaw traders called *coureurs de bois.* They were adventurous rovers, wilderness rangers, penetrating deep into the forests over a wide territory, engaging in illegal traffic with the Indians. The first and most notorious of this class was Brule. He was bold and ingenious and adopted the mode of life and dress of the savage, the better to gain their confidence and favor. With his mercantile exploits, he became also a noted interpreter and ambassador among the tribes for Champlain and others of his French kindred. Scores, perhaps hundreds, followed Brule's initiative and struck into the forests. They were merged into the habits of the savage, selected mates from among the Indians, introducing Celtic blood among the red race. Some of these outlaw French traders became even more degenerate than the aborigine

in their habits and cruelty. It was long before they were brought under control, in the time of Frontenac.

Concerning them Parkman wrote as follows: "Out of the beaver trade rose a huge evil, baneful to the growth and morals of Canada. All that was most active and vigorous in the colony took to the woods, and escaped from the control of intendants, councils and priests, to the savage freedom of the wilderness. Not only were the possible profits great; but in the pursuit of them there was a fascinating element of adventure and danger. The bushrangers or *coureurs de bois* were to the King an object of horror. They defeated his plans for the increase of population, and shocked his native instinct of discipline and order. Edict after edict was directed against them; and more than once the colony presented the extraordinary spectacle of the greater part of its young men turned into forest outlaws. But severity was dangerous. The offenders might be driven over to the English, or converted into a lawless banditti—renegades of civilization and the faith. Therefore, clemency alternated with rigor, and declarations of amnesty with edicts of proscription."

These *coureurs de bois* were probably among the first whites upon the Maumee and Sandusky, along with French missionaries and explorers. Jesuit priests, from France by way of Canada, were along the Maumee about 1670, according to the journal of Captain William Trent.

The thread of this narrative concerning the progress of exploration and advancement toward civilized occupancy of the Maumee and Sandusky valleys will be taken up again after an outline story leading up to the appearance in the Lake Erie region of Champlain and Brule.

It is almost impossible to realize how little was known about this globe by its occupants, mankind, only four centuries ago. It seems that in the great plan of creation and development, the time had arrived when the New World heretofore uncharted and unknown, was ready to receive civilization. At least in the later years of the fifteenth century and in the early part of the sixteenth, came the great era of discoveries by the Europeans.

The world was believed to be a flat disc by ancient men of thought, encircled by the visible horizon. This is known as the "pancake theory." A later theory advanced was the "floor theory" by which the earth was described as a level parallelogram the longer distance being east and west as related to the narrower distance north and south. Lengthwise this floor was

measured off by the geographers and called "longitude" and the crosswise, narrower measurement termed "latitude." It was when the globe theory was put forth, that the earth was a sphere, that the wave of discovery swept over Western Europe. Navigators believed that by sailing west over the heretofore unknown waters, they could reach Cathay and Cipango—China and Japan. The story, a long one, briefly referred to following, tells of the feverish desire of adventurers to cross this unbridged span, and born of the same quality possessed by the navigators of the air at the time this narrative is written. The result was that Columbus sailed away and after some seventy days "stumbled upon the islands of the new world, the West Indies."

And how far from the facts were the beliefs of these early adventurers and discoverers as to what they had found. Columbus when he first landed believed he had reached the India of the East. After his other voyages and the voyages of the Cabots, both Columbus and Sebastian Cabot died without knowing that they had discovered a new continent. They believed they had reached Cathay on the opposite side of the globe. When Champlain about a hundred years later reached Lake Huron, he thought he gazed upon the waters of the Pacific. And when La Salle started on his voyage to the Ohio he believed that it flowed into the Gulf of California. Such were the absurdities of the early explorers.

With the founding of Jamestown in 1607 by the English, the establishment of the French Gibraltar, Quebec, a year later by Champlain, coupled with the first of them all, the Spanish discoveries, the contest for American soil, which finally involved withal the Maumee and the Sandusky valleys, began in earnest. Spain soon dropped out of the running, but the struggle for supremacy between the French and English was a long one resulting in favor of the latter and finally in the birth of a new republic of which Northwestern Ohio is a part. But the British held to this coveted, rich region with a tenacious grip until she was compelled to surrender by force of arms; not settled until the War of 1812, the time from which real American independence dates. With Spain gradually relinquishing her rights, with the English approaching surely westward from the Atlantic, with the French coming in from the St. Lawrence region and the north, naturally the meeting of such two great forces with opposite interests, meant a collision. The Spaniard being first on the ground, her story starts first.

Spain claimed by right of discovery all of the North American continent and most of South America. Under this claim naturally all of now Ohio including the Maumee and Sandusky valleys would belong to Spain. But as she based her rights upon this discovery and wholly upon a "concession in perpetuity," made by Pope Alexander VI (himself a Spaniard, by the way), and never having settled in the northern regions, France and England never considered her rights as a serious menace to their ambitions. However, it involved one of the most noted documents ever issued, and had the geography and extent of the two Americas then been known, Spain probably would have put forth her claims at least in a modified form.

When Columbus returned and gave an account of his marvelous discoveries and of the dire hardships of his voyage to Ferdinand and Isabella, these "sagacious and pious sovereigns, alike zealous for their country and loyal to the Holy Father," sent an ambassador to Rome to secure a concession that would confirm to them the exclusive and undisputed rights to all western discoveries. The Pope in sympathy with the request, issued a pronunciamento establishing the "Line of Demarkation" to determine any rights that might arise between Spain and Portugal; this from the fact that the latter country which had been busy and whose sailors had crossed the equator, doubled the Cape of Good Hope and landed at Calcutta, caused the Portuguese to claim recognition for their enterprise.

In the demarkation decree Pope Alexander VI "by virtue of Almighty God, granted him in St. Peter and by the office which he bore on earth in the stead of Jesus Christ, did give, grant and assign to the Spanish rulers and to their heirs and assigns all firm lands and islands found or to be found toward the west and south from a line drawn from the Pole Arctic to the Pole Antarctic through the Cape Verde Islands."

Portugal, dissatisfied with the act of the papal umpire, which gave Spain nearly all of the western hemisphere, asked for a readjustment, and by mutual agreement of all parties, the dividing meridian line was moved west of the Cape Verde Islands three hundred and seventy leagues. This readjustment did not affect Spain's title to North America, but it gave practically Brazil to Portugal and also Africa and the lands beyond to the far East. This papal decree applied merely to lands and islands uninhabited or occupied by the heathen pagan, infidel or unbaptized, which were not within the pale of the church. These had no

rights the Christian discoverer recognized. The negroes of Africa and the aborigines of America were property running with the land, like the natural products upon or under it. The decree left the rights in the countries already owned by the Christian powers undisturbed.

However, England never conceded the claims of Spain and Portugal, based as they were upon this grant of Pope Alexander VI. The English rulers recognized the discoveries of other nations only when their claims were backed by the actual occupancy of the lands discovered. Neither did France concede Spain's claims. Francis I, king of France, wrote to Charles V, inquiring by what right the kings of Spain and Portugal assumed to "own the earth." Had Father Adam made them his sole heirs, and could he produce a copy of the will? Until such a document be shown, this French monarch declared and affirmed that he would feel at liberty to cruise about and take all the lands he could get, and with this plan in mind, he proceeded to enlarge upon the business of discovery.

The beginning of England's interest in the new world came with the explorations of the Cabots, who made landfalls from as far south as probably the Carolinas north to Newfoundland and Labrador. Young Sebastian Cabot, born in England, by the discoveries of Columbus became imbued with an ardent desire to emulate his achievements. In connection with a map drawn by Sebastian, a notice runs that "In the year of our Lord 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his son Sebastian, discovered that country which no one before his time has ventured to approach, on the 24th of June, about five o'clock in the morning." It was the east coast of America.

The discoveries of John and Sebastian Cabot furnished the pretext for England to her territorial claims in America, but it was not until 1605 that she took any active part to substantiate her claims by actual possession. In 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh backed by Queen Elizabeth undertook the task of exploration and colonization. Two vessels were sent out and sailing along the central and southern part of the new continent, on their return gave a favorable report of the country. Raleigh named the new land Virginia, in honor of the virgin queen. A second expedition sent out, attempted a settlement on the island of Roanoake (North Carolina), under Sir Richard Grenville. They were attacked by the Indians and several were killed. The next year, what remained of the colony were taken back to England by Drake. In

1587 John White landed at the island with his fleet bearing over one hundred people and founded the settlement of Raleigh. The first native white child within now the United States was born there—Virginia Dare. White, in landing there again in 1590, found all traces of the colony gone. Their fate was never known.

Other activities followed along the coast, but it was not until 1606 that a serious attempt was made by the English to colonize America. King James I issued patents to two companies, one to colonize Southern Virginia and the other Northern Virginia. The London Company had charge of the southern enterprise and sent over a fleet of three ships and 105 colonists, "merchants, adventurers and gentlemen," under Newport, Gosonold and Capt. James Smith. They entered Chesapeake Bay, sailed up the river they named James and landing, founded Jamestown—the river and the settlement being named for the king. Thus, in 1607 was established the Anglo-Saxon on American soil. As one historian observes, it was "just one year before Champlain sowed the seeds of the Fleur de Lis on the rocky and barren cliff of Quebec."

Before turning to the earlier advent of the French, it is well to quote Fiske at this point who says: "Between the beginning and the end of this well-rounded tale a mighty drama is wrought out in all its themes. The struggle between France and England for the soil of North America was one of the critical movements in the career of mankind—no less important than the struggle between Greece and Persia, or between Rome and Carthage."

CHAPTER VIII

FRENCH ARRIVAL IN AMERICA

CARTIER AND OTHERS ON THE ST. LAWRENCE—SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN —EXPLOITS OF LA SALLE—BUILDS FORTS—FRENCH CLAIMS.

France based her claims in America, including the Maumee and Sandusky valleys, upon the discoveries of the intrepid French navigator Jacques Cartier. Before that, however, and only a half dozen years after the last voyage of Columbus, a bold French navigator, Denis of Honfleur, explored the fishing fields of Newfoundland and was followed some eighteen years later by Verrazzano, an Italian (but fitted out by Francis I), who explored and named the St. Lawrence. Cartier was probably already acquainted with the coast of Newfoundland when he was appointed by Francis I to the command of two ships with which in April, 1534, he set sail from St. Malo. Crossing the Atlantic, he first touched at Cape Buena Vista on the east coast of Newfoundland, then passed northward along the coast, and sailing southwest through the Straits of Belle Isle, discovered the main land which he claimed for France by erecting a wooden cross with the inscription, "Vive le Roy de France." Next year, 1535, a second expedition was placed under his control to explore the estuary of the St. Lawrence. He penetrated as far as Hochelaga, a large fortified Indian village at the foot of a hill to which he gave the name of Mount Royal, and which is the site of Montreal. He spent the winter at the site of Quebec, or Stadacona as the Indians called the headquarters of the Iroquois chief Donnacona. Cartier named the country "Canada," the name, as claimed, applied by the Iroquois to a village and the region surrounding.

The policy of colonizing Canada was temporarily halted by the French until Seigneur de Roberval in 1540, obtained permission to form a settlement. Cartier was sent out in 1541 in command of five ships and that autumn arrived at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Near the present situation of Quebec he built a fort named Charlesbourg. Roberval arrived off Newfoundland in 1542 with three ships. The name of the new possessions had now been changed from Canada to New France with Sieur de

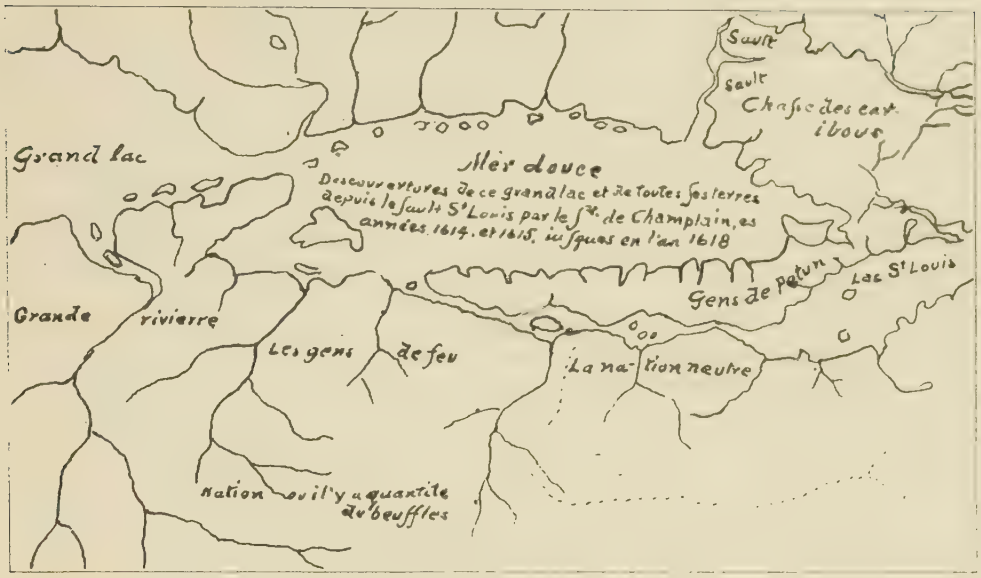
Roberval created viceroy and Jacques Cartier its Captain General. But the outlook was not to the liking of Cartier. The idea of colonization was for then abandoned and the expedition returned across the sea.

The remarkable adventures of De Soto do not come within the limits of this narrative.

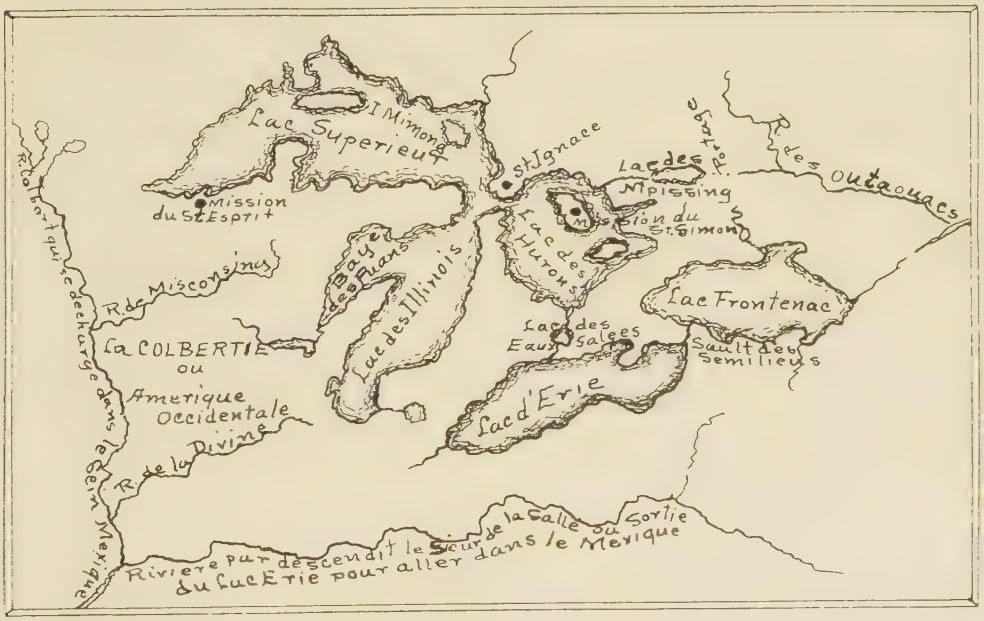
It was not until the arrival of Samuel de Champlain up the St. Lawrence and his founding of Quebec in 1608 that France obtained a permanent foothold in the new world. The story of this prince of explorers has already been told and his relations with Brule the outlaw trader, the first white man to view present Ohio, provided that he visited the south shore of Lake Erie.

One of Champlain's first moves after settling at Quebec was to establish friendly relations with the Montagnais, his nearest Indian neighbors on the St. Lawrence, with the Hurons farther west and the Algonquins on the east. Following up his explorations, in 1609 with some half dozen of his own men and about fifty Indians manning a flotilla of twenty-four canoes, he ascended the Richelieu River to the lake which took his name, lying between the present states of New York and Vermont, the lower end in Canada. Here he came in contact with some 350 Iroquois warriors of the Mohawk tribe. These warriors were noted for the character of their armor. They bore shields of hide-covered wood and encased their bodies in corslets of tough, interwoven twigs which the arrows of the savage scarce could penetrate. In their attack upon Champlain, they were met with fire from the Arquebuses with which the French and party were armed, and two of their chiefs were killed outright and a third fell wounded. The flash and report of the firing of the crude musketry spread panic among the Iroquois and thinking the Great Spirit had overtaken them, they fled in terror. It was the first blood of the savage thus shed in contact with the advancing Frenchmen. The tragedy was never forgotten by the Iroquois, who from that day became the unalterable foe of the French. The incident became a large factor in determining the finale in the story of New France.

The three factors, "conquest, commerce and religion," were the motivate forces of progress in their new possessions. It has been noted how Champlain invited the Recollects to join him in his explorations and who were aided in their work by the Jesuits. In his operations Champlain reached west as far as Georgian Bay and Lake Huron.


Grand lac
Mer douce
Descouvertures de ce grand lac et de toutes ses terres depuis le sault St Louis par le Sr. de Champlain, es années 1614. et 1615. iusques en l'an 1618
Sault
Sault
Chasse des cat. ibous
Gens de petun
Lac St Louis
Grande rivierre
Les gens de feu
La na-tion neutre
nation ou il y a quantité de beufflles

This is the earliest attempt to map the Great Lakes region. It is the central part of Champlain's map published in 1632. Champlain reached the Great Lakes by way of the Ottawa River and French River into Lake Huron. His map shows a distorted idea of the situation of the Great Lakes, and much of his information perhaps came through the Indians. Lac St. Louis is Lake Ontario. Mer Douce is Lake Huron. Grand Lac is Lake Superior. The elongated body of water above the words La Na-tion-neutre is doubtless intended for Lake Erie. The stream entering the lake below the three islands may represent the Sandusky, and the river with several tributaries entering the lake farther to the left, probably represents his idea of the Maumee. By the "Neutral Nation" evidently were meant the Eries, who three centuries ago built their fortified towns on the opposite sides of the Sandusky, and later the Wyandots, of the Sandusky known as neutrals, who "preserved the integrity of their territories and espoused the sacred role of peacemakers." Champlain himself may have been along the south shore of Lake Erie in the winter of 1815, and west near to the Sandusky bay.



Joliet's Map of 1674 shows a comprehensive idea of the Great Lakes but shows little idea of the river systems, though the Maumee is marked. The notation under the Ohio River was made at a later date.

It is not necessary in the purpose of this story to follow the paths of the early French explorers in detail. Coming after Champlain was Jean Nicolet who passed many years around the Great Lakes. In 1634-1640, he penetrated the unknown northwest, crossed Lake Huron in a canoe, entered the St. Marys River and was the first explorer to see the strait of Sault Ste. Marie. He canoed upon Lake Michigan and Green Bay and had the aid of the Jesuits in his work.

Next in point of interest comes the operations of Rene Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, born in Rouen in 1643, who at an early age joined the Jesuits under whom he received his education. Abbe Jean Cavelier, an older brother, was a priest of the St. Sulpice order, who had already gone to Canada, and Robert joined him there in 1666 and was granted a tract of land a few miles above Montreal at the entrance of the great rapids. The site and rapids were named La Chine by reason of La Salle's early idea that by sailing up the St. Lawrence and on and still on he would reach China. Stories came to him from the Indians about the wonderful country to the south and about a great river, the "Oyo"—Ohio. With the nature of an explorer he longed to know more of this famed country and river, received permission from the French governor Courcelle to form an expeditionary force and sold his lands. Joining with a party of Sulpicians on a mission to establish missions in the northwest under the leadership of Dollier de Casson and Brehan de Galinee, La Salle eventually arrived at an Indian town called Otinawatawa where they unexpectedly met two men, one of whom was the great Louis Joliet returning from the Lake Superior region where he had been in search of the copper mines known to exist thereabouts. Joliet, instead of returning from Superior by the Ottawa River route from Montreal as he went, had "paddled his way back over the waters of Lakes Huron, St. Clair and then Erie, the discovery of which latter waterway alone would have given his name a place in history." This gave him the honor of being the first European to navigate the waters of Erie, at least so far as written records show.

As a farewell ceremony before this renowned company parted, Dollier said mass, while his companions and La Salle and his followers received the sacrament. The Sulpicians continued west where they found that the Jesuits had preceded them.

It is after the parting described that nothing is known of La Salle's course for two years as noted in the previous account

Nicholas Sanson, Royal Geographer of France from 1647 to 1667, made a map bearing date of 1656. The part here reproduced shows the Great Lakes, especially Erie or the Cat with the Sandusky and Maumee rivers well located. This map also gives the location of the Indian tribes including the Eries or Cat nation south of the eastern section of Lake Erie.

of his probable route in reaching the Ohio River. This previous mention of La Salle is made in speculating as to who was the first white man to appear on the Maumee and Sandusky rivers and reference thereto is made without a detailed repetition. However, as the Indian town of Otinawatawa was near the headwaters of the Grand River, Ontario, La Salle probably canoed down that river to Lake Erie, skirted around the foot of Erie back to opposite Lake Chautauqua, portaged across to that lake, from where he reached the headwaters of the Ohio.

La Salle evidently gained some knowledge of the Maumee in his expedition. If he came down the Maumee on his return from discovering the Ohio it of course was from personal observation. According to Pierre Margry, Paris, curator of the archives of the Ministry of Marine, La Salle wrote in 1680: "There is at the end of Lake Erie, ten leagues below the straits, (Detroit) a river (the Maumee) by which we could shorten the route to the Illinois very much. It is navigable to canoes to within two leagues of the route now in use." La Salle again wrote in 1682: "I could no longer go by the Illinois but by the lakes Huron and Illinois, as the other routes *I have discovered* by the head of Lake Erie and by the southern coast of the same, have become too dangerous by frequent encounters with the Iroquois who are always on that shore."

In 1672, the Count de Frontenac succeeded Courcelle as governor-general of Canada. Frontenac was an enthusiastic territorial expansionist. New France had not developed as much as hoped for, while the English colonies had assumed comparatively gigantic proportions. To further his policy, Frontenac selected the experienced Joliet and the dependable Jesuit missionary Jacques Marquette. In two canoes and with five Indians to ply the oars, they followed the northern shores of Lake Michigan, arrived at the headwaters of Green Bay, negotiated the Fox River, crossed Lake Winnebago, followed up the river, portaged to the Wisconsin and reached the Mississippi. Down this great waterway they floated past the mouth of the Missouri, the Ohio and the Arkansas until they feared to proceed farther on account of the savages and Spaniards. One important question decided was, that the Mississippi evidently ran to the Gulf of Mexico and not to the Vermillion Sea (Pacific) nor to the Atlantic. Says the late Ohio historian, E. O. Randall: "In dauntless perseverance, in religious devotion, in self-abnegation and sacrifice for the advancement of the Cross, no name in French-American an-

nals shines with greater luster than that of Pere Marquette, the pious Jesuit, who breathed his last, gazing upon a crucifix and murmuring a prayer" on the shore of Lake Michigan, in a crude bark hut.

Count Frontenac, in order that France might hold her grip on her new possessions, favored the building of posts and forts about this territory, and in the fall of 1674 sent La Salle to France to gain consent to the project. The king received La Salle with favor and a title and granted him the site for Fort Frontenac and upon his return he built the stronghold of that name. The location was on the site of present Kingston at the mouth of Cataroqui River. A second trip to Paris was made to gain permission to build other forts and this request was also granted. He brought with him on his return Henri de Tonty, an adventurous Italian with Military experience, and Louis Hennepin, a Friar of the Franciscan order, ready to aid his country in her new possessions.

One of La Salle's first acts was to build a blockhouse at the mouth of the Niagara River, the site of the later Fort Niagara. He also added fame to himself by ordering built on the Niagara River about six miles above the falls under the supervision of Tonty and Hennepin, a wooden vessel of about fifty tons burden. Blessed by Father Hennepin in the spring of 1679, the craft, christened the *Griffin*, was successfully launched. She had an armament of five guns and as the first ship on the Great Lakes had a short career. La Salle accompanied by Hennepin and Tonty sailed with her around to Lake Michigan. At an island at the entrance of Green Bay she was loaded with furs and under La Salle's orders started on the return voyage to Niagara. La Salle, Hennepin and Tonty did not sail with her. The *Griffin* was never heard of again. Her crew must have gone down with her.

La Salle, Hennepin and Tonty with a party of Indians, in a flotilla of canoes, skirted the west shore of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the (state of Wisconsin) St. Joseph River, also called the Miami. Here, in November, 1679, they built a fort La Salle called Fort Miami where were left a few Frenchmen. The main expedition ascended the St. Joseph (Miami), portaged to the Kankakee and reached the Illinois down which they floated to near present Peoria.

Just here it is pertinent to state that it is claimed by many historians that in 1680, under the orders of Governor-General

Frontenac, a fort or small stockade was built by the French on the west bank of the lower Maumee (Miami of the lake) within the limits of now Maumee City above Toledo. This claim, however, is believed untenable, and that these writers who have claimed the erection of the lower Maumee Fort Miami, confuse it with the one built by La Salle on the St. Joseph or Miami River of Lake Michigan, or the Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee, built by the French by order of the governor of Canada in the year 1686, on the right bank of the River St. Marys within the limits of the present city of Fort Wayne, Indiana.

The first fort at Detroit, Fort Pontchartrain, was built by Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac in 1701. Cadillac is called the founder of Detroit. Other forts in the lake region besides those already noted were, Ste. Marie at the Sault Rapids, and Mackinac on the straits between lakes Huron and Michigan.

The story of La Salle is now curtailed to pass on to later matters, all a background to the story of the Maumee and the Sandusky. He continued his wide range of explorations and finally reached the mouth of the Mississippi where he erected a wooden column, April 1682, upon which was placed the arms of France. A proclamation was read in the name of Louis the Great, taking formal possession of the country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors and all natives and peoples and in fact almost everything which could be named, comprised within said Louisiana as far north as the mouth of the Ohio and the great river St. Louis. It is unnecessary to closely define the territory named in the proclamation, for it was only a spectacular claim of high sounding words. He returned up the Mississippi and on the Illinois built Fort St. Louis where he remained a year. The fort became the central gathering point of a surrounding territory with four thousand warriors and twenty thousand Indians.

La Salle's troubles began with a change in the head of the government of New France, antagonistic to him. He went to Paris again and this time asked for an outfit to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi to hold that territory for France as against the claims of Spain. He was successful as usual and sailed for the Gulf of Mexico with four ships and a hundred soldiers, together with mechanics, laborers and adventurers. Reaching the gulf, the fleet lost its bearings and confused by the inlets and lagoons, could not find their way in. Two ships were wrecked and one with mutinous men sailed back to France. In a little harbor of Matagorda Bay on the shore of

now Texas, La Salle found shelter for such of his followers as remained faithful. Amidst dangers, misery, poverty, and disease, for three years the dwindling band groped about without finding the place of their search. Twice, in desperation, they set out with the object of finding their way across the vast country to Quebec, only to return to their desolate quarters on the beach, more confounded and bewildered. Crazed by the situation, treachery and murder began and finally the climax. On a day in March, 1687, some seventeen years after his discovery of the Ohio, La Salle became one of the victims. He was shot by one of the desperate men among his once faithful followers. As so often the history of a great explorer, the end was a tragedy.

Coming down well into the eighteenth century, although they had not begun colonization of the Ohio region, the French considered their title clear to the vast Great Lakes territory by virtue of exploration, practical possession and occupancy. They counted the Allegheny and Appalachian ranges as the barrier to the English. With other territory, Ohio, which had been claimed by the Spaniard by virtue of the earliest American discoveries, had passed to France. But the latter's great weakness was their sparse population. About the year 1700, the French population of Canada did not exceed sixteen thousand, while the total number of English colonists reached about four hundred thousand. This fact will have a bearing on the story as it unfolds.

The English did not grant the French claims of western title, for the charter grants of the British Crown included their territorial rights from "sea to sea," and when the time was ripe, they planned to assert these rights to the lands west of the Alleghenies, including the Maumee and Sandusky country. While the Maumee and the Sandusky and Scioto had long been used for travel, especially by the Indian, the interior had not been explored by either the French or English. The time, however, was not far distant when the contest would be on in earnest in this matter.

The background to the part played by France in this story leading toward the Maumee and Sandusky valleys has been given. Now what of the English? The voyages of the Cabots, the expedition of Sir Walter Raleigh, and others, and the founding of Jamestown have been told about. The years since then have been working wondrous changes in this newly discovered country from the Carolinas to the northern borders of New England and from the Atlantic shore back to the Alleghenies and the Appalachians.

CHAPTER IX

PERMANENT FOOTHOLD OF THE ENGLISH

JAMESTOWN SETTLEMENT—HENDRIK HUDSON—THE "PILGRIM FATHERS"—COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND—EARLY NEW ENGLAND AND SEABOARD SETTLEMENTS—CONFLICTS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—TREATIES OF RYSWICK AND AIX LA CHAPELLE—DETROIT FOUNDED—THE CONTEST NARROWS.

The Jamestown settlement (1607) was "the nucleus from which the mighty Republic, our common country as it now exists, germinated." The first representative assembly met at Jamestown, July 30, 1619. It was also the first representative government in America. In 1623 the Virginia colony numbered 2,500 and began the offensive against the Indians with various results. In 1624, the charter of the London Company under which the region was colonized, was revoked and the colony became a Royal Province. Despite varying fortunes, the settlement prospered and in 1648 numbered 20,000 people.

It was in 1609 that the Dutch East India Company sent out Hendrik Hudson. On August 28 that year he discovered the Delaware Bay, and on September 3rd entered the lower New York Bay, and passing up the Hudson River, named the country New Netherlands. Strange to say, in 1540, French fur traders had founded a settlement on Manhattan Island and in 1554 an expedition explored the Sound and Hudson River. But in 1555 they abandoned the field. In 1610 the site of New York City was occupied by the Dutch who built rude huts for the shelter of their sailors. In 1614 the Dutch States General granted a four years monopoly to traders with America and they built a fort on Manhattan Island and named the settlement New Amsterdam. In 1615, they established a settlement at Albany and at one or two other points. The French also appeared farther north and by permission of the Indians established a French colony on Mt. Desert Island, Maine, but Governor Argall captured the settlers and also destroyed the abandoned French foothold at Port Royal, now North Carolina. Thus the French activity along the Atlantic coast within the present boundaries of the United States was frustrated.

The story of the "Pilgrim Fathers" so well known at every fireside, may be referred to. They selected this country as a refuge from persecution in Holland, from where they set sail and touching New England stopped to receive recruits. They sighted land in November 1620, moored in Cape Cod harbor and adopted a constitution while yet on board. They landed at Plymouth Rock December 21 and John Carver was chosen governor, with Miles Standish, military commandant. In the following April the *Mayflower* returned to England. A patent was granted to colonize New England between 40 and 48 degrees north latitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This grant of course included lands claimed by the French. Until the war between England and France the Dutch and English were the main factors in colonization in the present United States territory.

The progress of the Plymouth colony even after they became freeholders and took a wider range, was very slow. Ten years after their landing they numbered only three hundred. The governor was chosen by popular suffrage and for eighteen years the entire male population constituted the legislature. In 1692 the colony was annexed to Massachusetts.

It was in 1620 that King James had incorporated a company for the colonization of New England. Under the direction of Sir Fernando Gorges, the company obtained a grant between latitude 40 to the 48th parallel. In 1622 the company made a sub-grant to two of their number, Mason and Gorges, between the St. Lawrence, Kennebec, Merrimac and the ocean. In 1831, Mason named his grant New Hampshire and Gorges named his possession Maine. It was in 1628 important developments began in the territory of Massachusetts. Twenty-five emigrants under John Endicott came to Salem and joined Roger Conant, its founder. The following year the settlement received its celebrated charter as the Massachusetts Bay Company. Matthew Craddock was chosen the first governor. In June 1629, the colony was joined by 200 emigrants, who finding the accommodations not to their liking founded Charlestown, where Puritanism was proclaimed the fundamental faith. Separatists, receiving their name from the fact that they had withdrawn from the Church of England, had founded the Plymouth colony, while the Puritans who established Salem remained with the church endeavoring to rid it of what they considered objectionable practices. The distinction was the cause of the long list of religious persecutions in the colonies following. A short time after John

Winthrop was chosen governor, over four hundred new arrivals from England joined the colony. He founded Boston in 1630 and Roger Williams founded Providence in 1638.

Maryland was granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632, and in 1638 Delaware was settled near Wilmington by Swedes and Finns—New Sweden.

The constitution for the colony of Connecticut adopted January 14, 1639, was the first American written constitution formed "by the people and for the people." Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield were within its jurisdiction.

In May, 1643, the General Court of Massachusetts appointed a commission to treat with New Haven concerning drafting a basis for the federation of the New England colonies. The work was soon completed and a federation was established under the title of the United Colonies of New England—an offensive and defensive league. John Winthrop was the first president. One article of the constitution was defending slavery.

Passing through the process of development and turmoil, when James II became the English king, he had a change of heart and policy, and nullified much of what he had done in the colonies while Duke of York, and the burden of taxation, the great cause of strife between the colonies and the ruling country, was heavily applied. Sir Edmund Andros was made governor of the New England colonies, was instructed to seize their charter and consolidate all the provinces under a single jurisdiction. Boston was made the capital. When the attempt was made to seize the charter of Connecticut the document was hidden in a tree—the celebrated Charter Oak, to be brought to light again after Andros was deposed.

The first settlement in now North Carolina was made under George Caithmaid on the Chowan River, a portion then of the domain of Virginia, but Governor Berkeley made it into a separate government with William Drummond as governor. A patent granted in 1663 to Carolina had been declared void and was granted to eight proprietaries. Spain comes into the picture here as France did in the Maine section, and claimed the territory granted. The adjustment came later. The Clarenden colony permanently settled near now Wilmington, N. C., in 1665. The Carteret colony settled on Ashly River, near now Charleston, South Carolina, in 1670. The Carolinas were divided in 1729. Thus is given a brief review of some of the more promi-

nent early settlements of the new colonies and now as to Pennsylvania.

The grant of the territory later named Pennsylvania was made by Charles II in 1681 to William Penn. It carried with it complete proprietorship and dominion except as to the king's sovereignty. Penn immediately placed the lands on the market. He made it a "free colony for all mankind." At the time Penn took possession, there were on the western banks of the Delaware some 6,000 English, Dutch and Swedes, where a settlement was opened in 1638. Penn opened his lands to the settlement of the people of all nations and of all creeds—"English Quakers, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, German Mennonites, French Huguenots, men of all religions" were alike welcome. The population increased a thousand a year and then two thousand and by about 1750 there was a population of some 200,000. The matter of public defense was curtailed by the Quaker sentiment until the Indians became the allies of the French, when this sentiment changed and about 1744, provision was made against the French and Indian aggression, and later, defense in the war with Great Britain. It was in the beginning of 1683 that Penn formulated plans for a town which is now Philadelphia. In March that year the colonial Legislature met in the newly founded town to draft and put into effect a charter of liberty for the province.

Beset by sore internal problems, came mutterings of serious outside dangers heretofore referred to, in the gradual narrowing of the wilderness gap between the English and French. In the events which followed, the colonies were involved and were the sufferers for a long period. King William's war with France started in 1689 and lasted eight years. Port Royal was captured by Massachusetts troops but on peace being declared was restored. The treaty of Ryswick, between England and France and Spain and other interested nations, confirmed to the French the two great valleys she claimed by discovery, the St. Lawrence with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi which embraced Ohio, including the valleys of the Maumee and Sandusky. Queen Anne's war begun by Great Britain against France involving Spain, in 1702, continued for eleven years, during which Port Royal was again captured and held. During these conflicts the northern colonies were sorely beset by the Indians, allies of the French, and subject to the horrors of savage warfare. By the treaty of Utrecht, ending the Queen Anne's war, one stipulation was, that "the subjects of France inhabiting Canada, and others,

shall hereafter give no hindrance or molestation to the Five Nations (Indians) subject to the dominion of Great Britain." As observed "As between France and England the confederated Indians were, therefore, to be considered as subjects of England and of course the British dominion was co-extensive with the rightful territory of the Five Nations; consequently, it became the policy of France to diminish and England to enlarge this territory." In the Utrecht treaty, the great region of the Mississippi Valley was confirmed to France as against Spain and England. King George's war against France and other nations also involved the French and English in America. There was some conflict at sea and many border engagements. The colonists took Louisburg, but the fortress was returned when the treaty of Aix la Chapelle was made (1748) ending the conflict. By this treaty the boundary controversy concerning the English and French possessions in America was left without settlement and to be taken up in the future by a commission. There was much dissatisfaction in the American colonies over this phase of the treaty.

Whenever the opportunity offered, when the psychological moment arrived, the English all this time, were telling plausible stories to the Indians, suggesting or making treaties and "insiduously casting their lines to entrap the proprietary rights of the Indians, whatever those rights might be, and were shrewdly laying their plans to circumvent the encroachment of the French." Illustrating this policy England made a treaty with the representatives of the Five Nations at Albany in 1701, the very year the French founded Detroit and built a fort there, whereby this Indian confederacy purported to surrender lands 800 miles in length and 400 miles in width which included most of the territory "between the Ottawa River, Canada, the Great Lakes and a strip between the southern end of Lake Michigan and the western end of Lake Erie." The Indians reserved in these lands their hunting rights. Another council was held at Albany with the Indians concerning the foregoing treaty in 1726. However, the confederacy evidently considered this agreement a mere scrap of paper.

In 1721, Governor Spotswood of Virginia proposed to the Board of Trade, London, that the British negotiate a treaty with the Miamis on the Maumee, permitting the English to build a fort on Lake Erie and trade with the Ohio Indians. While the arrangement was not carried out officially, it is said that in 1723,

a company of Miami Indians, from the Maumee section, passed down and up that river to New York, to invite British traders to continue coming to the Maumee with goods and supplies. This is in line with a visit made by the Miamis of the Maumee over the same route when they called on the New York governor at Albany to arrange trading connections and peace terms. At another council at Lancaster, Pa., in 1744 between representatives of the provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland and chiefs from the Six Nations, the latter were informed that if they held any legitimate rights to lands on the Virginia borders the colonists would recompense them for it. The Indians admitted the colonists had a right to some parts of Virginia but as to the lands lying beyond the mountains, if the Virginians "ever got a good right to it, it must be from us." From the report of the proceedings the Iroquois gave up title to "all lands that are or shall be by his Majesty's appointment in the colony of Virginia"—the lands from the Virginia frontier to the Ohio. The Virginia Charter, however, through the interpretation of its terms, claimed nearly all of Ohio and most of the country west of the Mississippi.

The French, fully informed of the policy of England and their progress, were not dilatory to their own interests. While the English were making treaties the French were building forts. They had made explorations over the St. Lawrence basin, the Great Lakes and the valley of the Mississippi and had fortified their discoveries and frontiers "from Quebec to New Orleans." With the Alleghenies and Appalachian ranges as the English barrier to western encroachment, the French with the Indians as allies, appeared to have the better of the argument, concerning the possession of the Ohio country and the Maumee and Sandusky regions.

The time had arrived, however, when this barrier was being surmounted by the English. Hardy adventurers from Pennsylvania, New York and Maryland had visited the rivers of Ohio and even reached the Mississippi and the northwest and Lake Superior. This is claimed by Gordon's History of Pennsylvania which says that around 1740, traders from the Virginia colonies "went among the Indians on the Ohio and tributary streams to deal for peltries."

CHAPTER X

CONTEST FOR POSSESSION OF OHIO COUNTRY

CHARACTER OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH—FIRST CLASH AT MOUTH OF SANDUSKY—THE NICHOLAS CONSPIRACY—FORTS SANDOSKI AND JUNUNDAT—FRENCH ESTABLISH FORT AT PRESQUE ISLE (ERIE, PA.) AND DUQUESNE AND JUNUNDAT—ENGLISH ADVANCE UPON NOW OHIO—ORGANIZE OHIO LAND COMPANY.

The thread of this story has been followed through until the Ohio country and the Maumee and Sandusky is now reached. What follows will be better understood by the background that has been given, and by an outline of general conditions from 1680 up to about 1745 here presented.

At this latter date New France (Canada) had a population of about 70,000 while the population of the continental colonies made up of English, Scotch, Irish, Swedes, and Germans; the English, greatly predominating, had reached in the neighborhood of 1,000,000 besides 200,000 blacks. The white population was a million and a half in 1760, fairly well divided between New England, the Middle colonies and the southern plantations. Prosperity had kept pace with the increase in population.

The Frenchman in the new world was a trader, a fur dealer and a fisherman, and did not possess the element of permanency as did the English colonist. He did not vision the future, or if he did was unwilling to sacrifice the present for its fruits. His attraction was exploration and in this he surpassed the English by extending his authority over the vast interior and northwest. In the conditions of progress there was the element of geographic situation and climate. The English colonial possessions were more adapted to soil tillage, and also to commerce and the industries. It was more attractive to immigration. Between 1680 and 1700 there were great strides. Clearings were made in the forest, homes built and agriculture became an important factor. Industries rapidly sprang up, followed by foreign trade. As early as 1679, Boston had men of wealth and "homes as handsomely furnished as most in London." In 1680 more than one hundred ships were in trade at the bay carrying cargoes of lum-

ber, fish and provisions to southern Europe and the Madeiras and the West Indies. New York, Philadelphia and Boston merchants exported the products of the farmers of the middle and northern colonies to the West Indies. There was extensive ship building at Boston and Newport. Rum was an important product of manufacture and export. Planters and merchants of the South had their London agents, and themselves visited the foreign markets. They built fine residences modeled after English architecture. Returning ships brought back products of English manufacture and merchants kept in touch with the world markets. The country abounded in ore and men were becoming adepts at the furnace and forge. Religious tolerance was broadening, the local seats of higher education, Harvard and Yale, were taking the place of old Oxford and Cambridge. People of affairs watched the political situation and the social affairs of their ancestral abode. Free schools and the periodical press had come into existence and there was progress and development along many lines. All this at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The progress up to 1745 was even greater.

In 1740 there were eleven newspapers in the Colonies. New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other places were taking the form of important cities and rural expansion kept pace. The population was around the two million mark and the colonies began to make comparisons with England herself.

"As to the characteristics of the Frenchman and Englishman in America," Parkman observed that the Frenchman was an apt scholar in the ways of forest and river adaptation, and that "one great fact stands out in Canadian history—the Church of Rome. More even than the royal power, she shaped the character and the destinies of the colony. She was its nurse and almost its mother; and, wayward and headstrong as it was, it never broke the ties of faith that held it to her. * * * The royal government was transient; the Church was permanent. The English conquest shattered the whole apparatus of administration at a single blow, but it left her untouched. Governors, intendants, councils and commandants, all were gone; the principal seigniors fled the colony; and a people who had never learned to control themselves or help themselves were suddenly left to their own devices. Confusion if not anarchy would have followed but for the parish priests, who, in a character of double paternity, half spiritual and half temporal, became more than ever the guardians of order throughout Canada. The English conquest was the

grand crisis of Canadian history. It was the beginning of a new life. With England came Protestantism, and the Canadian Church grew purer and better in the presence of an adverse faith. Material growth; an increased mental activity; an education, real though fenced and guarded; a warm and genuine patriotism—all date from the peace of 1763."

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century, there had been no serious attempts at settlements this side of the mountainous barriers, except a few scattered cabins in western Virginia. But on the borders of now Ohio the hardy frontiersmen were knocking for admission and risking the tomahawk of the savage in their adventures and hunting expeditions with views of permanency. Yet this frontier situation was not created alone by the movement of colonial population westward. It was the goal of foreign prospectors as well, who came to America by the thousands.

The first clash between the French and English in the contest to gain possession of now Ohio territory took place at the mouth of Sandusky Bay. At this place a Huron chief Orontony, baptismal name Nicholas, had settled with his Wyandot followers. The band had come from the Detroit region, on account of troubles with the French. In consequence, Nicholas made threats of the latter's destruction. He courted the aid of the English, who had, as heretofore indicated, desired a foothold south of Lake Erie. In 1745, Nicholas permitted the Pennsylvania colonists to build at his town a blockhouse and trading post called Fort Sandoski. It was located at the head of Sandusky Bay on the west bank and west of the mouth of Sandusky River, where the portage trail crossed the peninsula from the bay to the mouth of the Portage River, Lake Erie. The site is near Port Clinton, Ottawa County. This was the first post or fort built by the white man in present Ohio. A previous statement has disposed of the alleged Fort Miami on the lower Maumee River, confused with another Fort Miami built by La Salle on Lake Michigan.

This concession of Chief Nicholas and his permission to the English to carry on trade with the Indian tribes, on reaching the ear of De Longueuil, the Detroit commandant, who relayed the information to the Canadian governor-general, caused much concern. To further vent his bitterness toward the French, Nicholas planned a great conspiracy. He called to his aid the "Iroquois of the West," the Hurons, Miamis, Ottawas, Shawnees, Chippewas, Sioux, Pottawattomies and other tribal bands. The

purpose of this formidable force was the extermination of the French at Detroit and the lake posts. Detailed plans were laid with precision. The great scheme, however, was frustrated by the premature murder of French traders in the Detroit and Sandusky region, arousing suspicion. When the decisive blow was about to be struck, a Huron squaw betrayed the conspirators by unfolding the scheme to a Jesuit missionary. Detroit was reinforced by the timely arrival of 150 soldiers from Montreal and the situation was saved. Some other forts were attacked, a few captives killed and property destroyed. Proceeding to Detroit, upon the promise of severing his alliance with the English and keeping the peace thereafter, Nicholas secured immunity for himself and the Wyandots of the Sandusky. In the winter of 1747-48, Nicholas, however, permitted two separate delegations of English traders from Philadelphia to visit his town and allowed them to trade with the Wyandots, receiving as a favor therefor wampum belts and goods. These acts settled the matter with the French and La Jonquiere, then governor of New France ordered Nicholas suppressed. De Longueuil through a Detroit officer notified Nicholas of the ultimatum and all the English traders were ordered to leave. The old chief then destroyed the stockade and his villages, and with 119 warriors and their families, removed to the White River, now in Indiana. Soon after Nicholas withdrew to the Ohio River in Illinois where he died in the autumn of 1748. In this conspiracy which the Miamis joined, they captured and practically destroyed Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee River—Fort Wayne, which was immediately reconstructed and again later rebuilt after plans furnished by Father Bonnecamps, when the latter arrived there with the Celoron expedition, the year after Chief Nicholas died, and referred to later.

The English, however, knowing the importance of this entering wedge into the Ohio and Sandusky region, their traders again returned to the scene and rebuilt Fort Sandoski about 1750. La Jonquiere, the governor of Canada, was naturally aroused by this alleged indignity and took definite steps to suppress the encroachment of their rivals. His predecessor had before him advised the immigration of ten thousand peasants from France to settle in the Ohio section in order to preempt the land and counteract the English invasion. Events happened so rapidly that this project could not be carried out. But upon the arrival of the Celoron expedition, which had encircled most of Ohio at Detroit,

Celoron was made the commandant of that post and formal claim was made to the territory he had encircled. The English traders evidently fled from Fort Sandoski, for it was "usurped by the French" in 1751. Following this, in 1753, a force of twelve hundred French from Montreal built among other military posts a fort at Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.), in 1754, Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburgh), and in 1754, Fort Junundat on the right bank of the Sandusky River, across the head of Sandusky Bay and east of old Fort Sandoski. Christopher Gist, the land surveyor for the Ohio Company, which project will soon be taken up, in 1750 refers to Fort Sandoski when he says that "Two traders belonging to Mr. Croghan came into town and informed us that two of his people had been taken by forty Frenchmen and twenty Indians, who carried them with seven horse loads of skins to a new fort the French were building on one of the branches of Lake Erie." This George Croghan, an English trader, had a trading post on the Cuyahoga River and figures largely in events later on. When Fort Junundat was built by the French they abandoned Fort Sandoski, but the latter was rebuilt by British soldiers in 1781, after the surrender of Quebec to the English and the end of French sovereignty in America. It was finally destroyed at the outbreak of Pontiac's conspiracy, May 18, 1783, when the fort was burned and the entire English garrison was murdered except the commandant, Ensign Pauli.

In their indefatigable research work concerning early Ohio history, Col. Webb C. Hayes of Fremont and Mr. Charles W. Burrows, in 1906, on a visit to Quebec, discovered in the archives of Laval University, the original journals of Chevalier Chaussegros de Lery, an engineer of the French army, which give definite information as to the location of old Fort Sandoski. De Lery was ordered to accompany a French expedition from Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.) to Detroit and Mackinac in the summer of 1754. There were twenty-seven canoes, carrying 270 men with their provisions. His journal shows that the expedition on Sunday, August 4, 1754, reached the Sandusky River which he calls "Lac Otsandoske" and found the ruins of the old fort at the site that has been mentioned.

Before passing to the next phase of this story, a little speculation is indulged in. First, what would this narrative be, had the French landed at Jamestown and Plymouth Rock and in New York harbor instead of in the St. Lawrence region, and pursued their explorations from these points into the interior as per-

sistently and zealously as they did up the St. Lawrence, about the Great Lakes and to the interior from that direction? Secondly, as suggested by the historian Galbreath, what if the plan recommended by Gallissonniere, governor of Canada, had been carried out and ten thousand French peasants, set down in the midst of the country northwest of the Ohio, say in the lower Maumee Valley and along the Sandusky? The proposition was not a particularly wild one and was not impossible of fulfillment. If, as Galbreath says, "it had not prevented the English from becoming the dominant power in America, it certainly lies within the sphere of probability that it would have materially changed the character of the population northwest of the Ohio River. It might have made the French element there numerically as dominant as it is today in Montreal and Quebec." This statement might have gone further and said that in all probability the border line between Canada and the United States would now be the Ohio. But the Canadian governor's idea was not carried out, the nearest thing to it being the Celoron expedition.

England claimed the territory north to the Great Lakes, while France laid claim to the lands as far south as the Ohio and also that drained by its southern tributaries. Both sides cultivated the good will of the Indians.

The earliest ambassadors for the colonies to the Indians in the Ohio country, were Conrad Weiser, a native of Germany, Andrew Montour and George Croghan the trader. Weiser left his home at Womelsdorf, Pa., crossed the Alleghenies on horseback in the summer of 1748 and boldly entered the Indian country. He reached the Allegheny River at Chartier's Old Town above now Pittsburgh, where he left his horse and took a canoe. He went down the river to Logstown on the Ohio about eighteen miles below the junction of the Allegheny and Monongehela. Logstown was one of the most important Indian trading centers in all that section. Here he met Montour, the son of an Oneida chief and "a half-breed beauty," Catharine Montour. Madam Montour was said to be the daughter of none other than Count de Frontenac of Canada and a Huron squaw. The Madam, so the story runs, was "brilliant and tactful," a prominent social figure at Philadelphia and influential in the councils between the French, the colonists, and the tribes. She spoke French and English and several Indian dialects. French Margaret for whom the Indian town on the Big Hocking was named, site of now Lan-

caster, Ohio, was supposed to be the daughter of Catharine Montour.

Weiser's journey was most successful. Together with Croghan and Montour, councils were held with various tribes, the distribution of presents aiding the good feeling. At the same time Weiser, Croghan and Montour were sowing friendly seed among the tribes in the councils at Logstown (1748) where Croghan had established a trading post, there was being organized a most important project with the same end in view. It was no less than what was known as the "Ohio Company" or "Ohio Land Company" of Virginia. Among the charter members were John Hanby of London, a Quaker merchant; Thomas Lee, a member of the Virginia Colonial Council and a judge of the Supreme Court of Judicature; Col. Thomas Cressap; Lawrence Washington, half brother of George; and George Fairfax. The company petitioned the English crown for a grant of 500,000 acres of land lying in the Ohio River Valley between the Monongahela and the Great Kanawha. It could be selected from either side of the Ohio and a part proposed to be taken was within now Jefferson and Columbiana counties in Ohio and in Brooke County, West Virginia. Two thousand acres were to be appropriated immediately, one hundred families were to be located within seven years and a fort built by the company to protect the settlers against the Indians. It was represented to the King that the project by its location would enable the colonists to easier gain the good will and friendliness of the Indians and establish with the tribes a wider and more profitable trade; also that it would aid in cutting off the communication of the French on the Great Lakes with the Mississippi. The King of England was immediately favorable to the project and the Royal government issued the Ohio Company its charter in 1749 and the governor of Virginia made a grant of 200,000 acres.

Like many of such early enterprises which came into the minds of both the English and French, the lands were never located or settled as projected. However, a post was established at Wills Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, to open communication with the Monongahela, and the confluence of that river with the Allegheny (Pittsburgh), was chosen as the site for a fort. A large shipment of goods from England was ordered and Christopher Gist selected as the company's explorer.

CHAPTER XI

THE CELORON EXPEDITION

ENCIRCLES MOST OF NOW OHIO TO CLINCH FRENCH CLAIMS—PLANTS LEADEN PLATES—DESCRIPTION OF THEIR JOURNEY DOWN THE MAUMEE RIVER—THE RESULT.

Watching closely and with a jealous attitude the operations of the English, it was up to the French to make some move to protect their alleged rights to the lands south of the Great Lakes. France, it will be repeated, claimed this territory south to the Ohio and also the land drained by the southern tributaries of this stream by possession and by virtue of the treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix la Chapelle. To reassert their rights by formal possession and to warn the English traders and encroaching interests to withdraw from the Ohio Valley, and again to influence the Indians to trade only with the French, there was exploited what is known as the Celoron expedition. It was in the spring of 1749, that the then governor of Canada, Gallissonniere, ordered Capt. Bienville de Celoron with a sufficient force, to proceed to the Ohio River and following its course carry out by appropriate formalities the expedition's purpose. The total number in the party was 271. There were eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty-five Abenak Indians. De Villiers and De Contrecoeur were Celoron's chief assistants. Phillip Thomas Joncaire was the diplomat and Father Pierre Jean de Bonnecamps, Chaplain, who was also the sailing master of the company and had knowledge in civil engineering. The original manuscripts of the expedition are among the Archives Marine, Paris, and while the Jesuit Relations reports the matter, the facts here come from the translation of the complete published journals of Celoron and Father Bonnecamps.

The expedition embarked in twenty birch bark canoes from La Chine, just above Montreal, paddled up the St. Lawrence, crossed Ontario to Niagara, portaged around the falls with their canoes on their backs, reembarking on Lake Erie. On the way up the rapids of the St. Lawrence, M. Joncaire's canoe was broken and one man drowned, the only casualty on the whole

journey. Other canoes were badly damaged. Before crossing to Lake Erie, Celoron had a conversation with M. de Sabrinois "who was going as commander at Detroit." Celoron sent a letter to M. Longueuil at Detroit by Sabrinois to have scouts meet Celoron "from the 9th to the 12th of August" at the mouth of the Scioto River, to inform him as to whether any Indians of Detroit were coming on to join him. Later statements about these scouts meeting Celoron at the appointed place will show the remarkable timing of Celoron in reaching the various stations of his journey, and how well the various sections so wide apart in a new and wild country kept informed as to the movements of the various detachments or parties circulating here and there through hundreds of miles of unbroken forests.

Canoeing around the edge of Lake Erie the flotilla landed at the mouth of Chautauqua Creek which they negotiated partly by portage to Chautauqua Lake, after tarrying for a time for rest and to repair the canoes. It was July 22, that the expedition reached Conewango Creek, which connects Lake Chautauqua with the Allegheny River at now Warren, Pennsylvania. As the expedition progressed, they came upon the Indians who fled from their villages, evidently believing that the French were coming to make war upon them and dispossess them of their homes and lands. Celoron was greatly disturbed, for one of his objects was to gain the friendliness of the tribes and secure their favor towards the French. To rid the minds of the Indians of their fears, Joncaire the diplomat, who was a half-breed Iroquois, with a party of five Indians was sent forward among the natives to assure them that it was the purpose of the French leader to "treat with them of good things and to explain to them the sentiment of their father Onontio."

On July 29, the expedition entered the Allegheny River and here buried a leaden plate at the mouth of Conewango Creek, Celoron called the Kanaaiagon, the first of several plates buried. The burial of these plates, with attendant impressive ceremonies was the method Celoron used in taking formal possession of the country in the name of the King of France. These leaden deposits were eleven inches long, seven and one-half inches broad and one-eighth of an inch thick. The inscription on all of them was practically the same, only as to the wording of the location of their burial. The inscription on the first plate translated from the French read as follows:

"In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis the XV, King of

France, we, Celoron, commander of the detachment sent by M. the Marquis de la Galissoniere, Governor General of New France, to reestablish peace in some villages of these Cantons, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and the Kanaaiagon, the 29th of July, for a monument of the renewal of possession which we have taken of the said river Ohio, and of all those which fall into it, and of all the territories on both sides as far as the source of said rivers, as the preceding Kings of France have possessed or should possess them, and as they are maintained therein by arms and by treaties, and especially by those of Riswick, Utrecht and of Aix la Chapelle; have moreover affixed to a tree the arms of the King. In testimony whereof, we have drawn up and signed the present record. Made at the entrance of the Beautiful River, the 29th day of July, 1749. All the officers signed."

And what a spectacular ceremony and method! It could have been conceived only by a Frenchman. Celoron, by the way, considered the Allegheny as the headwaters of the "Oyo"—the Beautiful River.

The mission of Joncaire was evidently successful, for after the ceremony attendant upon the burial of the plate, a delegation of Indians arrived who had been visited by the diplomat and invited Celoron to visit their village. They were given a draught of brandy from "Onontio," the name applied to the Canadian governor-general, and presented with tobacco. As the detachment reached the village, the Indians fired a salute in Celoron's honor which was returned. Presents of corn and squashes were made by the Indian women and speeches of good will and friendliness were exchanged, Celoron among other things saying: "I am surprised, my children, to see raised in your village a cabin destined to receive English traders. If you look upon yourselves as my children you will not continue this work; far from it you will destroy it, and will no longer receive the English in your homes." Later, Celoron received from two other villages an answer to his speech thanking him for having "opened their eyes and ears." With the oily tongued Englishman telling an opposite story, no wonder the savage was at a loss to know with which side to throw his influence. But he must have sensed something of what the coming of the white man would mean to him.

As Celoron proceeded down the river the Indians in most of the small villages fled to the back forests. An occasional English trader or blacksmith who had appeared among the villages also

left. Five miles below the mouth of French Creek, Celoron buried a second leaden plate. At Charterstown, the detachment came in contact with six English soldiers bound for Philadelphia with some fifty horses and one hundred and fifty bales of furs. Celoron notified them in writing to leave the territory and warned them that if they came again his government would confiscate their stock. At Written Rock the Indians again fled to the woods and more English traders encountered were notified to quit the locality.

At the important village of Logstown, where the English trader Croghan had previously established a trading post and where Montour and Weiser the English ambassadors had been, two French flags and a British flag were found floating over the town. By Celoron's order the British flag was cut down. There was evidence of a French unfriendliness, but realizing that they were not strong enough to combat Celoron's forces, they indicated their desire to obey his wishes. When the party left, the Indians expressed their good will, but asked that the English might remain until the French could send artisans and traders to replace them; indicating an English friendliness and that they had made themselves helpful. The expedition depended largely for their supply of food from game of the forest and there was disappointment at the scarcity of buffalo, although deer were quite plentiful. Sickness somewhat dampened the spirits of the party.

On August 13, the present Pennsylvania-Ohio line was crossed and a halt was made at probably Wheeling Creek entering the Ohio from the south and the third leaden plate was deposited. The fourth plate was deposited at the mouth of the Muskingum, which was reached August 15. This plate was discovered in 1798, after the settlement at Marietta, by boys swimming in the river, where the water had washed away the river bank. A considerable portion of the plate was melted into bullets before its historical importance was realized. It now rests in the rooms of the Antiquarian Society of Massachusetts. The fifth plate was buried at the mouth of the Kanawha. It was found by a boy in March, 1848, while playing about the site.

On approaching the mouth of the Scioto River, as that place was the stronghold of the warlike Shawnees, Celoron prepared for any eventuality. He learned from a lone Indian he hailed on the river bank that the Scioto town contained from eighty to one hundred cabins. As usual, Joncaire and three or four chiefs

were sent down to prepare the way. As a result, as the expedition was approaching carefully, they were met by a canoe bearing a white flag containing Joncaire, and seven Indians who had been induced to return with him. There was much parleying between the French and the Indians before the detachment finally came up to the village. The Shawnees had been told there was an enemy approaching to destroy them, and the natural suspicion and belligerency of the Shawnees was hard to overcome. The Indians had built a strong defense works of stone, and at one point in the proceedings they came near to the point of rising to an attack. A report came into the village by a runner that "all the nations of the narrows" (Detroit) were coming to fall upon them and that Celoron's visit was simply a ruse to detract the Shawnees' attention while the great enemy was approaching. The alarm was caused by the approach of the three Ontario couriers sent from Detroit by M. Sabrinois, as requested by Celoron before he left Canada, to meet the latter at the mouth of the Scioto "from the 9th to the 12th of August," to inform him as to whether any Indians of Detroit were coming on to join him. Local Scioto runners had arrived at the Shawnee town to inform Celoron that the three Ontario messengers "would not arrive for two days."

This is the incident specially called attention to earlier in this story of Celoron's tour. When the Detroit messengers arrived (about August 25), they brought Celoron two letters in which M. Sabrinois informed him that there was nothing serious to the "disposition of the Indians at Detroit," for the latter, although requested by M. Longueuil to march to the mouth of the Scioto, constantly refused to do so. Celoron gave the couriers some provisions and sent back to Detroit by them a letter to M. Sabrinois and "besought him to keep twenty canoes in reserve for me at the foot of the narrows [entrance to Detroit River—Editor] with provisions for my detachment, against the beginning of October."

It is well to say here that the couriers returned safely to Detroit, delivered the letter of request, and as will be seen later, Celoron and his party were promptly met by the canoes and provisions at the foot of the Detroit River at the time indicated.

Returning to the parley between Celoron and the Shawnees at the mouth of the Scioto, the situation was most precarious, but finally after a long parley, the Indians became somewhat reconciled and agreed to "listen to no more bad talk" and wished

the detachment well on their further journey. Before he left, Celoron summoned the English traders to appear and informed them that they had no right to trade "or aught else on the Beautiful River." He also wrote a letter to the governor of Carolina whom he "fully apprised of the danger his traders would expose themselves to, if they returned there." Celoron was ordered by the Canadian authorities to even "plunder the English" in this territory, but he did not consider his forces strong enough to do so, as the traders were well established in the villages and were well sustained by the Indians.

The expedition left the mouth of the Scioto on the morning of August 26, and the next day arrived at the mouth of the Little Miami River. Here some friendly Indians in a near-by village were communicated with by De Villiers and Celoron's son, and a party of these Indians were induced to accompany the detachment to the village of the Great Chief, the Demoiselle at the headwaters of the Great Miami. On the 29th Celoron sent a letter to M. Raimond, commander at the post at the head of the Maumee (Fort Wayne) "among the Miamis" requesting that as many horses as possible, be sent to the headwaters of the Great Miami to assist in "transporting the baggage across the portage of fifty leagues" to the Maumee. He also asked for an interpreter.

At the mouth of the Great Miami on the left bank, the sixth and last leaden plate was buried with the usual ceremony. Owing to the shallow water of the river it took thirteen days to reach the head of the Great Miami, half of the party proceeding by land. Learning of Celoron's approach, the Demoiselle sent his chiefs to meet him. The village was reached September 13. This noted chieftain, head of the Piankashaw band of the Miamis and ruler of the famous village, was called by the French "La Demoiselle" because of his gaudy dress. He was called by the English "Old Britain" by reason of his friendliness to the British. The place of this chief which was called Pickawillany, and located at the mouth of Loramie Creek, besides being a trading post was an important western Ohio country trail center. Celoron was desirous that the Miamis here remove to their early location about the head of the Maumee. The French wanted their removal there in order that they might be in handier communication with Detroit and better under French control. They seemed willing to make the change, but the idea was not carried out.

After the exchange of long talks and a week's stay, on Sep-

tember 20th, the French prepared to resume their journey. They burned their canoes and securing some ponies, set out across the portage to the head of the Maumee about seventy-five miles away. They arrived at the French post Miami under the command of M. Raimond on the 29th. They found the fort in very bad condition, most of the palisades decayed and fallen in ruins. Within were eight dilapidated huts, occupied by twenty-two French, all stricken with the fever. The commandant was not satisfied with the location and desired to build a new fort on the bank of the St. Joseph River about two and a half miles up. Father Bonnecamps did not have the time, as he says in his journal, to view the new site but drew plans for the new structure which M. Raimond later built and abandoned the old site. At this point Father Bonnecamps observes that "It was while with the Miamis that I learned that we had, a little before entering the River a la Roche (Great Miami) passed within two or three leagues of a famous salt springs where are skeletons of immense animals." He regrets not hearing of the place at the time he was near, that he might have visited it. This was the famous salt springs (lick) in Boone County, Kentucky, at which place bones of mastodons have been found in quantities.

The water was also very low in the Maumee. The detachment left present Fort Wayne site September 27th and reached Lake Erie October 5, 1749. On account of not having sufficient canoes and pirogues, a part of the force went by land with Indian guides. At the Maumee Rapids it was necessary to drag by main force the pirogues they had secured in place of birch-bark canoes they started with. Father Bonnecamps, however, says that "at intervals were found beautiful reaches of smooth water, and in the last six leagues the river is broad and deep, and seems to herald the grandeur of the lake into which it discharges its waters. We entered the lake on the 5th of October. On entering it there is to the left the bay of Onanguisse, which is said to be very deep. Soon after, one encounters to the right the Isles aux Serpents (islands where there are snakes). On the 6th, we arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River where we found canoes and provisions for our return."

The expedition is left at Detroit, although they finally reached Montreal. What a spectacle to have seen this flotilla pass down the Maumee, the French colors flying and the redoubtable Celoron leading the way. At the mouth of the river they must have hugged the east shore at Cedar Point, as Father

Bonnecamps speaks of the "Onanguisse Bay on the left"—Maumee Bay. Another point: It will be remembered as already emphasized, that when the expedition was at the Shawnee town, mouth of the Scioto, three couriers arrived there from Detroit with letters for Celoron. The captain sent by these couriers a letter in return to M. Sabrinois, requesting that they have canoes and provisions awaiting the expedition at the mouth of the Detroit River "by the beginning of October." It will be noted that this request was fully complied with.

The telling of the story of Celoron serves a double purpose. It not only shows the efforts of the French to counteract the operations of the English among the Indians of the Ohio region, but it shows that the English were busy in this territory in their attempt to gain the favor of the Indians. Celoron found English traders in the villages all along his Ohio journey; and they seemed to have a good standing. Celoron traveled altogether some three thousand miles, and "placarded the country with 'Keep Off' notices." As to his success, he said himself, that "the nations (Indians) of these countries (visited) are very ill disposed toward the French and are devoted entirely to the English."

CHAPTER XII

EXPEDITION OF CHRISTOPHER GIST

GIST WITH MONTOUR AND CROGHAN MAKE A TOUR FOR THE OHIO COMPANY—REACH PICKAWILLANY—MEET OLD BRITAIN—FRENCH DESTROY PICKAWILLANY—OLD BRITAIN MURDERED.

The contest of the English and French was like a game of chess. It was the colonies' next move. When the governor of Pennsylvania heard the news of Celoron's coming he sent George Croghan to the Ohio country to counteract whatever influence the French expedition might have and to hold the interests of the English among the Indians. Croghan reached Logstown on the Ohio River below the confluence of the Allegheny and the Monongahela the latter part of August, 1749, some ten days after the French had passed that way and where Celoron had the flying British colors chopped down. The Indians told Croghan about the plate burying and what Celoron had said about the English wanting to appropriate the Indian's country.

In the following summer (1750), evidently hearing of the proposed plan of M. Joncaire to follow Celoron to the Ohio country with valuable gifts for the Indians, and for the purpose of ejecting all the English traders, Conrad Weiser reported the matter to the authorities of Pennsylvania. Governor Hamilton selected Montour and Croghan to proceed to the Indians in the Miami region with presents, renew the friendly relations and give assurance of protection. They proceeded first to Logstown and went from there to the village of the Wyandots and Mingoes at the Muskingum forks of the Tuscarawas and Walhonding, where is now Coshocton. The villages contained about one hundred families, in all about five hundred Indians. They were about equally divided as to their fealty between the English and French. Croghan had a trading house here and when Montour and he arrived, sent out for all his traders from the surrounding region and raised the British flag over his trading house and over that of the head chief. While Croghan and Montour were thus engaged in strengthening the English status, there came into the town Christopher Gist, the agent of the Ohio Company. Gist

had been selected by the company to examine the western country as far as the "Falls of the Ohio" (Louisville) to look for a large tract of good land; to mark the passes in the mountains; to trace the courses of the rivers; to count the waterfalls; to observe the strength of the Indian nations; to draw a good plan of the country and make a report. In reaching the Muskingum Forks, Gist started October 5, 1750, from Thomas Cresap's Old Town on the Potomac (there were several places called Old Town), about fifteen miles east of Cumberland, Maryland. Through the wilderness he reached and crossed the Alleghenies and from Shannopins Town followed the river to Logstown. Here he found Croghan and Montour had preceded him. From Beaver Creek he passed into the interior through the present town of New Lisbon, then on to the junction of the Big Sandy and Tuscarawas and reached the Muskingum Wyandot town December 14. He remained at this place until January 15, 1751, and on Christmas day held religious exercises, reported as the first Protestant religious service ever held within the bounds of now Ohio. Croghan, Montour and Gist held councils with the Indians in the head chief's house over which the British flag waved and exploited the cause of the English.

The noted trio traveled on horseback. They went from the Muskingum five miles west to a town on White Woman's Creek, famed for the story of Mary Harris. From here their course led in a southerly direction through now Coshocton County near present Dresden and the Licking reservoir; to French Margaret's town, site of Lancaster, Fairfield County; over the Pickaway plains between Scippo Creek and the Scioto River, south of present Circleville, where, turning westward they reached the Scioto. All along the way they stopped at Indian villages and lodges. Following the Scioto they reached the Shawnee town on the Ohio, site of Portsmouth. This town, Gist reported, was located on both sides of the Ohio with "about three hundred men on the south side and one hundred men on the north side." There was on the north side a kind of state house about ninety feet long with a light cover of bark in which they held their councils. Croghan, Gist and Montour spent nearly two weeks here and held parley with the Shawnees in the state house, speeches being made around the banquet table by the Indians and their three visitors. Here as all along the route, the prospectors urged the Indians to keep faith with the English and were invited to attend the coming conference at Logstown.

On their travels from the Ohio to Pickawillany the town of Old Britain, one hundred and fifty miles away, and through a country no white man probably ever saw before, the travelers evidently passed through the present counties of Scioto, Adams, Highland, Fayette, Madison, Clarke and Logan. In this latter part of their journey, they crossed the Mad River and the Great Miami. Gist made careful observation of the geography of the country all the way. He observed the topography, the kinds of timber, the streams and the game. The great forests, together with the meadows of clover and blue grass, was the home of the elk, deer, buffalo, turkey, and other wild animals and smaller game. Herds of thirty and forty buffalo were seen feeding in a single meadow.

Pickawillany, the objective of the prospectors, was located on the headwaters of the Great Miami River, at the mouth of Loramie's Creek and near the line between present Shelby and Miami counties. Here Croghan, Gist and Montour were well received by the Piankashaw chief whom the English called Old Britain and who the French referred to as the Demoiselle. Gist reported about four hundred families here. The old chief requested that the English colors be raised over his house as the traders and white men joined in the welcome. As always, speeches were made, presents delivered and feasts spread.

In the midst of it all there appeared four Ottawa Indians from Detroit who had canoed up over the Maumee River route. They were representatives of the French. They came in carrying the French flag and were received at the council-house and Old Britain ran up the French colors alongside those of the English. With the preliminary of ample presents of brandy and tobacco, the Ottawas in glowing terms presented the rainbow tinted promises of France, urging the Indians to accept their extended hand. As the Ohio historian Randall put it: "A curious conclave on the banks of the Great Miami, in the Ohio capital of the western savage; a sort of miniature and mimic Field of the Cloth of Gold in which France and England contended in their respective displays of power and prodigality for the allegiance of the Indian tribes, as more than two centuries before, the courts of England and France met in the vale of Andreau and exhibited their rival splendors in order to win the favors of Spain."

At the conclusion of the conference the presents of the French were refused, the French colors lowered and the four Ottawa commissioners departed for the French fort at the head of the

Maumee River—Fort Miami, now Fort Wayne. After the French representatives left, a great dance in all kinds of weird costumes was held for the edification of Croghan, Gist and Montour. Croghan made a treaty with the Indians in the name of the authorities of Pennsylvania, accompanying the pact with valuable gifts, and Old Britain promised Gist that his people would attend the meeting later at Logstown, to make a treaty with Virginia. Gist here parted company with Croghan and Montour, the latter making their way in as direct a line as possible to Pennsylvania, while Gist returned by way of the mouth of the Scioto. Gist's sole attendant was a boy. He gave up the plan of going to the falls of the Ohio, and crossing rivers and passing through great forests and negotiating the mountains of Kentucky and Virginia, reached the Yadkin, his starting point, May 18, 1751. What hardy woodsmen, Croghan, Gist and Montour must have been to have made such a journey; going and coming through the wilderness of now Ohio and starting in the dead of winter with all its attendant hardships.

When Croghan and Montour reported the results of their tour to the governor of Pennsylvania, Hamilton sent them back to Logstown with presents to the value of $3,500 to further gain the favor of the Indians. Here Joncaire the diplomat of the Celoron expedition suddenly appeared from Canada, accompanied by a Frenchman and forty Iroquois. Joncaire appealed to the Indians to sever their association with the English and to drive the colonial traders from their lands. His proposals were indignantly refused. Goods were distributed by Croghan and the Indians agreed to remain steadfast to the English cause.

This meeting at Logstown was followed in May, 1752, by a more important gathering there attended by three commissioners from Virginia, together with Gist, Croghan, Montour and William Trent. The main purpose of this council was the confirmation of the treaty made at Lancaster in 1744, at which Virginia claimed the Indians had ceded to the English all the lands in the Virginia colony. The Indians assented to this claim and to the permission of white settlements south of the Ohio River; also permission to erect a fort at the forks of Ohio—later Fort Pitt, Pittsburgh.

A retaliatory measure proposed by the French that Celoron of the great expedition of 1749, now commandant at Detroit, proceed up the Maumee River he had once descended so gloriously and drive the English from the Miami country, was not

carried out. In his stead to do the work, was selected Charles Langlade, a half-breed son of a French officer, with M. St. Orr his assistant. With a small force of French soldiers and Canadians, and 250 Ottawa and Chippewa warriors, they set out from Detroit, paddled up the Maumee River to Fort Miami its head, and took their way through the forest to Pickawillany, where they attacked the stockade within which were the chief Demoiselle and the English traders. It was on a morning of June, 1752, and the squaws busy in their cornfields fled to the deep woods. Fortunately or unfortunately, most of the village warriors were distant on their summer hunt. Demoiselle and those in the town, together with the eight traders at the post, put up a brave fight. Their small numbers, however, made the contest unequal. But a few hours after the attack opened Pickawillany was no more. One trader was wounded, then stabbed and partially eaten. Five were taken prisoners, while the other two traders, Thomas Burney and Andrew McBryer, escaped to tell the story. Fourteen Miamis were killed including the Demoiselle, who was boiled and eaten. The tragedy was the first act in the great drama of the British-French war. Rather strangely, it was at the same time that the Indian-English conference was in progress at Logstown.

Capt. William Trent has been mentioned as in attendance at the Logstown conference. He was a brother-in-law of George Croghan and in 1750 had formed a partnership with Croghan in the Indian trade, which association lasted six years. His attendance at Logstown was as agent of Virginia by the appointment of Governor Dinwiddie, after which he set out as a messenger to the Pickawillany Miamis with presents. He followed practically the same route previously taken by Gist, leaving Logstown June 21, 1752. At the Lower Shawnee town at the mouth of the Scioto River, Trent met Burney and McBryer, the traders who had escaped from the Pickawillany disaster, who told him the news. With an attendant party, Trent started for Pickawillany to assemble and bring away the remaining Twightwees. On his arrival he took down two French flags left flying over the deserted ruins by the victors, and replaced them by the colors of the English. With about a dozen refugees from Pickawillany, women and children, including the wife of the murdered Old Britain and her son, Trent returned to the Ohio River Shawnee town.

CHAPTER XIII

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

GEORGE WASHINGTON SENT TO AVERT A CRISIS—HIS SUCCESS AND DEFEAT—GREAT MEADOWS—BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT AND DEATH—CHANGE IN THE INDIAN ATTITUDE—THE ALBANY COUNCIL—ENGLAND DECLARES WAR AGAINST FRANCE—VICTORY FOR ENGLAND AND PEACE.

After two centuries of conflicting claims, the rights of discovery, occupation, Indian concessions and treaties, the real crisis between France and England in America was now at hand. From the time of Cartier and the Cabots, it was inevitable that this crisis would come, to be settled by the force of arms.

The success of the French at Pickawillany so raised the hopes of the French that they began the construction, from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Ohio, of armed forts, and even planned more works on down that river. It was this action that brought war. In the spring of 1753, Duquesne, governor of Canada, sent out a force of some fourteen hundred men, comprised of French colonials, Canadians and Indians. The advance troops landed at Presque Isle, now Erie, Pa., and established a fort. Further in the interior they built Fort La Boeuf. Other forts were projected though not built.

The English, together with the Indians friendly to the colonies, were now aroused. In an attempt, however, to prevent open hostilities, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia dispatched young George Washington to the scene of activities to ask the French to desist from encroaching upon English territory. With Christopher Gist as guide, Washington on his journey, reached Logstown on the Ohio where he was in council for four days with the chiefs. Adding several chiefs to his party, he proceeded to Venango, sixty miles north towards Lake Erie on the upper Allegheny. Here he saw the French colors flying over the cabin of the commandant. He met Joncaire, who was the diplomat of the Celoron expedition, was entertained with French courtesy, but at the same time was told that "it was their absolute design to take possession of the Ohio and by G—d they would do it and keep it." The young American had some difficulty sobering up

his Indian escorts, who had partaken too freely of Joncaire's hospitality. From Venango, Washington went on to Fort La Boeuf. A full complement of officers and about one hundred soldiers made up the garrison. Here Washington met St. Pierre, a prominent officer and explorer, who had traveled as far west as the Rocky Mountains. He told Washington that the Ohio country belonged to the French and that no Englishman had a right to trade upon the waters that drained it. Washington all the time was noting the size and strength of the fort and its surroundings. After St. Pierre handed to Washington his sealed reply to Governor Dinwiddie's communication to the French, the young officer and his companions began their return journey. Being December, they encountered many hardships. After reaching Logstown again, Washington burdened his horse only with his packs, donned a hunting suit and traveled on foot.

After going a short distance Washington put his party in charge of one of his reliable men and he and Gist went on alone. They soon came in contact with a number of French Indians, one of whom offered his services as a guide and his offer was accepted. The guide in the lead, upon coming up into an open space, turned quickly and fired at Washington point blank but missed his aim. Gist wished to immediately kill the Indian. Washington objected and the guide was simply dismissed. When they came to the Allegheny River, in an attempt to cross on a raft, Washington fell into a jam of ice cakes where the water was some ten feet deep. He saved himself from drowning by clinging to a log of the raft which brought him to an island a little down the river. After parting with Gist at the latter's home, Washington reached Williamsburg, January 16, 1754, from where he had started on his important mission.

St. Pierre's reply was that he would submit Dinwiddie's claims to Governor Duquesne at Quebec. This not being satisfactory, money was provided by Virginia for an expedition, a body of three hundred troopers were ordered enlisted and provision made for equipment and supplies. Col. John Fry was selected as chief officer of the forces and young Washington made lieutenant-colonel and second in command. Capt. William Trent was dispatched ahead of the general command and under orders enlisted traders and frontier settlers on the way to the Forks of the Ohio where he was instructed to build a fort. Trent's force when he arrived at the Forks consisted of a motley collection of fifty to seventy-five men. They had made a storehouse built by

the Ohio Company at the mouth of Redstone Creek, a tributary of the Monongahela, their base of supplies.

About the middle of February, 1754, the forces of Trent were engaged in the construction of the new fort when a body of five hundred French troops suddenly appeared coming down the Allegheny. They were in sixty bateaux and three hundred canoes and carried eighteen cannon. They were under the command of Captain Contrecoeur and arrived by way of Venango. Trent had left and the construction of the works was in the hands of a subordinate officer, Ensign Ward. Thus surprised, the fort builders being ordered to surrender, after some delay complied. Ward and his men were not made prisoners and returned to Wills Creek. The French forces enlarged the original plans, and on completion, named the works Fort Duquesne, after the Canadian governor. A strong garrison was placed, under command of able, experienced officers. Thus began the opening skirmish between the French and the English.

The colonies were now aroused to the seriousness of the situation. Called upon by Governor Dinwiddie to make common cause against the French, they responded with men and money. Colonel Fry being ill, Washington, at the age of only twenty-two, was placed in command of a force to retrieve the situation at the head of the Ohio. With one hundred and sixty men he started from Wills Creek for the Ohio Forks by way of Redstone the last of April. At the Youghiogheny he received word that a party of French were advancing from the Forks, coming up the Monongahela and headed for Redstone. Washington took up his position at a place called Great Meadows, on a branch of Great Meadows run. Here Christopher Gist arrived and told him that La Force at the head of fifty men were only a few miles off. The young commander cleared the underbrush from his situation and threw up an entrenchment. A scout sent by Chief Half King from the camp of some friendly Indians, six miles away who were coming to aid Washington, also came to Great Meadows with the information that the French were near the Indian camp. Leaving his camp guarded, Washington with forty men joined the Half King after great difficulty, traveling through the night. With the Indians comprising the left wing of his forces, Washington advanced and met the French under La Force. While the skirmish lasted but fifteen minutes, it was a sharp conflict. Ten of the French were killed, one wounded and La Force and twenty of his men were made prisoners. Among

the killed was Coulon de Jumonville, an ambassador under escort, on a mission to warn the English against trespassing upon the lands of the French.

Returning to his Great Meadows camp, Washington strengthened his entrenchments of earth with palisades and named the place Fort Necessity. It was not unlike the works of the extinct mound builders of perhaps a thousand years before then. Washington sent his prisoners to Winchester and later received the information of the death of Colonel Fry and that he had been appointed to full command.

While forces were being organized, besides Virginia, in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, the Carolinas, and other colonies, additional troops reached Washington at Fort Necessity, making his total strength about four hundred men. Here, July 3, 1754, an army of five hundred French and about four hundred Indians under Captain De Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, killed in the former skirmish, attacked Washington. A spirited contest lasted from noon until eight o'clock that night when the French asked for a consultation, looking towards the capitulation of the colonial forces. With the rain falling in torrents, his men deep in the mud and water in the trenches, his ammunition water soaked, and considering the great discrepancy in numbers, Washington agreed to terms which allowed him to retire with all his troops, taking everything belonging to his camp except a small cannon. It could hardly be called a defeat and it was Washington's only surrender during his career. The French loss as reported was seventy-two killed and wounded and the colonial loss seventy. Washington with his men marched back to Wills Creek the French destroyed the palisades of Fort Necessity, such as they were, and returned to Fort Duquesne.

Thus far the contest had been carried on by troops from the American colonies, against Canadians sprinkled with French troops and their Indian allies; certain tribes also being a large factor in aid of the colonies. The situation now demanded the action as well as the attention of the mother countries. Bodies of troops were rushed from England and France and the colonial interests on both sides in America were active in securing the coöperation of the Indians.

England sent some three thousand men across the Atlantic and Gen. Edward Braddock was selected to lead this admirable force. The French embarked in about equal number under Baron Dieskau, in eighteen ships. Each side hailed the arrival

of their armies in the spring of 1755, with enthusiasm. The scene of the first engagement was to be the Ohio Forks where the French arriving first entrenched themselves. The boasting Braddock refused the offered aid of the coloniel militia and scoffed at the Indians, but allowed young George Washington to accompany him with the rank of captain. Braddock brought to the interior one thousand British regulars, joined by some four hundred enlisted Virginians. With about five hundred independent Virginia volunteers and some fifty Indians under George Croghan, the army of Braddock totaled about two thousand. Coming across the mountains past Fort Necessity, across the Youghiogheny, the English arrived about eight miles below Fort Duquesne at the Forks where the French were strongly protected. The result of the engagement is familiar. Not heeding the advice of Washington and others, Braddock led his fine army into an ambuscade where the French and Indians under De Beaujeau had come on to meet them. The French force consisted of seventy-two regulars, one hundred and forty-six Canadians and about six hundred and fifty Indians. They completely encircled the huddled and bewildered forces of Braddock and disaster followed. The French loss was only about thirty killed including their commander De Beaujeau and an equal number wounded, mostly Indians. Out of fourteen hundred participating in the engagement under Braddock, sixty-three English officers were killed and half of the private soldiers. Only four hundred who took part in the engagement were unscathed. Washington, in the thick of it all, had four bullets pass through his coat. The great chief Pontiac led the Ottawas with the French in the engagement, and Charles Langlade, leader at the annihilation of Pickawillany, was at the head of the Ojibways and Pottawatomies. The engagement was in fact between a force headed by trained British used to open country, against Indians who knew and adopted all the methods of savage warfare of the forest.

The surviving remnant of the British and colonials who escaped, retreated over the route they came. General Braddock, mortally wounded, died on the way and was buried in the middle of the road he traveled going to meet the French and Indians.

James Smith in his narrative of his wanderings for four years (1755-1759) in now Ohio, after his capture by the Indians, was taken while he was assisting in cutting a road "from Fort Loudon to join Braddock's road." After two nights they reached Fort Duquesne and Smith saw Braddock's artillery brought into

the fort. Amidst the rejoicing, Indians donned the bright uniforms of the British officers and paraded about in great glee.

At this point in the story it is well to observe the earlier Indian attitude and the cause of their alignment, in the main, with the French. At the outset, the Indians of the Ohio region were more favorable to the English. Celoron on his French expedition, when he encircled most of now Ohio found English traders all along most of his journey, and they were apparently in good standing with the Indians. These traders in a way had made themselves useful, exchanging goods and attractive articles for peltries, and their artisans had made and furnished the Indians implements and mended their guns and tools. When Celoron suggested that these traders be expelled, the Indians asked that they at least be allowed to stay until the French could come to replace them. Old Britain decided in favor of the English and refused the French overtures and presents. All along the line the French were urging the Indians to take up the tomahawk against the English but they steadfastly refused to do so. Then why the sudden reversal of sentiment? Why, when serious hostilities opened, were most of the tribes found with the French and it became the "French and Indian war"?

Briefly, it was first because of the dilatory tactics of the colonies in coming to the aid of the Ohio Indians when the French began to seriously invade the region west of the Alleghenies and did not respond to the Indians' call for help to repulse the French invaders.

In the beginning, the aborigine had no natural liking for the white man; no more than did the animal of the forest. An Englishman or a Frenchman on his first appearance here, was to the Indian one and the same. And while the people of the Red race, in a way possessed a changeable mind, they were all agreed upon one point: That they had an inherent right to all this territory. No white man either English or French had any business here. But the interlopers came, and the Indian was obliged to make the best of a deplorable, unavoidable situation. In the kaleidoscopic changes which came they took whichever side that appeared to their interests. Neither were the Indians hardly more changeable in their alliances among their own nations or with their alignment with the French and English, than were the countries of the old world, or are, for that matter, the nations of many sections of the earth today.

As noted, during the years 1751-1753, the Indians of now

Ohio, greatly concerned over the apparent intention of the French to invade their lands, appealed to the English to come to their rescue. The lower Shawnees, among the first to change their attitude in favor of the French, forwarded a warning message to the colonies and the Miamis sent a messenger to Governor Dinwiddie saying: "We must look upon ourselves as lost, if our brothers the English do not stand by us and give us arms." The Senecas and Cayugas and the Delawares on the upper Ohio were alarmed at the establishment of the French chain of forts into the interior back from Lake Erie. And all along the way, the French were using every influence they could bring to bear to secure to themselves the alignment of the Ohio tribes. La Force dispatched a French officer who met delegates of the Six Nations at Logstown in the early part of 1754, and bluntly accusing the Indians of favoring the English, warned them of the consequences.

The French had shown by their annihilation of Pickawillany, the village of Old Britain, their strong arm methods. They had landed on the south shore of Erie and built their chain of forts; they had sent the young Washington back to Virginia from Fort Necessity, which they destroyed; and under their direction the Indians had crushed Braddock. With it all, as one writer put it: "No English trader dare show himself (in the Ohio section) and the Indians declared in favor of the French." In other words the latter were gaining possession of the Ohio country. In their desperation, what more did the tribes need for self protection to cause them to turn towards the French who were making them glittering promises, the situation appearing bright to the French themselves. Therefore, after the defeat of Braddock, the Indians renewed their raids deep into the colonial border settlements.

One bright ray in the English situation was the Albany council, where, with the influence of Sir William Johnson, superintendent for the English government of Indian affairs in the American colonies, the friendliness of the Six Nations was for a time made more secure; but all except the Mohawks soon took up the French cause, or were in their attitude simply neutral. However, the English by the Braddock disaster had learned by dearly bought experience, the kind of warfare that must be waged in order to win. They realized too that the Indians held the balance of power in the great contest and with affairs running against them, it was going to take an army of consequence to stem defeat.

War was finally declared by England against France in May, 1756, but two years of strife passed before there came a hopeful change. Three men had much to do with the turning of the tide —William Pitt, first earl of Chatham, George Washington, and Frederick Post, noted Moravian missionary, and the latter's part was not inconsequential.

Pitt, in December, 1756, had become England's secretary of state, and being in sympathy with the American colonies, promised to send them British troops and supply their militia with arms, ammunition and supplies at the expense of the mother country. As a fulfillment of this promise he equipped an army of twelve thousand British and sent them across the Atlantic, to which were added nearly fifty thousand colonials. The substitution of Dinwiddie by Francis Fauquier as governor of Virginia was another favorable aspect.

Important moves were now being rapidly made on the great chess board with the object of checkmating the French without delay. Pitt to accomplish this had planned three points of attack. One campaign was to be made against Louisburg, Cape Breton, with a force under Maj.-Gen. Jeffrey Amherst; a second point of attack was to be Ticonderoga with troops commanded by Maj.-Gen. James Abercrombie; a third, which specially concerns this story, was to be directed towards the recapture of Fort Duquesne with forces under command of Brig.-Gen. John Forbes, and Washington a prominent factor with the Virginia colonials. At the same time the expedition of Forbes, consisting of British regulars and colonials, was being organized, William Denny, governor of Pennsylvania, dispatched Post among the Shawnees, Delawares and Mingoes in the Ohio section to at least secure their neutrality if not coöperation in the campaign against Duquesne. Post's tour among the Indians with a few companions was beset with many dangers and great hardship. Through the aid of the King of the Delawares, representatives of the Shawnees, Delawares, and Mingoes met Post opposite Fort Duquesne, near the Forks of the Ohio, in the middle of the summer of 1758 and arranged a nominal peace with the chiefs present, among whom were Captain White Eyes and Killbuck from the Delawares of the Muskingum. The Indians also promised to use their influence to persuade other tribes to follow their example. In October following, developed the fruits of the tour of Post. An important conference was held at Easton, Pa., attended by the Iroquois and other tribes at which the Indians agreed to the

peace offers of the colonists and voted to send confirmation of the agreement through a messenger bearing a belt of wampum to their kindred of Ohio. Post was selected for the mission to the Ohio Indians who "upon their receipt, ratified the terms of peace and formally declared an end to hostilities."

No doubt but that the tribes had heard of the coming of the British forces from "over the great waters" and too at heart were more favorable in this region to the English than to the French. Therefore, they were glad to get in sympathy again with such woodsmen as were George Croghan, Christopher Gist and Conrad Weiser. The French were also busy rallying the Indians about Detroit to their standard and in the summer of 1758 the Pottowatomies, Wyandots, Ottawas, and Ojibways came in and joined the French at Fort Duquesne.

Forbes was now ready to march on Duquesne with about two thousand British, four to five thousand colonials, including a motley set of followers of all descriptions. From Raystown, now Bedford, Pa., the troops selected for the journey reached Ligonier, half way to Fort Duquesne, where was built a fort. General Forbes remained behind on account of illness. From Bedford a detachment under Maj. James Grant was sent forward to reconnoitre the Ohio Forks with a force of eight hundred men. He arrived about a mile from Duquesne September 15, and the next morning the story of General Braddock was substantially repeated. In the surprise attack Grant himself was captured. The survivors made their way back to Bedford. Washington now appears in the lime-light to save a precarious condition. It was the "casting of the shadow" of his future. His command with a small support led the way, cutting a road for the main forces. On a bleak November day the army reached the Forks and Fort Duquesne only to find it in smoldering ruins. Deserted by his Indian allies, the commander, De Ligneris, had applied the torch and his garrison of five hundred French had fled for safety. "Washington with an advance guard marched in and on November 25th, 1758, planted the British flag on the yet smoking ruins." The French had been driven from this Ohio section never to return and the Indians flocked to the British standard. On November 26 General Forbes, yet ill, was brought forward and named the place Fort Pitt, a merited honor to the "Great Commoner," Pitt, England's prime minister and friend to the colonies.

The curtain now fell upon the "French and Indian war" in

the Ohio country. Nearly a year later, 1759, came the finale at Quebec, which was defended by Marquis de Montcalm. In the attack General Wolfe at the head of the British, was badly wounded. Still advancing, another shot struck him and a third lodged in his breast. While lying in a swoon he gave further orders. Realizing his victory his last words before he expired were: "Now God be praised, I will die in peace." Montcalm was mortally wounded in the same action and died soon afterward. One year after the fall of Quebec, Montreal was also surrendered. The final treaty of peace was concluded at Paris, February 10, 1763. In this treaty, in which Spain was concerned, England ceded back to Spain, Cuba and other islands in compensation for Florida, the City of New Orleans and a vast territory west of the Mississippi designated as Louisiana. France surrendered the balance of her possessions to England, including Canada and her claim to the Ohio Valley region. Thus the Maumee and the Sandusky region were rid of the French. The sequel as to this local territory comes later.

CHAPTER XIV

ENGLISH ASSUME CONTROL IN THE LAKE REGION

MISSION OF MAJOR ROBERT ROGERS—SENT TO POSSESS FORTS—MEETS PONTIAC—COMPARATIVE CALM IN MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY REGION—SITUATION NOT HELPFUL TO INDIANS—THE QUEBEC ACT.

So far as the Maumee and Sandusky valleys were concerned, this territory all during the English-French struggle had been dominated by the Indians under the French established at Detroit. Travel up and down the Maumee and the Sandusky consisted mostly of Indian war expeditions or perhaps hunting parties. There were no great battles in this locality up to the close of that war. The Nicholas conspiracy and the destruction of Pickawillany had been the chief events. Any other contests, if they might be called such, were between the English traders and agents among the Indians, and parties of French soldiers, Canadians and agents, who came with Indians to influence the various tribes.

Almost immediately after the surrender of Montreal, and over two years before the treaty of Paris was finally concluded, Maj. Robert Rogers with a detachment of two hundred picked men started up the St. Lawrence. By way of Fort Niagara and the head of Lake Erie he reached Fort Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.), which was now in command of the English colonel, Henry Bouquet. Under the Montreal capitulation the lake forts were to be surrendered to the British and Rogers was sent out to receive them. Before he went on his mission from Presque Isle, he visited Fort La Boeuf and Venango, and at Fort Pitt delivered important papers to the commandant from General Amherst. Retracing his steps to Presque Isle, on November 4th (1760) a part of his expedition went by water along the south shore of Erie and some forty-two rangers with a few other Americans and Indians, proceeded westward by land. George Croghan commanded one of the boats of the water party, going as interpreter. Andrew Montour was at the head of the land detachment.

Reaching the Cuyahoga River, Major Rogers met a party of Ottawa Indians who refused to let him proceed further without

the consent of the head chief, who proved to be none other than the great Pontiac. Later in the day Pontiac arrived at Rogers' camp and demanded to know what business Rogers had in trespassing upon the Indian country without his consent—he being the "king and lord of the country" Rogers had arrived at. After using all the diplomacy at his command in a delicate situation, Major Rogers as a finality to the parley was allowed to proceed. Pontiac even sent one hundred of his Indians with Rogers to assist him in protecting one hundred cattle the rangers were driving through for the expedition. Further, Pontiac sent runners to Indian towns bordering the west and south shores of Lake Erie informing the villagers that Rogers and his forces had Pontiac's consent to enter the country. Indians had congregated in Rogers' path and probably would have captured his forces if they had not annihilated them. Pontiac was Rogers' constant companion until the latter reached Detroit. Some historians question this meeting between Pontiac and Rogers as portrayed by the latter, but in the main the story is probably correct and evidently Major Rogers met Pontiac as he relates.

From the Cuyahoga Rogers passed on to "Lake Sandusky" and six miles beyond made camp. From here he dispatched a runner to M. Beleter, the French commandant at Detroit, with information that the English were on their way to take possession of the lake posts, including Detroit. Arriving near Detroit Rogers met several hundred Indians at the foot of Detroit River gathered to prevent his reaching the fort, but Rogers passed without trouble. Approaching by land and up the river, the French flag was seen flying above the stockade. Entering, the French colors were lowered, the British flag run up and the French defiled upon the plains and laid down their arms. The date was November 29, 1760. After the ceremony, several hundred Indian warriors—Wyandots, Pottawottomies and Ottawas, came in from the surrounding territory who had been allies of the French, and voiced their approval by loud demonstrations.

Detroit was garrisoned by a company under Captain Campbell, and Ensign Holmes and another officer with twenty soldiers was sent up the Maumee River to take possession of Fort Miami (Fort Wayne) and a fort on the Wabash. A representative was also sent to gather in the "French troops" at the Shawnee towns on the Ohio River. With a small force and accompanied by Montour and a body of Indians, Rogers then started for Lake Huron to take possession of the fort at the straits, but ice obstructed his

path and he returned to Detroit. The upper posts were not taken possession of until the following season. In midwinter Major Rogers with a few of his men started for Fort Pitt. He went by way of the west end of Lake Erie, and January 2, 1761, after crossing the Maumee and skirting the south shore of Erie, reached Sandusky Bay. Some six miles from the Sandusky, George Croghan noted that they "came to Chenunda, an Indian village," which some writers believe was Fort Junundat, previously referred to. By way of Fort Pitt, Rogers on February 14, reached New York.

A comparative calm now rested upon the Maumee and Sandusky region for a space of nearly two years. With the contest ended between the English and French and their allies, the Indians had a right to expect that their experiences of hardship and tribulations would pass. Professor Shetrone in his story, "The Indian in Ohio," states the situation at the close of the war like this: "But apparently there was no room in all the great expanse of America (he might have said especially in Ohio) for both the red man and the white man, and one of the two remaining sides of the triangle was yet to be eliminated. The Indian had been invaluable to the English as long as they were engaged in the contest with the French; but, this contest ended, the native tribesman no longer figured as a strategic issue. Instead of finding his troubles ended, he soon learned that for him in his ancestral home, there was no such thing as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Time passed by and the expected acknowledgment of service to the English, in the way of treaties and presents, was not forthcoming. On the contrary, the Indians found themselves deprecated, slighted and even abused as venturesome spirits by the colonies, numbers from which flocked across the Alleghenies, each one bent on securing for himself a share of the great country wrested from the French. It soon became the usual thing for the white adventurer to regard the Indian as little better than the wild beasts of the forest and it was not unusual for these precursors of white settlements to shoot down the natives without provocation."

This latter statement of Shetrone's probably needs some qualification. And while the Indians were disappointed, so were the oncoming whites, the colonists, who helped to win the victory and who looked forward to the privilege of coming to the now Ohio territory to establish settlements and new homes. Their indignity and ire was aroused by what is known as the "Quebec Act"

issued October 7, 1763, by the king of England with the advice of the privy council. This declaration in effect established the great northwest territory as an Indian reservation in which no white settlement was to be attempted; that all settlers located thereupon should at once take their departure and that no lands should be purchased from the Indians. The claim was made that this proclamation was issued by "solicitude for the Indians and anxiety for the peace and safety of the colonists." Of course this would protect the Indians and retain for them their hunting and trapping rights. But another and deeper motive was evident. The mother country evidently already foresaw by the growing and rapidly developing colonies, that there might in the not distant future come a time when they would aspire to establish themselves as an independent nation, therefore an expansion of inhabited territory was not desirable. Future developments show that this act did not keep the advancing settlers out of Ohio and that the English government had a penetrating vision as to what attitude a people of the character of the colonists might have in regard to home rule.

CHAPTER XV

STORY OF JAMES SMITH, INDIAN CAPTIVE—1755-1759

TRAVELS UP AND DOWN THE SANDUSKY—TWO WINTERS IN SCIOTO REGION—SUNNYENDEAND ON SANDUSKY BAY—DESCRIBES HUNTING EXPEDITIONS ON MAUMEE BAY AND ON SANDUSKY PLAINS.

Before taking up the next feature looking toward the settlement of the Maumee and Sandusky region, it is well to give something of the story of James Smith, whose capture, at the age of eighteen, by the Indians near Fort Duquesne, has been referred to. Smith at the close of the Revolutionary war received a colonel's commission and wrote his experiences in Ohio covering most of the years 1755-1759, the time he was associated with the Indians as their captive.

Not long after his capture, Smith was adopted into the tribe, a remnant of the Mohawks, and taken to an Indian town near the Forks of the Muskingum, where is now Coshocton. Some time in October, 1755, he was then brought to the Cuyahoga region, and spent the winter in the upper Muskingum Valley hunting and trapping with his captors. Not following his movements closely, in the spring of 1756, Smith, with his brother Tontileaugo by adoption, canoed from the mouth of now named Black River westward to the Sandusky Bay. As he tells it himself: "The lake being calm we proceeded and arrived safely at Sunnyendeand, which was a Wiandot town that lay upon a small creek which empties into the little lake (Sandusky Bay) below the mouth of Sandusky (River). The town was about eighty rood above the mouth of the creek on the south side of a large plain, on which timber grew and nothing more but grass and nettles. In some places there were large flats where nothing but grass grew, about three feet high when grown, and in other parts nothing but nettles, very rank. When the soil is extremely rich and loose, here they plant corn. In the town there were also French traders who purchased our skins and fur and we all got new clothes, paint, tobacco, etc." Evans' map of 1775 marks a Wyandot town on the southeasterly side of Sandusky Bay, which may have been Sunnyendeand.

During the spring, the warriors all left for raids on the Vir-

ginia and other frontiers, leaving their children and old people in almost a starving condition until the summer crops came on. In October, "geese swans, ducks, cranes, etc., came from the north and alighted upon the little lake without number or innumerable. Sunnyendeand is a remarkable place for fish in the spring, and for fowl both in the fall and spring; so many that hunters could scarcely miss of success." The winter of 1756-1757, Smith again passed with Indians in the upper Muskingum and Cuyahoga region. Another brother by adoption and older than the one first mentioned, was with Smith at the time. His name was Tecaughretanego. On the way out of Sandusky Bay, Smith also met under his adoption his Indian sister. Her name was Mary, which the priest gave her when she was baptized. It would be interesting to note where this baptism took place.

In March, 1757, the party headed again for the lake and canoeing westward, in time passed the mouth of Sandusky Bay. Detroit bound, they "put into the mouth of the Miami of the Lake (Maumee) at Cedar Point, where we remained several days and killed a number of turkeys, geese, ducks and swans. The wind being fair, and the lake not extremely rough, we again embarked, hoisted up sails and arrived safe at the Wiandot town nearly opposite to Fort Detroit. Here we found a number of French traders, everyone willing to deal with us for our beaver."

The Indians as usual bought clothes, ammunition, paint and tobacco. When a trader appeared with French brandy, the Indians, parting with what furs they had left, engaged in a long debauch in which many were injured. After sobering up, the warriors of the village soon set out upon raids into the Ohio country borders. When the warriors returned in August from these frontier colonial settlements, they brought in "many scalps, prisoners, horses and plunder."

In November (1757) a considerable party including Smith started down the Detroit River on their annual hunting excursions. Encamping at the entrance to Lake Erie, they held a council as to the route they would take: "Whether we would cross through by the three islands or coast around the lake. These islands lie in a line across the lake and are just in sight of each other. Some of the Wiandots or Ottawas, frequently make their winter hunt on these islands. Tho' excepting wild fowl and fish, there is scarcely any game here but raccoons, which are amazingly large and fat. They feed upon the wild rice which grows in abundance in wet places round the islands. It is said that

each hunter in one winter, will catch one thousand raccoons. These islands are seldom visited, because early in the spring and late in the fall it is dangerous sailing in their bark canoes; and in the summer they are so infested with various kinds of serpents, chiefly rattlesnakes, that it is dangerous landing.

"We concluded to coast it around the lake and in two days we came to the mouth of the Miami of the Lake (Maumee) and landed on Cedar Point where we remained several days and concluded we would take a driving hunt, in concert and in partnership. The river here is about a mile broad, and as it and the lake forms a kind of neck which terminates in a point, all the hunters (53) went up the river and we scattered ourselves from the river to the lake. When we first began to move we were not in sight of each other, but as we all raised the yell, we could more regularly go together by all the noise. At length we came in sight of each other and appeared to be marching in good order. Before we came to the point, both the boys and the squaws in the canoes were scattered up the river and along the lake to prevent the deer from making their escape by water. As we advanced near the point, the guns began to crack slowly, and after some time the firing was like a little engagement. The squaws and boys were busy tomahawking the deer in the water and we shooting them down on the land. We killed in all about thirty deer, tho' many made their escape by water. We had now great feasting and rejoicing, as we had plenty of hominy, venison and wild fowl. The geese at the time appeared to be preparing to move southward. Here our company separated. The chief part of them went up the Miami (Maumee) River that empties into the lake at Cedar Point, while we proceeded on our journey in company with Tecaughretanego, Tantileaugo and two families of the Wiandots.

"When we came to the falls of the Sandusky (Sandusky River above present Fremont) we buried our birch-bark canoes as usual, at a large burying place for that purpose a little below the falls. With difficulty we pushed up our wooden canoes. Some of us went up the river and the rest by land with the horses, until we came to the great meadows, or prairies that lie between the Sandusky and the Scioto."

Smith then describes a "ring hunt" with some Ottawa hunters, which was accomplished by starting a circle of fire about the tall prairie grass, forcing the deer out, which were killed as they ran. Ten deer to each hunter were killed in the drive. The

party then portaged across to the headwaters of the Scioto; the distance between two creeks which nearly join the rivers being such that "with a little digging, there may during high water be water carriage the whole way from the Scioto to the lake (Erie)."

After the party had quitted their hunts, Tontileaugo, his wife and children, Tecaughretanego, his son Nungany and Smith, left the Wyandot camp at the "carrying place" between the Sandusky headwaters and the Scioto, crossed the Scioto at the south end of "the glades" and proceeded through the forest southwest to Big Darby Creek. After some days, Tontileaugo had some difficulty with his wife over his eight-year-old stepson whom he had punished. In his absence on a hunt, his wife took her son and all her property and went back to the Wyandot camp they had left, taking also his children. On account of the latter fact Tontileaugo followed his wife and settling their differences they did not return. This left only Tecaughretanego, his ten-year-old son and Smith at this point and they remained at a constructed hut all winter. Tecaughretanego, although a "fine warrior, statesman, and hunter, now sixty years old" was taken with rheumatism and was confined to his hut nearly two months. This left the burden of hunting game for the three and trapping, to Smith They were forty miles from any other living person, but their supplies held out from Christmas until some time in February (1758). At this time there came a snow with a crust which made a great noise when walking on it, making the approach to game difficult and their supplies became entirely exhausted. In this situation the philosophical old Indian gave Smith a long talk assuring him that Owaneeyo (God) would provide for them and wound up with these words:

"Brother,

"Be assured that you will be supplied with food, and that just in the right time; but you must continue diligent in the use of means. Go to sleep and rise early in the morning and go a-hunting—be strong and exert yourself like a man and the Great Spirit will direct your way."

The next morning Smith took an easterly course about five miles, saw several deer but could not get near them on account of the noise made by walking on the crusty snow. Becoming almost famished, he concluded he would keep on his way and run off to Pennsylvania, his native country. He thought he might as well be killed by hostile Indians on the way as to stay and starve.

He kept on about twelve miles when he found buffalo tracks. Circling ahead of them he ambushed and killed a large cow. After relieving his starving stomach, he began to think of the starving old chief and little boy; hung high what meat he could not carry back and returned to the hut by moonlight. The little boy ate the meat almost raw. Although Tecaughretanego must have been nearly dead from hunger, he calmly refused to eat until the meat was thoroughly cooked, saying "Let it be done enough." When they were all refreshed, the chief delivered a speech upon the necessity and pleasure of receiving the required supports of life with thankfulness, knowing that Owaneeyo (God) is the great giver." Writes Smith: "Such speeches from an Indian may be thought by those unacquainted with them altogether incredible, but when we reflect on the Indian war we may readily conclude that they are not an ignorant or stupid sort of people, or they would not have been such fatal enemies. When they came into our country they outwitted us and when we sent armies into their country, they outgeneraled and beat us with inferior force. Let us take into consideration that Tecaughretanego was no common person, but was among the Indians as Socrates in the ancient heathen world."

Again the next morning starting after more of the buffalo meat, Smith ran across and killed a bear, after which they had plenty of provisions. The Indian hut was evidently near the site of now Plain City, Madison County, and Smith killed the buffalo near present Worthington, a northern suburb of now Columbus.

The trio remained at the hut until some time in April, 1758. The old Indian by this time had considerably recovered so that he could walk about. They made a bark canoe and started down Big Darby some distance, but the water being too low to navigate their canoe, the chief concluded to encamp on shore and pray for rain. When they encamped, the old chief made himself a sort of "sweat-box" by digging an excavation in the ground protected by hoops. He then heated stones and placed in the box, covered the excavation with skins and blankets, took a kettle of water mixed with herbs and gave himself a regular Turkish bath; at the same time asking the Great Spirit to cure his ills and also bring rain. The result at least was that it did rain and he was almost completely cured of his rheumatism.

They returned down the Big Darby and up the Scioto to the carrying place, thence down the Sandusky River to the "little lake" and again visited the Wyandot town of Sunnyendeand

where they spent several days at a small creek also called Sunnyendeand, catching rock-fish. "Sunnyendeand signifies rock-fish in English." They fished at night with lights and spears.

Smith met a prisoner here named Thompson who had been taken in Virginia. Shortly after this the party, after a three days' journey, reached Detroit again where they remained for the summer. Some time in May they heard that General Forbes with seven thousand men was preparing to carry on a campaign against Fort Duquesne, "which then stood near where Fort Pitt was afterwards erected." Upon receiving the news, the French commander at Detroit sent off a number of runners to urge the different tribes of Indian warriors to repair to Fort Duquesne. Some time in July, 1758, the Ottawas, Ojibways, Pottowatomies and Wyandots rendezvoused at Detroit and marched off to Fort Duquesne to prepare for the encounter of General Forbes. They expected to serve him as they did General Braddock and obtain much plunder. From this time until fall, Indian scouts kept close watch of the movements of Forbes' army, keeping in touch with them from the mountains after they left Fort Loudon. Notwithstanding their vigilance, Colonel Grant with his Highlanders stole a march on the Indian scouts and in the night took possession of a hill about eighty rods from Fort Duquesne, this hill afterwards taking the name of Grant's Hill. Continuing, Smith says:

"The French and Indians knew not that Grant and his men were there until they beat the drum and played upon the bagpipes just at daylight. They then flew to arms and the Indians ran up under cover of the Allegheny and Monongahela for some distance and then sallied out from the banks of the rivers and took possession of the hill above Grant, and as he was on the point of it in sight of the fort, they immediately surrounded him and as he had his Highlanders in ranks and very close order, and the Indians scattered and were concealed behind trees, they defeated him with the loss only of a few warriors. Most of the Highlanders were killed or taken prisoner.

"After this defeat the Indians held a council, but were divided in their opinions. Some said that General Forbes would now turn back and go home the way he came, as Dunbar had done when General Braddock was defeated. Others supposed he would come on. The French urged the Indians to stay and see the event. But as it was hard for the Indians to be absent from their squaws and children at this season of the year, a great

many returned home to their hunting. After this, the remainder of the Indians, some French regulars and a number of Canadians marched off in quest of General Forbes. They met his army near Fort Ligonier and attacked them, but were frustrated in their design. They said that Forbes' men were beginning to learn the art of war and that there were a great number of American riflemen along with the red-coats, who scattered out, took to trees and were good marksmen. Therefore, they found they could not accomplish their design and were obliged to retreat. When they returned from the battle to Fort Duquesne, the Indians concluded that they would go to their hunting. The French endeavored to persuade them to stay and try another battle. The Indians said if it was only the red-coats they had to do with they could soon subdue them, but they could not withstand Ashalecoa or the Great Knife, which was the name they gave the Virginians. They returned home then to their hunting and the French evacuated the fort, which General Forbes came and took possession of without further opposition, late in the year 1758, and at this time began to build Fort Pitt."

Tecaughretanego said he could not account for Colonel Grant's actions. As the Indians were alseep outside the fort between Grant and the Allegheny River, he did not see why Grant did not quietly slip in upon the Indians with their broad swords instead of beating their drums and playing their bag-pipes. He thought they must have made too free use of liquor and become intoxicated. That season, the winter of 1758 and 1759, Smith with the Indians hunted again up the Sandusky River and down the Scioto, over nearly the same ground they had gone the winter before. They had considerable success and returned to Detroit again some time in April, 1759. Shortly after this, Tecaughretanego, his son Nungany and Smith went from Detroit in an elm bark canoe to Caughnewaga, a very ancient Indian town about nine miles above Montreal, where Smith remained until about the first of July. He then heard of a French ship at Montreal that had English prisoners on board, for exchange overseas. He stole away from the Indians, boarded the ship, but as General Wolfe had stopped up the River St. Lawrence, Smith with others was put in prison at Montreal where he remained four months. Some time in November he was sent to Crown Point and with others exchanged. Early in the year 1760 he arrived home at Conococheague (in Franklin County, Pennsylvania, then an extreme frontier settlement).

His people had not learned anything as to his fate after being captured by the Indians and did not know whether he was dead or alive. He was received with great joy, but his people were stupefied over his many ways so much akin to the Indians.

The information that his sweetheart had married just before his arrival home was a great blow and he states that it would be impossible to describe the emotions of soul he felt over his disappointed love. Smith, however, married in 1763, and in 1764 received a lieutenant's commission and went out on General Bouquet's campaign against the Indians on the Muskingum. In 1766 Colonel Smith with others explored the country south of Kentucky, where there were no white men, also explored the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers down to the Ohio. He spent eleven months in the wilderness and during that time "saw neither bread, women, or spirituous liquors," and three months of that time no human species except Jamie, a colored boy, who was with him on his journey. He again returned home to Conococheague in the fall of 1767. His wife and friends had heard he had been killed by the Indians and of course had never expected to see him again.

In 1776 Smith was appointed major in the Pennsylvania Association and when American Independence was declared, he was elected a member of the convention from Westmoreland County. While at the assembly in Philadelphia in 1777, he was given a leave of absence and headed a scouting party, and marched into the Jerseys, went before Washington's army and did great service for his country. He received a colonel's commission in 1778. In that year he settled in Bourbon County, Kentucky, and for several years was a member of the general assembly of that state. He died in 1812.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC

INDIAN TRIBES CONNECTED WITH PLOT—SIEGE OF DETROIT—DETROIT, FORT PITT AND NIAGARA ONLY, WITHSTAND THE ATTACKS—END OF THE GREAT CONSPIRATOR—BELONGED IN MAUMEE REGION.

The conspiracy or plot of the great chief Pontiac, was "such as was never before or since conceived or executed by North American Indians." It was planned to make a determined assault upon all the British posts throughout the Great Lakes territory upon the same day. After destroying the garrisons, it was Pontiac's conception to turn upon the frontier or border settlements and dispatch with one great stroke the white people who had dared to trespass upon the Indian rights. The tribes became so enthused with the plan that they believed that they might exterminate all the colonists, or drive them across the sea, or at least confine them to the Atlantic coast.

Possibly Pontiac's idea came from the plot heretofore related as attempted by the Huron chief Nicholas, about fifteen years previous to Pontiac's move. As Shetrone says, the two leaders were remarkably similar in type and their conspiracies, which had the same object in view, were conducted on almost the same lines. "Nicholas, a miniature of his great Ottawa prototype, while of inferior calibre to the latter, possessed in a marked degree the qualities and temperament of the Indian as exemplified in Pontiac. Both were remarkable for their courage and fortitude, cunning and sagacity, treachery and cruelty." Pontiac's design was against the same forts then held by the English which Nicholas planned to destroy when occupied by the French before their surrender to the English. Most of the tribes concerned were active in both movements, Detroit being singled out for the great master stroke. Nicholas selected his own Hurons for the Detroit onslaught and Pontiac his Ottawas. But the scheme of Nicholas was not comparable to that of Pontiac in the latter's gigantic proportions. Pontiac had by couriers and messengers and by his personal visits northward on the lakes; from the headwaters of the Mississippi to the gulf and to east and southeast, enlisted the coöperation of most of the tribes of the great Algon-

quian family, as well as the Senecas of the Iroquois. The Ohio tribes, the Wyandots, Shawnees, Miamis, and Delawares, by special efforts made, also joined in the plot. The time fixed for the concerted move was in May, 1763.

The Indian dilemma and the cause of the uprising came with the end of the struggle between the English and the French. The Indians were a factor in the result in favor of the English and had with promises and presents been led to believe that when the end of the war came, they would see better days and could hunt in their domains in peace and without molestation. As noted, the king of England by proclamation, (the Quebec Act) set apart the great Northwest Territory as an Indian reservation, declaring that no white settlements should be made therein, including the Ohio region. While there was perhaps an ulterior motive in this declaration, it was apparently in favor of the Aborigine.

With the sudden cutting off of weapons, provisions, clothing and fire water by the English; with oncoming settlers from Virginia and other colonies paying little heed to the Quebec Act and crowding in on the frontiers, the Indians awoke to the realization of their situation and bitter resentment arose. The inevitable result was temporarily checked by Sir William Johnson, Indian agent for the English, at a council held at Detroit, but the truce was not lasting. When it was circulated amongst the Ottawas and other tribes that France had ceded by the Paris treaty the Indian lands, the real truth dawned upon them—that they were to remain only by English sufferance. It was diametrically opposite to their own claims and was the last straw to make their dilemma unbearable.

France now had no rights to American soil. The Spanish possessions on the Gulf of Mexico had been ceded to England, the territory west of the Mississippi, by the Paris treaty had gone to Spain.

Pontiac struck the first blow of the campaign against Detroit, then the western headquarters of the British government. The rendezvous of his warriors, bedecked and painted for the fray, was on the banks of the Ecorces, a little river which empties into the Detroit a short distance below where stood the fort. But let the story as told in a paper written by Randall, the Ohio historian be quoted here, as no better description of the events can be penned:

"It was the 27th of April, 1763 when the assembled warriors

listened to the final war speech of the great chief. Pontiac was an orator of a high order, fierce and impassioned in style. He presented at length the injustice of the British as compared with that of the French; he set forth the danger to his race from the threatened supremacy of the British power; he predicted the awakening of 'their great father the King of France,' during whose sleep the English had robbed the Indian of his American possessions. In passionate appeals he aroused the vengeance and superstition of his people and warned them that the white man's civilization was poisoning and annihilating the red race. In his dramatic way he related to the superstitious Indians a dream wherein the Great Spirit sent his message that they were to cast aside the weapons, the utensils of civilization and the 'deadly rum' of the white men, and, with aid from the Great Spirit, drive the dogs in red from every post in their (Indian) country. He revealed his plans of destruction of the whites and the details of the plot to secure Detroit. He and a few of his chosen chiefs were to visit the fort under pretense of a peaceful visit, gain admittance, seek audience with Major Henry Gladwyn the commandant and his officers, and then at an agreed signal the chiefs were to draw their weapons, previously concealed beneath their blankets, raise the war whoop, rush upon the officers and strike them down. The Indian forces waiting meanwhile at the gate were then to assail the surprised and half-armed soldiers. Thus through this perfidious murder, Detroit would fall an easy prey to the savages and Pontiac's conspiracy have a successful inauguration. His plan was approved. Just below Detroit, on the same side of the river, was a Pottawattamie village; across the river some three miles up the current was an Ottawa village; on the same eastern side about a mile below Detroit was the Wyandot village. Along each side of the river for two or three miles were houses of the French settlers. 'The King and lord of all this country,' as Major Rogers called Pontiac, had located one of his homes, where he spent the early summer, on a little island (Isle a Peche) at the opening of Lake St. Clair. Here he had a small oven-shaped cabin of bark and rushes. Here he dwelt with his squaws and children, and here doubtless he might often have been seen, lounging, Indian style, half naked, on a rush mat or bearskin.

"The number of warriors under the command of Pontiac is variously estimated from six hundred to two thousand. The garrison consisted of one hundred and twenty soldiers, eight officers,

and about forty others capable of bearing arms. Two armed schooners, the *Beaver* and the *Gladwyn*, were anchored in the river near the Fort. Pontiac's plot was revealed to Gladwyn the night before its proposed execution probably by an Ojibwa girl from the Pottawattamie village. Gladwyn thus warned was forearmed. Pontiac and his six chiefs were admitted to the council chamber. Pontiac began the harangue of peace and friendly palaver and raised his hand as the sound of clashing arms and drum beating was heard without. Pontiac feared he was foiled and announcing he would 'call again,' next time with his squaws and children, he and his party withdrew. The next morning Pontiac, in hopes of regaining Gladwyn's confidence, repaired to the Fort with but three of his chiefs and bearing in his hand the pipe of peace. Offering it to Gladwyn he again protested his friendship for the British whom he declared 'we love as our brothers.' A few days later the Indians thronged the open field behind the fort gate. It was closed and barred. Pontiac advancing, demanded admittance. Gladwyn replied that he might enter, but only alone. The great chief, baffled and enraged, then 'threw off the mask he had so long worn' and boldly declared his intention to make war. A day or two later the four tribes, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Pottawattamies and Wyandots clamored about the fort and the attack was begun by volleys of bullets fired at the palisade walls. Thus opened the famous siege of Detroit, which lasted six months, from May 1 to November 1 (1763), one of the longest and most bitterly contested sieges in the history of western Indian warfare. The incomparable treachery of Pontiac in endeavoring to secure the fort by dissemblance of friendship was further evidenced by his pretense at a truce. Pontiac declaring his earnest desire for 'firm and lasting peace,' requested Gladwyn to send to the camp of the chief, Captain Campbell, Gladwyn's second in command, a veteran officer and most upright and manly in character. Campbell went, was made prisoner and subsequently foully and hideously murdered. Pontiac neglected no expedient known to Indian perfidy, cruelty or deviltry. He surpassed his race in all the detestable elements of their nature. His conduct from first to last was only calculated to create distrust, contempt and loathing. His warriors murdered the British settlers in the vicinity of the fort, burned their huts, robbed the Canadians and committed every variety of depredation.

"Pontiac realizing the seriousness of the situation and the

obstinate courage of the British garrison, prepared for a lengthy campaign. He ordered the Ottawa village moved across the river to the Detroit side, where it was located about a mile and a half northeast of the fort at the mouth of Parent's Creek, afterwards known as Bloody Run.

"The garrison bravely and patiently withstood all assaults and bided the time of rescue. By midnight sallies and other expedients they removed all exterior buildings, fences, trees and other obstacles that lay within the range of their guns or that might afford protection to sneaking and stealthy Indians who would crawl snake-like close to the palisade and fire at the sentinels and loopholes, or shoot their arrows tipped with burning tow upon the roofs of the structures within the fort. Fortunately the supply of water was inexhaustible; the provisions were wisely husbanded; friendly Canadians across the river under cover of night brought supplies. These Canadian farmers were also subject to tribute to the Indians, who seized their supplies by theft or open violence. They appealed to Pontiac and about the only creditable act recorded of that perfidious chief was his agreement to make restitution to the robbed settlers. Pontiac gave them in payment for their purloined property promissory notes drawn on birch bark and signed with the figure of an otter —the totem to which he belonged—all of which promises to pay, it is said, were redeemed.

"Day after day passed with varying incidents of attack and repulse. The keen-eyed watchfulness of the Indians never for an instant abated; their vigils were tireless and ceaseless; woe to the soldier who ventured without the fort or even lifted his head above the palisade. Pontiac's patience was strengthened with the delusive idea that the French were only temporarily defeated and would rally to his assistance. He even dispatched messengers across the interior to the French commandant Neyon at Fort Chartres on the Mississippi, requesting that French troops be sent without delay to his aid. Meanwhile Gladwyn had sent one of his schooners to Ft. Niagara to hasten promised reinforcements from the British. Lieutenant Cuyler had already (May 13) left Niagara with a convoy of seven boats, ninety-six men and quantities of supplies and ammunition. This little fleet coasted along the northern shore of Lake Erie until near the mouth of the Detroit River. The force attempted to land, when a band of Wyandot Indians suddenly burst from the woods, seized five of the boats and killed or captured sixty of the soldiers. Cuy-

ler with the remaining men (36), many of whom were wounded, escaped in the other boats and crossed to Ft. Sandusky, which they found had been taken and burned by the Wyandots; the garrison had been slaughtered and Ensign Pauli sent prisoner to Pontiac's camp. Cuyler with his escaping companions slowly wended his way back where he reported the result of his expedition to the commanding officer, Major Wilkins. At the same time the Wyandots, with the captured boats and prisoners, proceeded up the Detroit to Pontiac's quarters, arriving in full sight of the fort's garrison, when Gladwyn of course learned of the destruction of the Cuyler flotilla. The disappointment to the inmates of the fort was almost unbearable. Gladwyn's schooner, however, reached Ft. Niagara and returned about July 1, laden with food, ammunition and reinforcements. Pontiac, undismayed, continued his efforts. His forces now numbered, it is recorded, about eight hundred and twenty warriors.

"The two schooners were a serious menace to the movements of the Indians, and many desperate attempts were made to burn them by midnight attacks, and the floating of fire rafts down upon them; but all to no avail. Pontiac had the stubborn persistency of a later American general who said he would fight it out on that line if it took all summer. He exerted himself with fresh zeal to gain possession of the fort. He demanded the surrender of Gladwyn, saying a still greater force of Indians was on the march to swell the army of besiegers. Gladwyn was equally tenacious and unyielding; he proposed to 'hold the fort' till the enemy were worn out or reinforcements arrived. Pontiac sought to arouse the active aid of the neighboring Canadians, but the treaty of Paris had made them British subjects, and they dared not war on their conquerors. History scarcely furnishes a like instance of so large an Indian force struggling so long in an attack on a fortified place.

"The Wyandots and Pottawattamies, however, never as enthusiastic in this as were the other tribes, late in July decided to withdraw from the besieging confederacy and make peace with the British. They did so and exchanged prisoners with Gladwyn. The Ottawas and Ojibwas, however, still held on, watching the fort and keeping up a desultory fusilade. The end was drawing nigh. On July 29 Captain James Dalzell arrived from Niagara with artillery supplies and two hundred and eighty men in twenty-two barges. Their approach to the fort was bravely contested by the combined Indian forces, even the Wyandots and Pottawat-

tamies breaking their treaty and treacherously joining in the assault. Dalzell's troops entered the fort and he proposed an immediate sortie. Dalzell was bravely personified, and he had fought with Israel Putnam. On the morning after his arrival (July 30) at two o'clock, he led a force of two hundred and fifty men out of the fort. They silently in the darkness marched along the river towards the Ottawa village just across the Parent's Creek. The Indians were prepared and had ambuscaded both sides of the road. They were, Indian fashion, secreted behind trees and fences and Canadian houses. Their presence was not discovered until the van of Dalzell's column reached the bridge over the creek, when a terrible fire was opened upon the soldiers from all sides. It was still dark, the Indians could not be seen. A panic ensued. The troops in disorder retreated amid an awful slaughter. Dalzell himself was killed and Maj. Robert Rogers assumed command, and the fleeing soldiers were only spared from total destruction by two of the British boats coming to the rescue. About sixty men were killed or wounded. It was known as the Battle of Bloody Bridge. Upon Major Rogers' survivors retreating into the fort the siege was renewed. Pontiac was greatly encouraged over this victory and his Indians showed renewed zeal. The schooner *Gladwyn* was sent to Niagara for help. On its return it was attacked and its crew and supplies practically destroyed. Another relief expedition under Major Wilkins in September was overwhelmed in a lake storm and seventy soldiers drowned. But even Indian persistency began to tire. The realization that the French were beaten and time only would bring victory to the British led all the tribes, except the Ottawas, to sue for peace. This was October 12. Pontiac could only hold his own tribe in line. The Ottawas sustained their hostility until October 30, when a French messenger arrived from Neyon who reported to Pontiac that he must expect no help from the French, as they were now completely and permanently at peace with the British. Pontiac was advised to quit the war at once. His cause was doomed. The great chief who had so valiantly and unremittently fought for six months, sullenly raised the siege and retired into the country of the Maumee in the vicinity of now Defiance, Ohio, where he vainly endeavored to arouse the Miamis and neighboring tribes to another war upon the invading British.

"Though the memorable siege of Detroit, personally conducted by Pontiac, ended in failure to the great chief, his conspiracy

elsewhere met with unparalleled success. The British posts, planned to be simultaneously attacked and destroyed by the savages were some dozen in number, including besides Detroit: St. Joseph, Michillimackinac, Ouiatenon, Sandusky, Miami, Presque Isle, Niagara, La Boeuf, Venango, Fort Pitt and one or two others of lesser importance. Of all the posts from Niagara and Pitt westward, Detroit alone was able to survive the conspiracy. For the rest there was but one unvaried tale of calamity and ruin. It was a continued series of disasters to the white men. The victories of the savages marked a course of blood from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. The destruction of Fort Sandusky has already been noted. On May 16 (1763) the Wyandots surrounded the fort and under pretense of a friendly visit, several of them well known to Ensign Pauli, the commander, were admitted. While smoking the pipe of peace the treacherous and trusted Indians suddenly arose, seized Pauli, and held him prisoner while their tribesmen killed the sentry, entered the fort, and in cold blood murdered and scalped the little band of soldiers. The traders in the post were likewise killed and their stores plundered. The stockade was fired and burned to the ground. Pauli was taken to Detroit where he was 'adopted' as the husband of an old widowed squaw, from whose affectionate toils he finally escaped to his friends in the Detroit fort.

"St. Joseph was located at the mouth of the River St. Joseph, near the southern end of Lake Michigan. This post was the site of a Roman Catholic Mission founded about the year 1700. It had been one of the most prominent French military posts. Ensign Schlosser was in command with a mere handful of soldiers, fourteen in number. On the morning of May 25, the commander was informed that a large party of Pottawattamies had arrived from Detroit 'to visit their relations' and the chief (Washashe) and three or four of his followers wished to hold a 'friendly talk' with the commander. Disarmed of suspicion, the commander Ensign admitted the callers; the result is the oft repeated history. The entering Indians rushed to the gate, tomahawked the sentinel, let in their associates who instantly pounced upon the garrison, killed eleven of the soldiers, plundered the fort and later carried Schlosser and his three surviving companions captives to Detroit.

"Fort Michillimackinac was the most important point on the upper lakes, commanding as it did the straits of Mackinac, the passage from Lake Huron into Lake Michigan. Great numbers

of the Chippewas, in the last of May, began to assemble in the vicinity of the fort, but with every indication of friendliness. June 4, was the King's (George) birthday. It must be celebrated with pastimes. The discipline of the garrison, some thirty-five in number, was relaxed. Many squaws were admitted as visitors into the fort, while their braves engaged in their favorite game of ball just outside the garrison entrance. It was a spirited contest between the Ojibwas and Sacs. Capt. George Etherington, commander of the fort and his lieutenant, Leslie, stood without the palisades to watch the sport. Suddenly the ball was thrown near the open gate and behind the two officers. The Indians pretending to rush for the ball instantly encircled and seized Etherington and Leslie, and crowded their way into the fort where the squaws supplied them with tomahawks and hatchets, which they had carried in, hidden under their blankets. Quick as a flash, the instruments of death were gleaming in the sunlight and Lieutenant Jamet and fifteen soldiers and a trader were struck down never to rise. The rest of the garrison were made prisoners and five of them afterwards tomahawked. All of the peaceful traders were plundered and carried off. The prisoners were conveyed to Montreal. The French population of the post was undisturbed. Captain Etherington succeeded in sending timely warning to the little garrison at La Bay (Green Bay). Lieutenant Gorrell, the commandant, and his men were brought as prisoners to the Michillimackinac fort and thence sent with Etherington and Leslie to the Canadian capital. The little post of Ste. Marie (Sault) had been partially destroyed and abandoned. The garrison inmates had withdrawn to Michillimackinac and shared its fate.

"The garrison at Ouiatenon situated on the Wabash—(Indian Ouabache)— near the present location of Lafayette (Indiana) then in the very heart of the western forest, as planned, was to have been massacred on June 1. Through the information given by the French at the post, the soldiers were apprised of their intended fate and through the intervention of the same French friends, the Indians were dissuaded from executing their sanguinary purpose. Lieutenant Jenkins and several of his men were made prisoners by stratagem, the remainder of the garrison readily surrendered.

"On the present site of Fort Wayne (Indiana) was Fort Miami at the confluence of the rivers St. Joseph and St. Marys, which unite to form the Maumee. The fort at this time was in

charge of Ensign Holmes. On May 27, the commander was decoyed from the fort by the story of an Indian girl, that a squaw lay dangerously ill in a wigwam near the stockade, and needed medical assistance. The humane Holmes forgetting his caution on an errand of mercy, walked without the gate and was instantly shot dead. The soldiers in the palisades, seeing the corpse of their leader and hearing the yells and whoopings of the exultant Indians, offered no resistance, admitted the redmen and gladly surrendered on promise of having their lives spared.

"Fort Presque Isle stood on the southern shore of Lake Erie at the site of the present town of Erie. The blockhouse, an unusually strong and commodious one, was in command of Ensign Christie with a courageous and skillful garrison of twenty-seven men. Christie learning of the attack on the other posts 'braced up' for his 'visit from the hell hounds' as he appropriately called the enemy. He had not long to wait. On June 15, about two hundred of them put in an appearance from Detroit. They sprang into the ditch around the fort and with reckless audacity approached to the very walls and threw fire-balls of pitch upon the roof and sides of the fortress. Again and again the wooden retreat was on fire, but amid showers of bullets and arrows the flames were extinguished by the fearless soldiers. The savages rolled logs before the fort and erected strong breastworks from behind which they could discharge their shots and throw their fire balls. For nearly three days a terrific contest ensued. The savages finally undermined the palisades to the house of Christie, which was at once set on fire nearly stifling the garrison with the smoke and heat for Christie's quarters were close to the blockhouse. Longer resistance was vain. 'The soldiers pale and haggard, like men who had passed through a fiery furnace, now issued from their scorched and bullet pierced stronghold.' The surrendering soldiers were taken to Pontiac's quarters on the Detroit River.

"Three days after the attack on Presque Isle, Fort La Boeuf, twelve miles south of La Boeuf Creek, one of the head sources of the Allegheny River, was surrounded and burned. Ensign Price and a garrison of thirteen men miraculously escaped the flames and the encircling savages, and endeavored to reach Fort Pitt. About half of them succeeded, the remainder died of hunger and privation by the way.

"Fort Venango, still farther south on the Allegheny River, was captured by a band of Senecas, who gained entrance by re-

sorting to the oft employed treachery of pretending friendliness. The entire garrison was butchered, Lieutenant Gordon, the commander, slowly tortured to death and the fort burned to the ground. Not a soul escaped to tell the horrible tale.

"Fort Ligonier, another small post commanded by Lieut. Archibald Blane, forty miles southeast of Fort Pitt, was attacked but successfully held out till relieved by Bouquet's expedition.

"Thus within a period of about a month from the time the first blow was struck at Detroit, Pontiac was in full possession of nine out of the twelve posts so recently belonging to and, it was thought, securely occupied by the British. The fearful threat of the great Ottawa conspirator that he would exterminate the whites west of the Alleghanies, was well nigh fulfilled. Over two hundred traders with their servants fell victims to his remorseless march of slaughter and rapine, and goods estimated at over half a million dollars became the spoils of the confederated tribes.

"The result of Pontiac's widespread and successful uprising struck untold terror to the settlers along the western frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The savages roused to the highest pitch of fury and weltering in the blood of their victims were burning the cabins and crops of the defenseless whites and massacring the men, women and children. Many hundreds of the forest dwellers with their families flocked to the stockades and protected posts. Particularly in the Pennsylvania country did dread and consternation prevail. The frontiersmen west of the Alleghanies fled east over the mountains to Carlisle and Lancaster, and numbers even continued their flight to Philadelphia. Pontiac was making good his threat that he would drive the paleface back to the sea.

"But Forts Niagara and Pitt were still in the possession of the 'red coats' as the British soldiers were often called by the forest 'redskins.' Following the total destruction of La Boeuf and Venango, the Senecas made an attack on Fort Niagara, an extensive work on the east side of Niagara River near its mouth as it empties into Lake Ontario. This fort guarded the access to the whole interior country by way of Canada and the St. Lawrence. The fort was strongly built and fortified and was far from the center of the country of the warpath Indians, for with the exception of the Senecas, the Iroquois tribes inhabiting eastern Canada and New York did not participate in Pontiac's conspiracy. The attack on Fort Niagara therefore was half hearted and after

a feeble effort the besiegers despaired of success or assistance and abandoned the blockade, which lasted only a few days.

"Fort Pitt was the British military headquarters of the western frontier. It was the Gibraltar of defense, protecting the eastern colonies from invasion by the western Indians. The consummation of Pontiac's gigantic scheme depended upon the capture of Fort Pitt. It was a strong fortification at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Its northern ramparts were faced with brick on the side looking down the Ohio. Fort Pitt stood 'far aloof in the forest and one might journey eastward full two hundred miles before the English settlements began to thicken.' The garrison consisted of three hundred and thirty soldiers, traders and backwoodsmen, besides about one hundred women and a greater number of children. Captain Simeon Ecuyer, a brave Swiss officer, was in command. Every preparation was made for the expected attack. All houses and cabins outside the palisade were leveled to the ground. A rude fire engine was constructed to extinguish any flames that might be kindled by the burning arrows of the Indians. In the latter part of May the hostile savages began to approach the vicinity of the Fort. On June 22, they opened fire 'upon every side at once.' The garrison replied by a discharge of howitzers, the shells of which bursting in the midst of the Indians, greatly amazed and disconcerted them. The Indians then boldly demanded a surrender of the fort, saying vast numbers of braves were on the way to destroy it. Ecuyer displayed equal bravado and replied that several thousand British soldiers were on the way to punish the tribes for their uprising. The fort was now in a state of siege. For about a month, 'nothing occurred except a series of petty and futile attacks,' in which the Indians, mostly Ottawas, Ojibwas and Delawares, did small damage. On July 26, under a flag of truce, the besiegers again demanded surrender. It was refused and Ecuyer told the savages that if they again showed themselves near the fort he would throw bombshells amongst them and blow them to atoms. The assault was continued with renewed fury.

"Meanwhile Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, awakening to the gravity of the situation, ordered Colonel Bouquet, a brave and able officer in His Majesty's service, to take command of certain specified forces and proceed as rapidly as possible to the relief of Fort Pitt, and then make aggressive warfare on the western tribes. Bouquet leaving his

headquarters at Philadelphia, reached Carlisle late in June, where he heard for the first time of the calamities at Presque Isle, La Boeuf and Venango. He left Carlisle with a force of five hundred men, some of them the pick of the British regulars, but many of them aged veterans enfeebled by disease and long, severe exposure. Bouquet had seen considerable service in Indian warfar. He was not likely to be caught napping. He marched slowly along the Cumberland Valley and crept cautiously over the mountains, passing Forts Loudon and Bedford, the latter surrounded with Indians, to Fort Ligonier which as noted above, had been blockaded for weeks by the savages, who, as at Bedford, fled at Bouquet's approach. On August 5th, the little army, footsore and tired and half famished, reached a small stream within twenty-five miles of Fort Pitt, known as Bushy Run. Here in the afternoon they were suddenly and fiercely fired upon by a superior number of Indians. A terrific contest ensued, only ended by the darkness of night. The encounter was resumed next day; the odds were against the British who were surrounded and were being cut down in great numbers by the Indians who skulked behind trees and logs and in the grass and declivities. Bouquet resorted to a ruse which was signally successful. He formed his men in a wide semi-circle, and from the center advanced a company toward the enemy; the advancing company then made a feint of retreat, the deceived Indians followed close after and fell into the ambuscade. The outwitted savages were completely routed and fled in hopeless confusion. Bouquet had won one of the greatest victories in western Indian warfare. His loss was about one hundred and fifty men, nearly a third of his army. The loss of the Indians was not so great. As rapidly as possible Bouquet pushed on to Fort Pitt which he entered without molestation on August 25. The extent and the end of Pontiac's conspiracy had at last been reached. The Pennsylvania Assembly and King George, even, formally thanked Bouquet.

"Forts Detroit and Pitt, as has been seen, proved impregnable, neither the evil cunning nor the persistent bravery of the savage could dislodge the occupants of those important posts. The siege of Detroit had been abandoned by the combined forces of Pontiac but the country round about continued to be infested with the hostile Indians, who kept up a sort of petty bushwhacking campaign that compelled the soldiers and traders of the fort, for safety, to remain 'in doors' during the winter of 1763-64. Bouquet on gaining Fort Pitt, desired to pursue the marauding and

murderous savages to their forest retreats and drive them hence, but he was unable to accomplish anything until the following year."

With the events following, Randall further says that "the sudden and surprising victories of Pontiac were being rapidly undone. The great Ottawa chief saw his partially accomplished scheme withering into ignominious failure. Sullen, disappointed, consumed with humiliation and revenge, he withdrew from active prominence to his forest wigwam. He sought the banks of the Maumee, scene of his birth and the location of the villages of many tribes who were his sympathetic adherents. He did not participate in any of the councils held by Bradstreet and the chiefs. 'His vengeance was unslaked and his purpose unshaken.' But his glory was growing dim and his power was withering into dust. From the scenes of his promising but short lived triumphs, he retired into the country of the Illinois and the Mississippi. He tried to arouse the aid of the French. He gathered a band of four hundred warriors on the Maumee and with these faithful followers revisited the western tribes in hopes of creating another confederation. Not even would the southern tribes respond to his appeals. All was lost. His allies were falling off, his followers, discouraged, were deserting him. Again and again he went back to his chosen haunts and former faithful followers on the Maumee. But his day had passed.

"In the spring of 1766 Pontiac met Sir William Johnson at Oswego. In his peace speech at that time he said: 'I speak in the name of all the nations westward, of whom I am the master. It is the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet here today; and before him I now take you by the hand. I call him to witness that I speak from my heart; for since I took Colonel Croghan by the hand last year, I have never let go my hold, for I see that the Great Spirit will have us friends. Moreover, when our great father of France was in this country, I held him fast by the hand. Now that he is gone, I take you, my English Father, by the hand, in the name of all the nations, and promise to keep this covenant as long as I shall live.'

"But he did not speak from the heart, on the contrary only from the head. Leaving the Oswego conference, his canoe laden with the gifts of his enemy, Pontiac steered homeward for the Maumee; and in that vicinity he spent the following winter. From now on for some two years the great Ottawa chief disappeared as if lost in the forest depths.

"In April, 1769, he is found at Fort St. Louis on the west side of the Mississippi, where he gave himself mainly to the temporary oblivion of 'fire-water,' the dread destroyer of his race. He was wont to cross the Father of Waters to the fort on the British side at Cahokia, where he would revel with the friendly Creoles. In one of these visits, in the early morning, after drinking deeply he strode with uncertain step into the adjacent forest. He was arrayed in the uniform of a French officer, which apparel had been given him many years before by the Marquis of Montcalm. His footsteps were stealthily dogged by a Kaskaskia Indian, who in the silence and seclusion of the forest, at an opportune moment, buried the blade of a tomahawk in the brain of the Ottawa conqueror, the champion of his race. The murderer had been bribed to the heinous act by a British trader named Williamson who thought to thus rid his country (England) of a dangerous foe. The unholy price of the assassination was a barrel of liquor. It was supposed the Illinois, Kaskaskia, Peoria and Cahokia Indians were more or less guilty as accomplices in the horrible deed. That an Illinois Indian was guilty of the act was sufficient. The Sacs and Foxes and other western tribes friendly to Pontiac and his cause, were aroused to furious revenge. They went upon the warpath against the Illinois Indians. A relentless war ensued, and says Parkman, 'over the grave of Pontiac more blood was poured out in atonement than flowed from the veins of the slaughtered heroes on the corpse of Patroclus.'

"The body of the murdered chief was borne across the river and buried near Fort St. Louis. No monument ever marked the resting place of the great hero and defender of his people."

In his "Story of Detroit" in speaking of Pontiac, George B. Catlin, librarian of the *Detroit News*, writes as follows: "For three years he roved the west like a lost soul. Indian outbreaks occurred but he remained aloof. He was still feared and hated for his past deeds; distrusted by the French because he was an English pensioner and feared by the British traders who still remembered the story of Detroit. In the summer of 1769 he was at Cahokia on the Mississippi. The Indians of the neighborhood indulged in a wild orgy of drunkenness and when Pontiac left the feast dazed with liquor a Kaskaskian Indian followed him into the forest, crept up behind him and drove his hatchet into his brain. The murder was said to have been instigated by a British fur trader who hated Pontiac, and the price was said to have been a jug of rum."

CHAPTER XVII

EXPEDITION OF BRADSTREET

INDIANS STILL HOSTILE—RAID BORDER SETTLEMENTS—BRADSTREET VISITS SANDUSKY COUNTRY AND DETROIT—CAMPED AT NOW FREMONT—ISRAEL PUTNAM CONSPICUOUS FIGURE—OLD NEUTRAL TOWNS THERE—FAMOUS TOUR OF CAPTAIN THOMAS MORRIS IN MAUMEE REGION.

The beginning of the year 1764 found the Ohio Indian tribes that had been allied with Pontiac in his well planned conspiracy still bitterly hostile to the English. The plot had failed of accomplishment, but the savage spirit had not been subdued and the Indians fighting for the retention of their lands continued their onslaughts and raids into the border settlements. Therefore it was determined, "in the interests of advancing civilization" to take the necessary steps for their subjugation.

Gen. Thomas Gage, the successor of Jeffrey Amherst as commander-in-chief of the British army in America, for this purpose planned two separate expeditions; one headed by Col. John Bradstreet and the other under Col. Henry Bouquet. Bradstreet was to discipline the Indians located in the territory along the south shore of Lake Erie and relieve Detroit, and Bouquet was to subdue the tribes farther toward the interior. Leaving Albany Bradstreet, gathering some 2,000 men, reached Fort Niagara in June, 1764, coming by way of Lake Ontario. One of Bradstreet's officers was the distinguished Col. Israel Putnam who was in command of a Connecticut detachment. Col. James Montresor was the engineer and road-builder. At Niagara was Sir William Johnson, the English Indian agent who had called together the Indians of the various tribes which nearly equaled the forces of Bradstreet. But the Delawares and Shawnees of the Ohio region were conspicuous for their absence. The Pontiac affair was too fresh in their memory. However, they sent representatives from their villages on the Muskingum and the Scioto stating that they were willing to make peace, adding disdainfully that it was however, not because they feared the English. Goods and presents to the value of several thousands of dollars, one report says over a million, were distributed at the

conference, and evidently aided by Johnson, the Indians present after several days concluded peace with Bradstreet. Being liberally supplied with rum, they yielded all that was asked, including the reestablishment of Michilimackinac and the establishment of a post on the northwest side of the Niagara River at the lower end of Lake Erie.

The conference concluded, Bradstreet proceeded on his journey, and on Lake Erie was by a storm obliged to land at Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania), where he was visited by ten Indian commissioners from the Delawares and Shawnees, who represented that they had also come to make peace for their tribes. This as proved later was simply a ruse to deceive Bradstreet and to gain time for intended hostilities, but Bradstreet readily fell into the scheme. Although his Indian allies declared these delegates were spies and demanded their execution, he agreed to abandon his plans for the invasion and chastisement of these Indians of the interior, on condition that within twenty-five days they deliver at Lower Sandusky all white prisoners in their possession, surrender all claims to the English posts in their territory and further, wherever the English interests demanded, give them the right to build posts. To all this the Indian commissioners readily agreed and Bradstreet added to the farce by sending word to Bouquet at Fort Pitt that he need proceed no farther with his troops on his mission, as he, Bradstreet, had already subjugated the Delawares and Shawnees and made a treaty of peace.

Congratulating himself upon his diplomacy and success, with his force now augmented to near 2,300, over half of which were regular troops, the flotilla consisting of two vessels, the *Mohawk* and *Johnson*, and seventy-five long boats and unnumbered other smaller craft, on August 18, arrived at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River and thence reached Sandusky Bay. From this point Bradstreet had been ordered to proceed to the chastisement of the Wyandots, Miamis and Ottawas near this section. But once more with the promise that they follow him to Detroit to enter into peace negotiations, without raising his hand against the Indians identified with Pontiac's conspiracy, Bradstreet continued to the mouth of the River Raisin, where on account of a severe northeaster, the forces were obliged to unload most of their craft and haul them on shore, thus spending the night of August 26 at this point.

Reloading their boats the following morning, Montresor, who

kept a journal of the expedition, in his account says that "on arrival near the fort (Detroit) we were saluted from thence and the vessels which (cannon salute) was returned from our guns."

The reception by the beleaguered garrison at the fort was hilarious beyond description. Cheer after cheer arose from the soldiers mounting the palisades, and the whoops of the Indians friendly to the relief party added to the din. The weary troops within were speedily relieved by fresh detachments and the meeting once more of long parted friends who had passed through earlier campaigns and frontier hardships, was truly dramatic. Col. Israel Putnam and Major Gladwyn had been at Crown Point and Ticonderoga together, and Montresor and others had experienced in common the dangers of forest explorations and knew the thrill of comradeship.

As to the great conspirator, Randall in writing of the event said that "Pontiac was not one of the Ottawas to shout for joy at Bradstreet's entry. His vengeance unslacked, his hostility unabated and his hope unbroken, he had betaken himself to the Maumee country of his nativity and from there hurled back haughty defiance at the English commander, who at once summoned a council of the Detroit tribes."

This story of Pontiac is of more interest to Northwestern Ohio from the fact that his birthplace is recorded to have been near the junction of the Maumee and Auglaize rivers (Defiance section) and that at the time of the dramatic parley at Detroit, he was at Roche de Boeuf on the Maumee above present Waterville, Montresor's diary of September 5, 1764, tells of the council sitting in the open space adjoining the Detroit fort and says: "Sat this day the Indian council, present the Jibbeways, Shawnese, Hurons of Sandusky and the Five Nations of the Scioto, with all the several nations of friendly Indians accompanying the army. The Pottawattomies had not yet arrived. Pondiac declined appearing here until his pardon should be granted. This day Pondiac was forgiven in council, who is at present two days march above the Castle on the Miami River called la Roche de But, with a party of six or more savages."

Parkman gives his story of the parley. The Pottawattomies appeared later, there being present also the Wyandots, Miamis and Sacs. Bradstreet refused to grant the Indian peace overtures unless the tribes would agree to become English subjects and call the king of England "father" the term they had theretofore applied to the king of France, while the English were

known as "brothers." To all of Bradstreet's demands the Indians readily agreed. Some writers convey the idea that the members of the tribes present, little comprehended all that they were assenting to. The facts apparently were that they understood and that their purpose was to agree to any demands Bradstreet made with no idea of keeping faith with him.

His work at Detroit after some three weeks, coming to a close with apparent satisfaction, Bradstreet with his forces, in sixty long boats and a barge, returned to Sandusky where he expected the chiefs of the Shawnees and Delawares to meet him as promised by the alleged representatives at the Detroit conference. According to Montresor's journal, "news soon arrived (at Detroit) that the Delawares and Shawnees are assembled at Sandusky, where the old fort stood, in order to treat with us for peace" and "Bradstreet's troops entered Sandusky Lake or Bay" September 18, and "encamped on a good clay bank half a mile west of the spot where sixteen months before, Pondiac had butchered the English garrison and burned the Fort."

Indians soon appeared and promised that if Bradstreet would spare the Indian villages they would make a definite treaty of peace and give up all prisoners in their possession. In consequence, Bradstreet desisted and after waiting seven days, he "proceeded up the Sandusky River to the village of the Hurons and Wyandots, which had been destroyed by Captain Dalzell the preceding year. Bradstreet's whole force proceeded and encamped one mile below the rapids of the Sandusky River. Maj. Israel Putnam served as field officer for the picket and presided at a General Court Martial at his own tent to try all prisoners brought before him." Thus honored was this spot on the banks of the Sandusky, within present Fremont, by the presence of this later hero at Bunker Hill. Montresor "took a sketch and bearing of that advantageous and beautiful situation and the meanderings of the river" and further observed that "the left of our encampment is contiguous to the remains of an old fort where the Delawares and some of the western Indians took post to shelter themselves against the Iroquois near one hundred years ago, constructed in the form of a circle three hundred yards in circumference, one half defended by the river and a remarkable hollow way or gully, which covers the left and part of the front of our present encampment." This story seems almost to tell of a connecting link between the Mound Builders and the historic Indians. And here a force in command of Putnam, from the

plans of Montresor, built a fortified encampment. The location extended from the elevation on the river bank, around the present Sandusky County fair grounds, known as the Israel Putnam Agricultural Park, to the site of Fort Stephenson

The tradition has been handed down that there were two fortified neutral towns here. One on the west and the other on the east bank of the Sandusky, evidences of which in the shape of earthworks were visible to and described by the early settlers of Fremont. Maj. B. F. Stickney, Indian agent in Northwestern Ohio and who figured prominently in the early history of Toledo, especially during the Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute, in a historical address delivered in Toledo in 1845, said that the Wyandots had given him an account of these two towns; that some time, perhaps early in the seventeenth century, all the Indians west of the Sandusky were at war with the Indians of this point. There were two walled towns here, constructed near each other, inhabited by Indians of Wyandot origin. All of the western people might enter the western town and all the eastern people the village on the east. The people of one town were permitted to inform those of the other town that war parties were there; but anything more as to who they were or where they were from must not be divulged. It was claimed for these neutral villages that during the entire period of contests previous to and after the advent of the whites, during which the Iroquois contended for victory and their enemies for life, this band of Wyandots preserved their integrity as neutrals and peacemakers. "All who met at their threshold met as friends" and this nation of peacemakers was yet here when the French missionaries penetrated to the upper lakes more than two centuries ago. These villages were in the end destroyed by internal strife.

Returning to Bradstreet, small parties of Indians came in with the pretensions of making peace, but little was accomplished. September 24, the army departed from this historic ground, passed down the Sandusky and nearly a mile above where the old French fort was located on the portage between the bay and the lake at the mouth of the Portage River, made camp. While the ground was being cleared for a fort and men under the direction of Putnam were cutting timber and throwing up enbankments for a stockade, Bradstreet was still parleying with the wiley Indians. According to Montresor, among the chiefs who arrived for a conference were Assarrigoa of the Caughnawagas, Monitou of the Ottawas, Killbuck of the Delawares and Caption,

King of the Oneidas. Others came in from long distances to "talk about peace while plotting war" thus deceiving Bradstreet and even among themselves making accusations of duplicity. While the turmoil was on, Bradstreet received specific orders from General Gage to carry out the original plans of an attack upon the Indians south on the Scioto Plains and then form a junction with Colonel Bouquet, who was on his way to the Muskingum Forks (Coshocton) from Fort Pitt.

Making the excuse that the season was too far advanced for such a project and abandoning the completion of the fort and stockade at the carrying-place between the bay and the lake, according to Montresor, on the morning of October 18, at half-past eight o'clock the whole army consisting of 1,400 men with 150 Indians, embarked for Niagara in fifty-nine long boats, one barge and nine birch-bark canoes. The army, a little distance on their journey, were joined by 150 light infantry commanded by Major Daly, who had left camp ahead of the main force.

The description of their voyage shows that it was precarious and accompanied by many dangers from storms and rough weather on the lake as they hugged the shore as closely as prudence allowed. Many boats were destroyed and others rendered almost unseaworthy. Many of the troopers had narrow escapes from drowning including Colonel Putnam who spoke of the campaign with deprecation.

It was November 4 that the main force of the expedition reached Niagara. By way of Lake Ontario the whole army arrived at Albany November 19, 1764. The campaign was not totally without results. It occupied the attention of the Indians and showed them at least that the English army had its numbers. There was some accomplishment at Detroit and a moral effect was produced upon the Indians around the upper lake posts. It could hardly be said that Bradstreet's failure at the Sandusky, more than offset his accomplishments, although most historians write down his expedition as a farce.

Before passing on to the next phase of this narrative, mention will be made of the serious experiences of Capt. Thomas Morris as an adjunct to the expedition of Bradstreet. Morris knew Indian life and was sent from Bradstreet's camp at Cedar Point, mouth of the Maumee, as an ambassador of peace to the Indians along the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois. As an interpreter, he was by Bradstreet offered the services of Jacques Godefroy, a French Canadian who had been captured by Bradstreet and who

in May, 1763, was the leader of the raiders who murdered Ensign Holmes and destroyed Fort Miami at the head of the Maumee (Fort Wayne) as a part of the plot of Pontiac. Naturally, when captured, Godefroy expected his fate would be death and was much elated when Morris accepted his services. He considered that Morris had saved his life and as later events show, he in return saved the life of Morris. Other members of the embassy were a second Canadian, two servants, twelve Indian allies, and five Mohawks in a boat with the provisions who were to accompany the party up the river to the Rapids, [between now Maumee and Perrysburg—Editor] and then return to the camp. There were also with Morris, Warsong, a renowned Chippewa chief, and Attawang, an Ottawa chief. The party, according to the account written by Morris himself, "set out in good spirits from Cedar Point, Lake Erie, on the 26th of August, 1764, at four o'clock in the afternoon, at the same time the army (Bradstreet) proceeded to Detroit." Passing up the Maumee by boats, they came near to the camp of the great Pontiac. Just where this camp was located is indefinite. Pontiac at least a short time before had been in the vicinity of Roche de Boeuf in the Maumee, but had possibly moved up the river and with his followers had established himself, as one writer says, "five or six miles from the Maumee probably northeast of now Defiance."

Ending their river journey for the time being, the Morris party procured three horses from an Ottawa chief, which Captain Morris, Godefroy and the other Canadian rode at the front, bearing the British flag. Near Pontiac's camp, the delegation was met by several hundred of his Indians who crowded about to separate the party, struck the horses and made other demonstrations of disfavor. Pontiac himself held aloof at the edge of his camp and sullenly refused the ordinary greetings. A French renegade in the uniform of a French officer, calling himself St. Vincent came to the front and ostentatiously made himself most disagreeable. Finally asking Morris to dismount, the two seated themselves on a bearskin, with Godefroy near at hand closely watching the movements of the Indians who in circles several deep crowded about. "Presently came Pontiac and squatted himself after his fashion opposite Morris. He opened the interview by observing that the English were liars, and demanded of the ambassador if he had come to lie to them like the rest."

A letter was shown and read which purported as coming from the king of France by way of New Orleans, addressed to Pontiac.

It stated that "Your Father, (the French king) is neither dead nor asleep; he is already on his way with sixty ships to revenge himself upon the English and drive them out of America." Its reading renewed the Indian excitement and St. Vincent took it upon himself to guard Captain Morris to his own wigwam. The following day a council was held with the Ottawas who became drunk and threatened to kill Morris and only desisted from carrying out their threats when Pontiac told them that the life of an ambassador must be held as sacred. Parkman remarks that Pontiac's speech did him honor and was evidence that he was asquainted with the law of nations. Pontiac told Godefroy—"I will lead the nations to war no more. Let them be at peace if they choose; but I will never be a friend to the English. I shall be a wanderer in the woods; and if they come there to seek me, I will shoot at them while I have an arrow left."

The situation became more precarious when a Mohawk chief of the Morris party stole everything available including two barrels of rum belonging to the captain, which he bartered to the Indians and disappeared. In the drunken orgies following, an attack was made on Morris by a chief with a knife, but Godefroy warded off the blow aimed at the heart. In the melee, Morris first concealed himself under a mattress and then fled to a cornfield. After the Ottawas became sober, Pontiac permitted the visitors to resume their journey up the Maumee. From the fact that the company had much trouble in getting their boats over "the stony shallows" on account of the low stage of the water, it would seem that Pontiac's camp might have been below the Maumee upper rapids.

Five days after Morris left Pontiac, the party came upon an Indian riding a fine white horse which the savage told them had belonged to General Braddock and was taken by the Indians at his memorable 1755 defeat.

Seven days from Pontiac's camp, they reached the head of the Maumee, on their way to the Illinois. They were accompanied a part of the way by a nephew of Pontiac and two Ottawas. While Captain Morris remained complacently in his canoe reading "Antony and Cleopatra" from a volume of Shakespeare presented to him by a chief at Pontiac's camp, who may have obtained it the way the Indian came into possession of Braddock's horse, the balance of the party started up the left bank of the St. Joseph River towards Fort Miami. They were met before they reached the stockade by the Indians supplied with bows and

arrows, tomahawks, spears and other weapons; thus being prepared to take and torture "the Englishman." The delay in finding Captain Morris, probably saved his life again. In the meantime the chiefs of his party exerting a friendly influence, neutralized the wrath of the hostiles.

When the Captain was discovered, with rough handling and many indignities, he was led to the fort occupied by a few French and Indians. The fort was in bad condition; having been without a garrison of troops for several months. As two Indians bearing tomahawks led him through the St. Joseph, then at low water mark, Morris counted the time his last, either by being tomahawked and scalped or by drowning. He was stripped of his clothing and his arms were bound behind him with his own sash. Thus they drove Morris before them into the village, the Indians flocking around him as they disputed as to his method of dispatch.

Godefroy, practicing the greatest equanimity and keeping close at hand, spoke words of encouragement. He finally induced the nephew of Pontiac to plead for the Captain's release, at the same time telling the Indians that if they killed Morris the English would retaliate by dispatching the Miamis held as prisoners at Detroit. This statement evidently had some effect, as a chief of the Miamis proceeded to untie the sash which bound the prisoner's arms and gave him a pipe to smoke. This angered the chief White Cat, who snatched the pipe and bound Morris by the neck to a stake. Of this climax Morris wrote: "I had not the smallest hope of life and I remember that I conceived myself as if going to plunge into a gulf, vast, immeasurable; and that in a few moments after, the thought of torture occasioned a sort of stupor and insensibility. I looked at Godefroy, and, seeing him exceedingly distressed, I said what I could to encourage him. But he desired me not to speak (I suppose it gave offense to the savages) and therefore I was silent. Then Pacanne, chief of the Miami nation, and just out of his minority, having mounted a horse and crossed the river, rode up to me. When I heard him calling to those about me, and felt his hand behind my neck, I thought he was going to strangle me out of pity; but he untied me saying, as it was afterward interpreted to me—'I give that man his life. If you want English meat, go to Detroit, or to the lake, and you will find enough. What business have you with this man's flesh, who is come to speak with us?' I fixed my eyes

steadfastly on this young man and endeavored by looks to express my gratitude."

At this, another pipe was handed Morris and he was soon sent out of the village, but was struck by a club and whip as he made his way to the fort. He was placed in a garret by a Frenchman and befriended by two squaws. Some of the Miamis and Kickapoos still declared they would kill him.

Captain Morris said that he was told by his Canadian friends that the strong feeling against him was caused by the arrival of Delaware and Shawnee messengers with a large number of war-belts to incite the Indians to renewed hostilities against the British. This was at the same time that the Indian commissioners were making agreements of peace at Detroit.

Being convinced that to proceed farther on his mission would mean sure death, still beset by dangers at every turn, Captain Morris arrived at Detroit September 17, 1764. He had made one of the most perilous journeys of frontier times.

CHAPTER XVIII

EXPEDITION OF COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET

SETS OUT FROM FORT PITT TO SUBDUE THE INDIANS—GLOWING DESCRIPTION OF HIS WESTWARD JOURNEY—MEETS LEADING CHIEFS NEAR PRESENT COSHOCTON—INDIANS MAKE PEACE AND SURRENDER WHITE PRISONERS—SCENES AT THE SURRENDER—SUCCESS OF EXPEDITION.

Why did one commander fail and another succeed in Indian warfare, with practically equal chances of success? Men of apparent equal ability; men equally versed in military tactics; men who had proven equally successful in civilized combats; men of equal bravery, fearlessness and courage? Evidently it was largely due to the lack of comprehension of the Indian character, his methods of warfare and the failure to appreciate the savage as a worthy foe when met in situations wherein he was trained to maneuver; fighting to retain a foothold in the forests and on the streams, the land of his birthright. Believing himself justified in going to any extreme, making any promise to be violated if circumstances warranted; considering a lie justifiable, duplicity no crime and treachery not dishonorable. He was like a cornered animal of the wilds fighting for his life, the very existence of his race, knowing no law in dispatching his foe.

When General Gage ordered Bradstreet and Bouquet into Ohio country to chastise and subdue the Indians and cause them to deliver up their white captives, he expected both expeditions to be crowned with success. The story of Bradstreet has been told and that of Colonel Henry Bouquet follows.

With his victory at Bushy Run told about and the siege of Fort Pitt raised, there was great rejoicing in the frontier settlements and many of the fugitive pioneers who had fled from the danger zone were quick to return and take possession of their abandoned cabins. "By comparing notes they were soon able to make out an accurate list of those who were missing, either killed or prisoners among the various tribes, and it was found to contain the names of more than two hundred men, women and children. Fathers mourned their daughters slain or subject to a captivity worse than death; husbands their wives left mangled in

the forest or forced into the embraces of their savage captors, some with their babes at their breast, and some whose offspring would first see the light in the red man's wigwam."

Bouquet had hoped to follow up his success immediately and march into the enemy's country, but the season was too far advanced and he had not mustered sufficient forces for the attempt. Consequently he spent the winter (1763-1764) at Fort Pitt. During this season, under orders, he matured the plans for his advance and as soon as spring opened began to raise a sufficient force to make victory certain on his campaign and bring the Indians to terms.

In the meantime the Indians had been supplied with ammunition by the French and as soon as winter began to wane, those west of the Muskingum again started their raids along the frontier "killing, scalping and taking prisoners—men, women and children."

The most authentic account of the expedition of Bradstreet extant was written by Dr. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, and published in 1765. This account was rewritten for "Graham's History of Coshocton County," giving the locations of events at a later date and is selected for this narrative.

"Bouquet could muster scarcely 500 men of the regular army, mostly Highlanders of the Forty-second and Sixtieth Regiments, but Pennsylvania [after much delay—Editor] at her own expense furnished 1,000 militia and Virginia a corps of volunteers. With this imposing force he was directed to march against the Delawares, Mohicans, and Mingoes; while Colonel Bradstreet, from Detroit, should advance into the territory of the Wyandots, Ottawas, and Chippewas; and thus, by one great simultaneous movement crush those warlike tribes. Bouquet's route, however, was without any water communication whatever, but lay directly through the heart of an unbroken wilderness. The expedition, from beginning to end, was to be carried on without boats, wagons, or artillery, and without a post to fall back upon in case of disaster. The army was to be an isolated thing, a self-supporting machine.

"Although the preparations commenced early in the spring, difficulties and delays occurred in carrying them forward, so that the troops that were ordered to assemble at Carlisle did not get ready to march till the 5th of August, 1764. Four days after they were drawn up on parade, and addressed in a patriotic

speech by the governor of the state. This ceremony being finished, they turned their steps toward the wilderness, followed by the cheers of the people. Passing over the bloody field at Bushy Run, which still bore the marks of the sharp conflict that took place there the year before, they pushed on, unmolested by the Indians, and entered Fort Pitt on the 13th of September.

"In the meantime a company of Delawares visited the fort, and informed Bouquet that Colonel Bradstreet had formed a treaty of peace with them and the Shawnees. Bouquet gave no credit to the story, and went on with his preparations. To set the matter at rest, however, he offered to send an express to Detroit if they would furnish guides and safe conduct, saying he would give it ten days to go and ten to return.

"This they agreed to; but, unwilling to trust their word alone, he retained ten of their number as hostages, whom he declared he would shoot if the express came to any harm. Soon after other Indians arrived, and endeavored to persuade him not to advance till the express should return. Suspecting that their motive was to delay him till the season was too far advanced to move at all, he turned a deaf ear to their solicitation, saying that the express could meet him on his march; and, if it was true, as they said, that peace was concluded, they would receive no harm from him. So, on the 3d of October, under a bright autumnal sky, the imposing little army of 1,500 men defiled out of the fort, and taking the great Indian trail westward boldly entered the wilderness. The long train of pack-horses and immense droves of sheep and cattle that accompanied it gave to it the appearance of a huge caravan, slowly threading its way amidst the endless colonades of the forest. Only one woman was allowed to each corps, and two for general hospital.

"This expedition, even in early history, was a novel one; for, following no water-course, it struck directly into the trackless forest, with no definite point in view and no fixed limit to its advance. It was intended to overawe by its magnitude; to move as an exhibition of awful power into the very heart of the red man's dominions. Expecting to be shut up in the forest at least a month, and receive in that time no supplies from without, it had to carry along an immense quantity of provisions. Meat, of course, could not be preserved, and so the frontier settlements were exhausted of sheep and oxen to move on with it for its support. These necessarily caused its march to be slow and methodical. A corps of Virginia volunteers went in advance, preceded by

three scouting parties, one of which kept the path, while the other two moved in a line abreast on either side to explore the woods. Under cover of these the axe companies, guarded by two companies of light infantry, cut two parallel paths, one each side of the main path, for the troops, pack-horses, and cattle that were to follow. First marched the Highlanders, in column two deep in the centre path, and in the side paths in single file abreast, the men six feet apart; and behind them the corps of reserve and the second battalion of Pennsylvania militia. Then came the officers and pack-horses, followed by the vast droves of cattle, filling the forest with their loud complainings. A company of light horse walked slowly after these, and the rear guard closed the long array. No talking was allowed, and no music cheered the way. When the order to halt passed along the line the whole were to face outward, and the moment the signal of attack sounded to form a hollow square, into the centre of which pack-horses, ammunition, and cattle were to be hurried, followed by the light horse.

"In this order the unwieldy caravan struggled on through the forest, neither extremity of which could be seen from the centre, it being lost amidst the thickly clustering trunks and foliage in the distance. The first day the expedition made only three miles. The next, after marching two miles, it came to the Ohio, and moved down its gravelly beach six miles and a half, when it again struck into the forest, and, making seven miles, encamped. The sheep and cattle, which kept up an incessant bleating and lowing that could be heard more than a mile, were placed far in the rear at night and strongly guarded.

"Tuesday, October 5, the march led across a level country, covered with stately timber and with but little underbrush, so that paths were easily cut, and the army made ten miles before camping. The next day it again struck the Ohio, but followed it only half a mile when it turned abruptly off, and crossing a high ridge over which the cattle were urged with great difficulty, found itself on the banks of Big Beaver Creek. The stream was deep for fording, with a rough, rocky bottom, and high, steep banks. The current was, moreover, strong and rapid; so that, although the soldiers waded across without material difficulty, they had great trouble in getting the cattle safely over. The sheep were compelled to swim, and being borne down by the rapid current landed, bleating, in scattered squads along the steep banks, and were collected together again only after a long effort. Keeping down the stream they at length reached its

mouth, where they found some deserted Indian huts, which the Indians with them said had been abandoned the year before, after the battle of Bushy Run. Two miles farther on they came upon the skull of a child stuck upon a pole.

"There was a large number of men in the army who had wives, children, and friends, prisoners among the Indians, who had accompanied the expedition for the purpose of recovering them. To these the skull of this little child brought sad reflections. Some one among them was perhaps its father, while the thought that it might stand as an index to tell the fate of all that had been captured made each one shudder. As they looked on it, bleached by the winds and rain, the anxious heart asked questions it dared not answer. The next day was Sunday, but the camp broke up at the usual hour, and the army resumed its slow march. During the day it crossed a high ridge, from the top of which one of those wondrous scenes found nowhere but in the American wilderness burst on their view. A limitless expanse of forest stretched away till it met the western heavens, broken only here or there by a dark gash or seam, showing where, deep down amidst the trees, a river was pursuing its solitary way to the Ohio, or an occasional glimpse of the Ohio itself, as in its winding course it came in line of vision. In one direction the tree-tops would extend, miles upon miles, a vast flooring of foliage, level as the bosom of a lake, and then break into green billows, that went rolling gently against the cloudless horizon. In another lofty ridges rose, crowned with majestic trees, at the base of which swamps of dark fir trees, refusing the bright beams of the October sun, that flooded the rest of the wilderness, made a pleasing contrast of light and shade. The magnificent scene was new to officers and men, and they gazed on it in rapture and wonder.

"Keeping on their course they came, two days after, to a point where the Indian path they had been following so long divided—the two branches leading off at a wide angle. The trees at the forks were covered with hieroglyphics describing the various battles the Indians had fought, and telling the number of scalps they had taken, etc. This point was in the southern part of the present county of Columbiana. The trails were both plainly marked and much travelled. The right-hand trail took a general course northwest toward Sandusky, and led to that place and on to Detroit; the course of the left-hand trail was generally southwest, and passed through the counties of Carroll and Tuscarawas, striking the Tuscarawas River in the latter county,

down which it followed, on the south side, to now Coshocton, and crossing the Muskingum a few miles below the site of Coshocton continued down the west side of the Muskingum at Dresden, where it crossed the Wakatomika and entered Licking County; passing across that county to the present reservoir continued on southwest to the Indian towns on the Scioto.

"Colonel Bouquet took the right-hand trail, which he followed until he reached the Tuscarawas River, when he left it and turned southward along that stream. The path selected by the army was so overgrown with bushes that every foot of the way had to be cleared with the axe. It led through low, soft ground, and was frequently crossed by narrow, sluggish rivulets, so deep and miry that the pack-horses could not be forced across them. After several attempts to do so, in which the animals became so thoroughly imbedded in the mud that they had to be lifted out with main force, they halted, while the artificers cut down trees and poles and made bridges. This was the hardest day's toil to which they had been subjected, and with their utmost efforts they were able to accomplish but five miles.

"On Thursday, the 11th, the forest was open, and so clear of undergrowth that they made seventeen miles. Friday, the 12th, the path led along the banks of Yellow Creek, through a beautiful country of rich bottom land on which the Pennsylvanians and Virginians looked with covetous eyes, and made a note for future reference. The next day they crossed it, and ascending a swell of land marched two miles in view of one of the loveliest prospects the sun ever shone upon. There had been two or three frosty nights, which had changed the whole aspect of the forest. Where, a few days before, an ocean of green had rolled away, there now was spread a boundless carpet, decorated with an endless variety of the gayest colors, and lighted up by the mellow rays of an October sun.

Long strips of yellow, vast masses of green, waving lines of red, wandering away and losing themselves in the blue of the distant sky—immense spaces sprinkled with every imaginable hue, now separated clear and distinct as if by a painter's brush, and now shading gradually into each other, or mingling in inextricable, beautiful confusion, combined to form a scene that appeared more like a wondrous vision suddenly unrolled before them, than this dull earth. A cloudless sky and the dreamy haze of Indian summer, overarching and enrobing all this beauty and splendor, completed the picture and left nothing for the imagination to suggest.

"At length they descended to a small river, which they followed till it joined the main branch of the Muskingum (Tuscarawas), where a scene of a very different character greeted them. A little below and above the forks the shores had been cultivated and lined with Indian houses. The place was called 'Tuscaroras,' and for beauty of situation could not well be surpassed. The high, luxuriant banks, the placid rivers meeting and flowing on together, the green fields sprinkled with huts and bordered with the rich autumnal foliage, all basking in the mellow October light, and so out of the way there in the wilderness, combined to form a sweet picture, and was doubly lovely to them after having been so long shut up in the forest.

"They reached this beautiful spot Saturday afternoon, October 13, and the next day being Sunday they remained in camp, and men and cattle were allowed a day of rest. The latter revived under the smell of green grass once more, and roaming over the fields gave a still more civilized aspect to the quiet scene. During the day the two messengers that had been sent to Detroit came into camp, accompanied by their Indian guides. The report they brought showed the wisdom of Bouquet in refusing to delay his march until their return. They had not been allowed to pursue their journey, but were held close prisoners by the Delawares until the arrival of the army, when, alarmed for their own safety, they released them and made them bearers of a petition for peace.

"The next day, Monday, the army moved two miles farther down the Tuscarawas, and encamped on a high bank, where the stream was 300 feet wide, within the present limits of Tuscarawas County, where it remained in camp about a week. On Tuesday six chiefs came into camp, saying that all the rest were eight miles off waiting to make peace. Bouquet told them he would be ready to receive them the next day. In the meantime he ordered a large bower to be built a short distance from the camp, while sentinels were posted in every direction to prevent surprise, in case treachery was meditated.

"The next day, the 17th, he paraded the Highlanders and Virginian volunteers, and, escorted by the light horse, led them to the bower, where he disposed them in the most imposing manner, so as to impress the chiefs in the approaching interview. The latter, as they emerged from the forest, were conducted with great ceremony to the bower, which they entered with their accustomed gravity; and without saying a word quietly seated

themselves and commenced smoking. When they had finished they laid aside their pipes, and drew from their pouches strings of wampum. The council being thus opened they made a long address, laying the whole blame of the war on the young men, whom they said they could not control. Bouquet, not wishing to appear eager to come to a settlement, replied that he would give his answer the next day; and the council broke up. The next day, however, a pouring storm prevented the meeting of council until the day following. Bouquet's answer was long and conciliatory, but the gist of it was he would make peace on one condition and no other—that the Indians should give up all the prisoners in their possession within ten days. The Indians present at this council were Ki-yash-uta, chief of the Senecas, with fifteen warriors; Custaloga, chief of the Wolf tribe of Delawares, and Beaver, chief of the Turkey tribe of the Delawares, with twenty warriors; and Keissi-nautchtha, as chief of the Shawnees, with six warriors.

"Monday, October 22, the army, accompanied by the Indian deputies, recommenced its march, as Bouquet wished to show that he was determined to enforce his demands. They marched nine miles down the Tuscarawas and went into camp. This was their fourteenth camp since leaving Fort Pitt, and was within a few miles of the east line of Coshocton County. The next day (October 23) the army crossed the present boundaries of this county, marching sixteen miles and camping seven miles east of the present site of Coshocton. This camp must have been in Lafayette township, very near the line between it and Oxford. Here Bouquet remained until the 25th, when he continued his march a little more than six miles, camping within a mile of the forks of the Muskingum.

"Judging this to be as central a position as he could find, he resolved to fix himself here until the object of his mission could be accomplished. He ordered four redoubts to be built, erected several storehouses, a mess house, a large number of ovens and various other buildings for the reception of the captives, which, with the white tents scattered up and down the banks of the river, made a large settlement in the wilderness and filled the Indians with alarm. A town with nearly two thousand inhabitants, well supplied with horses, cattle and sheep, and ample means of defence, was well calculated to awaken the gloomiest anticipations. The steady sound of the axe day after day, the lowing of the cattle, and all the sounds of civilization echoing

along the banks of the Tuscarawas within the very heart of their territory, was more alarming than the resistless march of a victorious army, and anxious to get rid of such unwelcome companions, they made every effort to collect the prisoners scattered among the various tribes.

"The American wilderness never presented such a spectacle as was here exhibited on the banks of the Muskingum. It was no longer a hostile camp, but a stage on which human nature was displaying its most attractive and noble traits; or rather a sublime poem, enacted there in the bosom of the wilderness, whose burden was human affection and whose great argument the common brotherhood of mankind. Bouquet and his officers were deeply impressed and could hardly believe their senses when they saw young warriors, whose deeds of daring and savage ferocity had made their names a terror on the frontier, weeping like children over their bereavement. [At the prospect of parting with the white captives to whom they had become attached.—Ed.]

"A treaty of peace having been concluded with the various tribes, Bouquet, taking hostages to secure their good behavior and the return of the remaining prisoners, broke up his camp on the 18th of November and began to retrace his steps toward Fort Pitt. The leafless forest rocked and roared above the little army as it once more entered its gloomy recesses, and that lovely spot on the Tuscarawas, on which such strange scenes had been witnessed, lapsed again into solitude and silence. The Indians gazed with various and conflicting emotions on the lessening files—some with grief and desolation of heart because they bore away the objects of their deep affection, others with savage hate, for they went as conquerors.

"In ten days the army again drew up in a little clearing in front of Fort Pitt and were welcomed with loud shouts. The war was over, and the troubled frontier rested once more in peace."

Doctor Smith's description of the scenes enacted when the Indians delivered into the hands of Bouquet their white prisoners after the exchange of dramatic speeches, closes the most picturesque entry of an army into the Ohio country in the annals of her history. With introductory remarks he wrote as follows:

"In the arrival of the prisoners in the camp were to be seen fathers and mothers recognizing and clasping their once lost babes; husbands hanging around the necks of their newly-recovered wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together

after long separation, scarce able to speak the same language; or, for some time; to be sure that they were children of the same parents! In all these interviews joy and rapture inexpressible were seen, while feelings of a very different nature were painted in the looks of others—flying from place to place in eager inquiries after relatives not found! trembling to receive an answer to their questions! distracted with doubts, hopes and fears on obtaining no account of those they sought for! or stiffened into living monuments of horror and woe on learning their unhappy fate!

"The Indians, too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening this most affecting scene. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance, shed torrents of tears over them, recommending them to the care and protection of the commanding officer. Their regard to them continued all the time they remained in camp. They visited them from day to day, and brought them what corn, skins, horses and other matters they had bestowed on them while in their families, accompanied with other presents, and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here; but when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road. A young Mingo carried this still further, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure even in romance. A young woman of Virginia was among the captives, to whom he had formed so strong an attachment as to call her his wife. Against all the remonstrances of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching to the frontiers, he persisted in following her at the risk of being killed by the surviving relations of many unfortunate persons, who had been captured or scalped by those of his nation.

"Those qualities in savages challenge our just esteem. They should make us charitably consider their barbarities as the effects of wrong education, and false notions of bravery and heroism; while we should look on their virtues as sure marks that nature has made them fit subjects of cultivation as well as us, and that we are called by our superior advantages to yield them all the helps we can in this way. Cruel and unmerciful as they are, by habit and long example, in war, yet whenever they come to give way to the native dictates of humanity, they exercise virtues which Christians need not blush to imitate. When once they

determine to give life, they give everything with it, which, in their apprehension, belongs to it. From every inquiry that has been made, it appears that no woman thus saved is preserved from base motives, or need fear the violation of her honor. No child is otherwise treated by the persons adopting it than the children of their own body. The perpetual slavery of those captured in war is a notion which even their barbarity has not yet suggested to them. Every captive whom their affection, their caprice, or whatever else, leads them to save, is soon incorporated with them, and fares alike with themselves. These instances of Indian tenderness and humanity were thought worthy of particular notice. The like instances among our own people will not seem strange, and therefore I shall only mention one out of a multitude that might be given on this occasion.

"Among the captives a woman was brought into camp at Muskingum with a babe about three months old at her breast. One of the Virginia volunteers soon knew her to be his wife, who had been taken by the Indians about six months before. She was immediately delivered to her overjoyed husband. He flew with her to his tent, and clothed her and his child in proper apparel. But their joy after the first transports was soon damped by the reflection that another dear child of about two years old, captured with the mother, and separated from her, was still missing, although many children had been brought in.

"A few days afterwards a number of other prisoners were brought to the camp, among whom were several more children. The woman was sent for, and one supposed to be hers was produced to her. At first she was uncertain; but viewing the child with great earnestness, she soon recollected its features, and was so overcome with joy, that literally forgetting her sucking child she dropped it from her arms, and catching up the new-found child in an ecstasy, pressed it to her breast, and bursting into tears carried it off, unable to speak for joy. The father, seizing up the babe she had let fall, followed her in no less transport and affection.

"Among the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being restored to their parents or relatives. Having been accustomed to look upon the Indians as the only connections they had, having been tenderly treated by them, and speaking their language, it is no wonder they considered their new state in the light of a captivity, and parted from

the savages with tears. But it must not be denied that there were even some grown persons who showed an unwillingness to return. The Shawanese were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to escape and ran back to the Indian towns. Some who could not make their escape, clung to their savage acquaintance at parting, and continued many days in bitter lamentations, even refusing sustenance.

"For the honor of humanity we would suppose those persons to have been of the lowest rank, either bred up in ignorance and distressing penury, or who had lived so long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections. For, easy and unconstrained as the savage life is, certainly it could never be put in competition with the blessings of improved life and the light of religion by any persons who have had the happiness of enjoying, and the capacity of discerning them. By the 9th of November 206 prisoners had been delivered, including women and children; of whom thirty-two men and fifty-eight women and children were from Virginia, and forty-nine males and sixty-seven females from Pennsylvania."

The Virginia House of Burgesses and the Assembly of Pennsylvania passed resolutions of thanks and commendation to Bouquet for his successful campaign and King George rewarded him by the promotion to brigadier-general.

In the conference at the Muskingum Forks, Bouquet had a separate conference with the Shawnees. Many of their nation had gone on a hunt at a great distance and consequently did not receive notice to attend the treaty. The chiefs of the Shawnees present agreed, however, that they would visit Fort Pitt the following spring and bring with them the remaining prisoners. Bouquet took nothing for granted when an Indian was a party to the contract. He retained the Shawnee hostages as a guaranty of the fulfillment of the promise, but during the return march of the army to Fort Pitt they escaped. However, evidently knowing the consequences if they did not comply with the agreement, on May 5, 1765, ten Shawnee chiefs, fifty of their warriors, accompanied by many of their women and children, together with a large force of Delawares, Senecas, Sandusky and Munsey Indians arrived at Fort Pitt and delivered the remainder of the prisoners. They further agreed to faithfully preserve the peace forever and promised to call the English king "father."

CHAPTER XIX

ADVANCE OF BORDER SETTLEMENTS

EMBASSY OF GEORGE CROGHAN—VISIT TO THE WABASH AND ILLINOIS SECTION—MEETS PONTIAC—CONFERENCES ON MAUMEE AND DETROIT —THE OHIO COMPANY AGAIN—OTHER LAND PROJECTS—DETROIT SEAT OF BRITISH AFFAIRS.

With the English in possession of the lake region and the Ohio country at the close of the French and Indian war, with Pontiac at least thwarted, the Bradstreet expedition a closed incident, and the success of Bouquet gloriously celebrated, the Maumee and Sandusky region was for four or five years in a comparatively peaceful state.

However, no sooner was one problem solved before another of equal seriousness came up for solution. There was no let-up in the determination of a hardy civilization to possess this local country, and the Indians were opposing this advance with all the force and ingenuity at the command of their savage nature. The English were now organizing land companies and sending surveyors across the Alleghenies, while the Indians were forming more alliances. The latter realized more and more that their hunting grounds were rapidly slipping from their control and to thwart this they proposed an unlimited alliance of the tribes with the Shawnees of Ohio as the rallying factor, under the leadership of the great chief Cornstalk. "The tribes to the southward as well as those toward the west were to be aligned, while the Six Nations of the Iroquois to the eastward were either to be won over, or, failing in this were to be overawed and subdued." A factor yet to be considered in the situation was Pontiac, who was still alive, and who was sending representatives beyond the Mississippi and south as far as New Orleans to further incite his people, and besides, to secure support from the French in the western and southern posts. The story of Cornstalk and attendant situations will come up later.

In regard to the expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet, Sir William Johnson, among other things, under the date of December 26, 1764, wrote to the Lords of Trade, London as follows: "The result of this Expedition (by Colonel John Bradstreet) is,

that after losing near one-half of the great boats (in a storm on Lake Erie on his return) the Troops are returned in a most shattered situation; many have perished in the Woods, and about forty are now daily fed by the Senecas, 'till they become able to march. Neither are all officers or Indians yet come in, having been turned a drift without any provision on Lake Erie, together with several hundred of the troops. * * * On the other hand Colonel Bouquet under all the disadvantages of a tedious and hazardous land march, with an army little more than half that of the other has penetrated into the heart of the country of the Delawares and Shawanese, obtained above 200 English captives from amongst them, with fourteen hostages for their coming here, and entering into a peace before me in due form, &c & I daily expect their chiefs for that purpose."

Again in May, 1764, Johnson reported a treaty of peace with nine hundred Indians of the different tribes including those subdued by Colonel Bouquet. He also reported unrest among the Miamis along the Maumee and that "several French families of the worst sort live at ye Miamis;" that these Indians with French influence were objecting to the occupation of the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois countries by the British.

Therefore, on May 15th, under the instructions of General Gage and by the advice of Sir William, the redoubtable George Croghan set out from Fort Pitt to the tribes on the Maumee, Illinois and Wabash, "to soften their antipathy to the English and to distribute presents among the tribes by way of propitation." His party consisted of fourteen representatives from the Senecas, Shawnees and Delawares and a number of whites. The journey was a thrilling one. The embassy, paddling down the Ohio, finally reached the mouth of the Scioto. But this story concerns more their movements in the Maumee section. Croghan persuaded the Shawnees at the junction of the Scioto and the Ohio to deliver to him seven French traders there who had been influencing them against the English. Seven other traders among the Delawares hostile to the English were sent ahead to Vincennes to keep them from further disturbance.

Near the mouth of the Wabash, further down the Ohio, on June 8, Croghan's party was fired upon by eighty Kickapoo and "Musquatine" warriors. Three of his number were killed and among several wounded was Croghan himself. The white men of the party were made prisoners, plundered of all their belongings and taken to Post Vincent—Vincennes. Post Vincent up

the Wabash had eighty or ninety French families. "An idle, lazy people, a parcel of renegadoes from Canada and are much worse than Indians"—so reported Croghan.

Fortunately, near Vincent was a village of Pyankeshaws where proved to be many of Croghan's old acquaintances and some friends. They welcomed him cordially and rebuked the Kickapoos for the part they took in making him a prisoner and maltreating the ambassador. This changed the attitude of the Indians, and Croghan's party was given friendly treatment and conducted up the Wabash a distance of some two hundred miles more to a town called Ouiatenon, another French stockade post (now Lafayette, Ind.). There arrived at this place a Frenchman "with pipe and speech" from the Illinois through the Kickapoos and Musquottamies, to have Colonel Croghan burned at the stake. There followed several conferences with all the tribes, and the convincing eloquence of the Colonel himself, as well as his presents, saved his life. It also had the effect "to reconcile those Nations to his Majesties Interests and obtain their consent and approbation to take possession of any posts in their country which the French formerly possessed and an offer of their service, should any Nation oppose our taking possession of it, all of which they confirmed by four large pipes. * * * On July 13th, The Chiefs of the Twightwees (Miamis) came to me (Croghan) from the Miamis (Maumee River) and renewed their Antient Friendship with his Majesty and all his subjects in America and confirmed it with a Pipe."

On July 18, 1765, Croghan started for the Illinois country, accompanied by the chiefs of all the tribes with whom he had been negotiating. He was still suffering from his wounds, but went as an accredited ambassador and not as a prisoner. Their destination was Fort Chartres, a French trading post built in 1720, on the Ohio River below Kaskaskia. One of the party was Francois Masonville, a French Indian interpreter. They soon came upon Pontiac with the deputies of the Six Nations of Iroquois, Delawares and Shawnees, who had accompanied Croghan down the Ohio River on his mission and from whom he had been separated. It was an extraordinary gathering, this conference in the forest. After friendly exchanges, all returned to Ouiatenon, where speeches were made in council, by representatives from the "four nations" of the Illinois country tribes. Pontiac and the others were in accord with the former agreement of the other chiefs, and the compact was confirmed by pipe-smoking and

wampum belts. Pontiac agreed not to resist the English in taking possession of the French forts, but would acknowledge allegiance to their new Father—the English. Misunderstandings were rectified, prisoners held by the Indians were surrendered, and this peace compact of Pontiac and the chiefs of his followers made it unnecessary for Croghan to proceed farther into the Illinois section. Turning his course eastward, Ambassador Croghan and his aides, proceeded up the Wabash and crossed the portage to Fort Miami, at the head of the Maumee (Fort Wayne). Regarding this phase of his journey Croghan's journal records the following:

"Within a mile of the Twightwee (Miami) Village I was met by the chiefs of that nation who received us very kindly. The most part of these Indians knew me and conducted me to their village, where they immediately hoisted an English flag that I had formerly given them at Fort Pitt. The next day they held a council after which they gave me up the English prisoners they had, then made several speeches in all of which they expressed the great pleasure it gave them to see the unhappy differences which embroiled the several nations in a war with their brethren (the English) were now so near a happy conclusion, and that peace was established in their country.

"The Twightwee village is situated on both sides of a river called St. Joseph. This river where it falls into the Miame (Maumee) River, about a quarter of a mile from this place, is one hundred yards wide, on the east side of which stands a stockade fort, somewhat ruinous. The Aborigine village consists of about forty or fifty cabins, besides nine or ten French houses—a runaway colony from Detroit during the late Indian (Pontiac) war. They were concerned in it, and being afraid of punishment, they came to this post where ever since they have spirited up the Indians against the English. All the French residing here are a lazy, indolent people, fond of breeding mischief, and spiriting up the Indians against the English, and should by no means be suffered to remain here. The country is pleasant, the soil rich and well watered.

"After several conferences with these Indians, and their delivering me up all the English prisoners they had, on the 25th July (6th August?) we set off for Detroit down the Miamee (Maumee) River in canoes, having settled everything with these several Nations to the Westward, & was accompanied by several chiefs of those Nations which were going to Detroit to Meet Colonel Brad-

street agreeable to his invitation to them last winter by Mr. Maisonville. As I passed by the Twightwee (Miami) and the Ottawa villages on the Miamis (Maumee) River, they delivered me all the English prisoners they had & I found as I passed by those towns that several of the Indians had set off for Detroit.

"This river (the St. Mary) is not navigable till you come to the place where the St. Joseph joins it and makes a considerably large stream. Nevertheless we found a great deal of difficulty in getting our canoes over shoals, as the water at this season was very low. The banks of the river are high, and the country overgrown with lofty timber of various kinds; and the land is level and the woods clear.

"About ninety miles from the Miamies of Twightwee (head of the Maumee) we came to where the large river (the Auglaize) that heads in a lick, falls into the Miami (Maumee) River. This they call the forks. The Ottawas claim this country, and hunt here where game is very plenty. From hence we proceeded to the Ottawa village (site of the present Providence, Lucas County). This nation formerly lived at Detroit, but is now settled here on account of the richness of the country, where game is always found to be plenty. Here we were obliged to get out of our canoes and drag them (occasionally) eighteen miles on account of the rifts which interrupted navigation. At the end of these rifts we came to a village of the Wyandots who received us very kindly, and thence we proceeded to the mouth of the river where it falls (enters) into Lake Erie. From the Miamis (villages near the head of the Maumee) to the Lake it is computed one hundred and eighty miles (the distance about one hundred and sixty miles), and from the entrance of the river into the Lake to Detroit is sixty miles—that is forty-two miles up the Lake and eighteen miles up the Detroit River to the garrison of that name.

"On the 17th (August) in the morning we arrived at the Fort, which is a large stockade inclosing about eighty houses. It stands on the west side of the river on a high bank, commands a very pleasant prospect for nine miles above and nine miles below. The country is thickly settled with French. Their plantations are generally laid out about three or four acres in breadth on the river and eighty acres in depth. The soil is good, producing plenty of grain. All the people here are generally poor wretches, and consist of three or four hundred French families, a lazy, idle people, depending chiefly on the savages for subsistence. Though the land with little labor produces plenty of grain, they scarcely raise

as much as will supply their wants, in imitation of the Indians whose manners and customs they have entirely adopted and cannot subsist without them."

Several councils were held at Detroit between Croghan and Colonel Campbell, the commandant there, and the Miami, Ottawa, Ouiatenon, Pinkashaw, Pottawattomie, Kickapoo, "Musquatomi," Chippewa, Six Nations, Delaware, Shawnee and Wyandot Indians. By these conferences was cleared up the complete occupation by the English, of the Maumee, Wabash and Illinois sections. On the strength of the report of his accomplishments, on the return of Croghan to Fort Pitt with the promise of Pontiac that he would the following spring visit Oswego as a representative of the western tribes to confirm the pact, a company of the 42nd Regiment of Highlanders under Capt. Thomas Stirling proceeded from Fort Pitt down the Ohio River to take welcome possession of Fort Chartres from Commandant St. Ange. The date of arrival was October 10, 1765, and these were the first British troops to enter the Illinois country.

According to promise, Pontiac with other chiefs, the following year, visited the Indian Agent Sir William Johnson at Albany, New York. The date of the meeting was July 24, 1766, and after being laden with presents Pontiac and his party, apparently satisfied with the situation, returned to the Maumee. In Croghan's return to Fort Pitt and then Niagara, and in the going and coming of Pontiac thereafter from the Maumee region, their route led through the lower Maumee, along the south shore of Lake Erie, past the mouth of the Sandusky; thus showing the great importance of these sections in the making of history.

While the story of Pontiac has been told in giving the account of his conspiracy, his activities were so entwined with important western events that his name appears many times where other actors held the leading role. In this repetition, let it be said that on the banks of the Maumee near where he was born, not far from the junction of the Auglaize and the former river, Pontiac passed the winter of 1766-1767, "pitching his lodge in the forest with his wives and children, and pursuing the chase like an ordinary member of his tribe." He was at the Post of St Louis in the early months of 1769. His tragic end has already been described.

The story in the progress of affairs in the Ohio country from 1766, up to the American Revolution involved two distinct features. One was the problem of the English government in their

dealings with the Indians. The second was the question of colonization and the problems confronting the mother country relative to the occupation and settlement of the lands west of the Alleghenies, the Ohio country, by home seekers clamoring for admission. They should make two distinct narratives, but their separation is difficult in a short account. There still remained this Indian balance of power, and the colonies were growing stronger and demanded more serious consideration.

Could England have had her way in her new possessions, she probably would have wished the savage wiped from the face of all her, or rather their, domain. But the Indians were here and they too had their desire; and had this desire been backed by sufficient power, they would have driven every paleface into the sea from across which they came. However, many tribes were in a measure beginning to realize that their interests demanded that they subject themselves to the will of the English. They could expect no more help from the French. Unfortunate incidents as told later on, lit the fires anew.

The plans laid by the English government for the subjugation of the savage through the leverage of the colonies had cost the latter dearly, and in the future they were still to pay heavily in lives and suffering and in treasure and hardships.

In their struggles with the French and their Indian allies, it is recorded that the colonists lost thirty thousand of their people and had expended in money sixteen millions of dollars. The English parliament had reimbursed to them about one-third of this sum, but they still had a large indebtedness and taxation had become an almost unbearable burden. The home government's indebtedness, according to authority, had increased one hundred and forty million pounds sterling during the French wars. They attempted, through parliament to shift more of this burden upon the shoulders of the colonists than the latter considered within justice and reason. There was the Stamp Act in the East and the restrictions of settlement on the western borders.

The Indians had heard of the riotous disturbances at the seat of affairs and had become uneasy about the frauds perpetrated upon themselves. With all this, the French ambition dying hard, their disturbers in the Illinois country, began trade again with the Indians and sent wampum belts to the various tribes with a view of reviving a lost hope for supremacy.

As to the desire of the ambitious colonists to possess lands

which included the Ohio country, Sir William Johnson on December 16, 1766, wrote the home secretary of state, London, as follows: "The thirst after the lands of the Indians is become almost universal, the people who generally want them are either ignorant of or remote from the consequences of disobliging the Indians, many make a traffic of lands, and few or none will be at any pains or expence to get them settled, consequently they cannot be losers by an Indian war, and should a Tribe be driven to despair, and abandon their country, they have their desire tho' at the expence of lives of such ignorant (innocent) settlers as may be upon it. * * * The majority of those who get lands, being persons of consequence (British) in the Capitals who can let them lye dead as a sure Estate hereafter, and are totally ignorant of the Indians, make use of some of the lowest and most selfish of the Country Inhabitants to seduce the Indians to their houses, where they are kept rioting in drunkenness till they have effected their bad purposes."

In the following May at the instance of Sir William some eight hundred Indians gathered in conference at the German Flats, New York. The boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland was up for consideration and the permission of the Six Nations for the surveyors to run the lines as agreed between the provinces was sought. At the same time Governor Fauquier of Virginia whose province lay between the Cherokees of the South and the Six Nations, hereditary enemies, desired a reconciliation between them. Nothing specific was accomplished and another conference at Johnson Hall (Johnstown, New York) was held in February, 1768, at which the Cherokees and the Six Nations entered into an amicable treaty. This meeting was really a preliminary to the important Treaty of Stanwix made at that fort (now Rome, New York), in September the same year, attended by some thirty-two hundred representatives from various tribes. This conclave lasted nearly two months and Sir William the Indian agent, displayed great diplomacy in its conduct. Among the tribes represented were the Shawnees, Mingoes and Delawares from Ohio, including the great chief Kilbuck from the Muskingum Forks. The result was that the Six Nations transferred to the King of England their interest in all lands south of the following lines: Beginning at the mouth of the Tennessee River and following the Ohio and Allegheny to Kitternang; thence on a direct line to the nearest fork of the west branch of the Susquehanna; thus on that stream through the Alleghenies

by way of Burnett's Hill and the east branch of the Susquehanna and Delaware, into New York to the confluence of Canada and Woods creeks. The treaty surrender included most of now Kentucky, Western Virginia and portions of Pennsylvania. As a part of the agreement the English were not to intrude upon the Indian lands north and west of this line—the Ohio country. Shortly after this gathering, Fort Stanwix was dismantled.

But towards now Ohio, civilization was fast approaching. Turning again to the Ohio Company, organized in 1748, this project was primarily formed in the interests of Virginia, with the idea of establishing better water transportation between the Potomac and the eastern branch streams of the Ohio, which would give this colony an advantage over the commercial interests of Pennsylvania. This Ohio Company, as has been stated, was given a grant by the crown of a half a million acres of land within Virginia, on both sides of the Ohio between the Kanawha and the Monongahela. As already stated a part of this grant was in Ohio. The conditions were that 200,000 acres of this tract was to be located immediately; to be free of quit rent for ten years, provided the company would locate therein three hundred families within seven years and protect the settlement by establishing a fort.

Now that the Stanwix Treaty had been negotiated, the time seemed ripe for reviving this project which had been delayed by the French-English contest and one of the causes of its formation.

It is not within the province of this story to follow the detail history of this company and several other land projects. The Mississippi Company was formed in 1763, shortly before the declaration of the Quebec Act, prohibiting Ohio settlements. The Walpole Company was one of the most prominent. Its organization was made up, among others, of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent himself, George Croghan, so prominent, as shown, in western affairs, William Franklin, governor of New Jersey, and a son of Benjamin Franklin, and other leaders in colonial matters, including the elder Franklin who was then in England and represented its interests there. The company took its name from Thomas Walpole, a London banker, a leading factor. The company's idea was to purchase some two and a half million acres of land from the Indians, but after the Stanwix Treaty, they necessarily were obliged to deal with the English crown, which had acquired title to the lands involved in the proposed purchase.

The new province was to have a government similar to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Vandalia was even selected as the name of the capital, which was to be located at the mouth of the Great Kanawha River with Sir William Johnson the colonial governor.

George Washington was interested in the Ohio Company and Benjamin Franklin as an advocate of the Walpole proposition held opposite interests. Evidently as a compromise, the Ohio Company, in 1770, was merged into the Walpole Company which eventually succeeded, in 1772, in having their petition for the proposed purchase granted by the London Board of Trade and approved by the King. But rumblings of the American Revolution were now heard at intervals throughout the colonies and through the forest west of the Alleghenies and to even across the Atlantic. All land projects were now set aside, to come up again for consideration after is told the story immediately preceding and during that period.

While matters were coming to a climax in the colonies in general, the second Quebec Act which passed Parliament in June, 1774, especially obnoxious to the Virginians, was another disturbing factor. It provided for a government for the Province of Quebec embracing the vast country west and north of the Ohio River, known later as the Northwest Territory. It sanctioned the French civil law which was centered at or subject to Detroit. The legislative power was vested in the governor.

CHAPTER XX

OPENING OF REVOLUTION IN THE WEST

PRELIMINARY SITUATION — CORNSTALK'S CONFEDERACY — "CRESAP'S WAR"—DUNMORE WAR—BATTLE OF POINT PLEASANT—CORNSTALK MAKES PEACE WITH DUNMORE—CHIEF LOGAN—WESTERN PATRIOTISM RAMPANT—RESOLUTIONS OF LIBERTY PASSED.

Telling the story from one standpoint, settlers had been establishing themselves this side of the mountain barriers without warrant, were lawless in their methods, and in their dealings disregarded any rights possessed by the Indians. The "renegade" French in the west and some among the Spaniards beyond the Mississippi were causing ferment among the Illinois tribes, while in the Canadian region the mixed French were using undue influence with the upper Muskingum tribes and even among the Iroquois, who were adhering to their friendliness with the English. And with it all, Cornstalk, mentioned earlier, the leader of the Shawnees, was tenaciously holding to his alliance project. As Shetrone puts it "formal steps toward consummation of the gigantic plan were taken at a congress of the interested tribes held at the Shawnee headquarters on the Pickaway plains in the autumn of 1770. A second congress followed in the summer of 1771, at which the Shawnee, Delawares, Wyandots, Miamis, Ottawas, and the Illinois and other western tribes were present. The confederacy thus effected promised to be the greatest in the history of the native race. The southern tribes, who were in complete accord with the plans of the alliance, were unable, owing to their geographical location to participate actively therein. The Six Nations, for the time being, were secure to the English and through the efforts of Sir William Johnson, even took some half-hearted steps toward discouraging the plans of the allies. The clouds of impending war were thickening rapidly, with every indication that the storm soon would envelop the Ohio valley."

Not alone were desirous settlers crowding the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders, but they had their eyes on the new Kentucky region. The section of now that state as George Rogers

Clark has written was but partially explored prior to 1773, when a considerable number of surveyors and private adventurers passed through it, the first settlement being at Harrodsburg, undertaken by Colonel J. Harrod in the spring of 1774. "But before much progress had been made the settlers were compelled to abandon the country on account of the war with the Shawnees."

The situation thus described is the preliminary to the "Cresaps war" and the "Dunmore war" so ably treated in a paper prepared by the late E. O. Randall and published in 1903 and is quoted in its completeness although it repeats some matters already stated:

"The American colonists had fought the French and Indian war with the expectation that they were to be, in the event of success, the beneficiaries of the result and be permitted to occupy the Ohio country as a fertile and valuable addition to their Atlantic coast lodgments. But the war over and France vanquished, the royal greed of Britain asserted itself, and the London government most arbitrarily pre-empted the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi as the exclusive and peculiar dominion of the crown, directly administered upon from the provincial seat of authority at Quebec. The parliamentary power promulgated the arbitrary proclamation (1763) declaring the Ohio country and the Great Northwest Territory should practically be an Indian reservation, ordering the few straggling settlers to move therefrom, forbidding the colonists to move therein, and even prohibiting trading with the Indians, save under licenses and restrictions so excessive as to amount to exclusion.

"On June 22, 1774, Parliament passed the detestable Quebec Act which not only affirmed the policy of the Crown adopted in the proclamation of 1763, but added many obnoxious features.

"This policy of the Crown stultified the patents and charters granted the American colonies in which their proprietary rights extended to the Mississippi and beyond, embracing the very territory to which they were now denied admittance.

"The establishment of England's authority in Canada, with Quebec as the seat of arbitrary and direct rule over the colonies, was a tightening of the fetters that bound the chafing colonies. The Quebec Act was one of the irritants complained of in the Declaration of Independence 'for abolishing the free system of English law in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries so as to render

it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies.' The French Canadians were favored by the Quebec Act in their legal rights and religious privileges. The untutored savages were its especial foster children. The colonists were flagrantly and unjustly discriminated against. The restless enterprise and obstinate opposition of the frontier settlers led them to encroach and 'poach' upon the 'preserves' of the Crown. The fearless and independent frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia longed for the unrestrained opportunity to cross the Ohio, and pushing their way into the trackless wilderness, seek homes upon the banks of the Tuscarawas, the Muskingum, the Scioto, the Sandusky and the Miamis. They went first as hunters, then as prospectors, and finally as settlers; 'they purchased lands with bullets, and surveyed claims with tomahawks.'

"Such was the situation until the year 1774 when the smouldering embers burst into a flame, and Dunmore's war was the prelude to the Revolution. The Dunmore war has been promotive of much ingenious speculation and curious guesswork by writers and historians. An air of semi-mystery heightens the intense interest that attaches to this most important and romantic event in western American history. John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, was the royal governor of Virginia Colony. He was a descendant in the feminine line from the house of Stuart; the blood of the luxurious, imperious and haughty Charleses ran in his veins. He was a Tory of the Tories. He was an aristocratic, domineering, determined, diplomatic representative of his sovereign, King George, but he was also a tenacious stickler for the prerogatives of the colony over which he presided. He held his allegiance as first due the Crown, but he also was 'eager to champion the cause of Virginia as against either the Indians or her sister colonies.' He was avaricious, energetic and interested in the frontier land speculations. He had an eye for the main chance, financial and political. He could not have looked complacently upon the Canadian policy of his government. But he was the center of opposing influences. The prescribed limits of the various colonies, while generally distinctly defined near the Atlantic coast, often became indefinite and conflicting west of the mountains. The grant to Virginia gave her a continuation of territory west across the continent, and according to her claim took in the southern half of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Quebec Act nullified this claim and incurred the disfavor of Dunmore, who defiantly opposed this

injustice to his colony. More than this the Virginians assumed title to all of the extreme Western Pennsylvania, especially the forks of the Ohio River and the valley of the Monongahela. This, of course, meant Fort Pitt, which, at this time was occupied as a Virginian town, though claimed by the Pennsylvanians as their territory.

"Governor Dunmore appointed as his agent or deputy at Fort Pitt one Dr. John Connolly, a man of reputed violent temper and bad character. Connolly was named vice governor and commandant of Pittsburgh and its dependencies. Connolly was at best an impetuous and unscrupulous minion of his master. He changed the name of the settlement from Fort Pitt to Fort Dunmore, and proceeded to assume jurisdiction in such an arrogant and merciless manner in behalf of the Virginians, and against the peaceable Pennsylvanians, that a warlike collision was narrowly averted.

"Connolly's counter plays between the Virginians, the Pennsylvanians, the Indians and the British authorities are too complex and contradictory to be unraveled here. Whatever Lord Dunmore was, this man Connolly was double-dyed in duplicity. He pitted one colony against the other, the Indians against both, and, so far as he could, doubtless aided the British to urge on the Indians. That the British authorities were, in this whole affair, the abettor of the savages, is sufficiently evidenced by the fact that while the Indians were openly and unitedly fighting the colonies who were still British subjects on the Ohio frontier, they (the Indians) were receiving arms, ammunition and provisions from the English distributing station at Detroit.

"The Canadian French traders who drove a thriving business with the Indians naturally stimulated them to resist the frontiersmen's encroachments. The occupation of the exclusive territory by the colonists meant the termination of their traffic. The brunt of this contention fell upon the Ohio Indians and the Virginian backwoodsmen. The Six Nations as such took no part in it. The Pennsylvanians stood aloof. They were not so aggressive as their southern neighbors, and their interest in the Indian was a commercial and peaceful one. The Virginians, therefore, were the only foes the Ohio Indians really dreaded. The Virginians were crack fighters in those frontier days. They were adventurous, courageous, and of hardy stuff. In the mountain dwellers of the Monongahela and Kanawha valleys the red man found a foeman worthy of his prowess. It was they the Indians styled

the 'Long Knives,' or 'Big Knife,' because of the bravery they displayed in the use of their long belt knives, or swords. They were a match for the deadly tomahawk. Another reason why the Virginians were willing and active aggressors in these border difficulties was that the royal authority had promised the Virginia troops a bounty in these western lands as reward for their services in the French and Indian war. A section had been allowed them by royal proclamation on the Ohio and Kanawha rivers. When in the spring of 1774 Colonel Angus McDonald and party proceeded to survey these lands they were driven off by the Indians. Meanwhile, intrusions across the border, depredations, conflagrations and massacres were committed in turn by either side. Much has been written as to which was the earlier or greater aggressor. That discussion is not pertinent to our purpose. Many cabins were burned and many lives brutally destroyed. Havoc and horror were prevalent.

"Most prominent among the leaders of the whites in this Indian warfare was one Captain Michael Cresap, a Marylander who removed to the Ohio early in 1774, and after establishing himself below the Zane settlement (Wheeling) organized a company of pioneers for protection against the Indians. He was appointed by Connolly a captain of the militia of the section in which he resided, and was put in command of Fort Fincastle. Cresap was a fearless and persistent Indian fighter, and just the one to lead retaliatory parties across the Ohio into the red men's country. In April, Connolly, only too anxious to spring the explosion, issued an open letter warning the frontiersmen of the impending war and commanding them to prepare to repel the Indian attack. Such a letter from Dunmore's lieutenant amounted to a declaration of war. The backwoodsmen were at once in arms and seeking an opportunity to fight. As soon as Cresap's band received Connolly's letter they proceeded to declare war in regular Indian style, calling a council, planting the war post, etc. What is sometimes known as 'Cresap's war' ensued. Several Indians while descending the Ohio in their canoes were killed by Cresap's company. Other Indians were shot within the Ohio border by intruding and exasperated whites. Logan, chief of the Mingoes, established a camp near the mouth of Yellow Creek, about forty miles above Wheeling. It was first thought Logan's camp was a hostile demonstration, and the camp should be attacked and destroyed. Cresap and his party proposed and started to do this, but finally thought better and decided Logan's intentions were peaceful—for

he had ever been the friend of the whites—and the intended attack was abandoned. But Logan's people did not escape. Opposite the mouth of Yellow Creek on the Virginia side of the Ohio resided an unscrupulous scoundrel and cut-throat, Daniel Greathouse, and fellow frontier thugs. They kept a carousing resort, known as Baker's Bottom, where the Indians were supplied with rum, at Baker's cabin. On the last day of April, a party of Indians from Logan's camp, on the invitation of Greathouse, visited Baker's place and while plied with liquor were set upon and massacred. There were nine, including a brother and a sister of Logan, the latter being the reputed squaw of John Gibson, who were thus foully murdered. Other relatives of Logan had been previously killed.

"The Baker massacre is one of the most awful blots upon the white man's record. Michael Cresap was not present and had nothing to do with the dastardly deed, and his innocence in the affair is well established, though many authorities still couple his name with the plot, if not the act itself. Logan believed Cresap to be the guilty party, as is evidenced by his using Cresap's name in the famous speech. There were many bloody enactments. Vengeance and retaliation were resorted to equally by both sides. The malevolent murder of Bald Eagle, the Delaware chief, of Silver Heels, the Shawnee chief, the malignant massacre of the mother, brother, sister and daughter of the famous Mingo chief Logan, were but incidents among many that aroused the hostility of the Indians to a furious pitch. They thirsted for the warpath. The white borderers were no less anxious for the encounter. Lord Dunmore did not wish to repress it. While the solitude of the western forest was broken by the war whoop, and the crack of the white man's deadly rifle, and the midnight sky was lighted with the flaming cabin, and the burning ripened crops, the citizens of the New England colonies were no less astir with intense excitement. Freedom was beginning to breathe. Meetings were being held to protest against royal tyranny, and committees of correspondence were sending forth their missives laden with the ideas of independence. It was 1774. The Boston Port Bill had been passed by Parliament in March, and denounced in the Boston public meeting in May. That same month the Virginia House of Burgesses, of which George Washington, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson were members, assembled at Williamsburg, the colony capital, and resolved 'with a burst of indignation,' to set aside the first of June, when the Port Bill should go into operation,

'as a day of fasting and prayer to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens the civil rights of America.' The right honorable, the Earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, at once dissolved that highly impertinent king-insulting assembly. The Virginians saw the clouds gathering in the East. But the storm in the West was howling at their door. They were prepared to take up arms for their political rights against the mother government, while they hastily made ready to fight for their proprietary rights against their hostile neighbors, the forest savages. The panic among the inhabitants along the river banks, and for a distance inland, had become terrible. The time to strike could not be delayed. Both red men and palefaces were spoiling for the fray.

"When Dunmore learned of the failure of the surveying expedition of Col. Angus McDonald, he authorized that brave soldier to raise a regiment and proceed into the country of the enemy and punish them. McDonald easily collected some four hundred militiamen, and crossing the mountains moved down the Ohio to the site of Wheeling, where he built Fort Fincastle, afterwards Fort Henry. In June he descended the Ohio to Captina Creek, the scene of one of the late massacres, and there the men debarking from their boats and canoes, made a dashing raid upon the Shawnee villages as far as Wappatomica, an Indian town on the Muskingum, near the present City of Coshocton.

"The little army suffered many hardships, and encountered many perils. At times their only sustenance consisted of weeds and one ear of corn a day. Many villages and fields of crops were destroyed. The soldiers returned in a few weeks without serious loss. This forceful invasion of the Indian country was sufficient declaration of war, and produced a general combination of the various Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio.

"Meanwhile the Virginians were girding up their loins. Governor Dunmore was awake to the situation. His actions have been both attacked and applauded. He is credited with moving promptly and zealously in defense of his colony, and in defiance of the policy and public promulgation of the sovereign powers concerning the inhabited Indian province. He is charged with using this opportunity, in view of the coming colonial revolt, to bring about a clash between the ferocious Indians and the strength and flower of Virginian soldiery, that the onslaught might divert the attention of the colonists from the threatening rebellion against the mother country, and through the inhuman methods

of the savage and the ensuing calamities and atrocities cause the Americans to pause in, if not positively desist from, their further procedure towards independence. The proof of his alleged treachery is not conclusive. His movements in this war were at times not above suspicion, and his subsequent proceedings were such as to add grave conjectures concerning his integrity. But Dunmore thus far seems entitled to the benefit of a doubt.

"In August the governor began his preparations and the plan for the campaign agreed upon. An army for offensive operations was called for. Dunmore directed this army should consist of volunteers and militiamen, chiefly from the countries west of the Blue Ridge, and be organized into two divisions. The northern division, comprehending the troops collected in Frederick, Dunmore (now Shenandoah), and adjacent counties, was to be commanded by Lord Dunmore in person; the southern division comprising the different companies raised in Botetourt, Augusta and adjoining counties east of the Blue Ridge, was to be led by Gen. Andrew Lewis. The two armies were to number about fifteen hundred each; were to proceed by different routes, unite at the mouth of the Big Kanawha, and from thence cross the Ohio and penetrate the northwest country, defeat the red men and destroy all the Indian towns they could reach.

"The volunteers who were to form the army of Lewis began to gather at Camp Union, the Levels of Greenbrier (Lewisburg) before the first of September. It was a motley gathering. They were not the king's regulars, nor trained troops. They were not knights in burnished steel on prancing steeds. They were not drilled martinets. They were, however, determined, dauntless men, sturdy and weather-beaten as the mountainsides whence they came. They were undrilled in the arts of military movements, but they were in physique and endurance and power nature's noblemen, reared amid the open freedom and hardihood of rural life. The army as finally made up consisted of four main commands, a body of Augusta troops, under Col. Charles Lewis, brother of the General; a contingent of Botetourt troops, under Col. William Fleming; those commands numbered four hundred each; a small independent company, under Col. John Field, of Culpeper; a company from Bedford, under Capt. Thomas Buford, and two from the Holstein settlement under Capts. Evan Shelby and Harbert. The three latter companies were part of the force to be led by Colonel Christian, who was likewise to join the two

main divisions of the army at Point Pleasant as soon as the other companies of his regiment could be assembled.

"The army started on September 8th in three divisions, the two under Col. Charles Lewis and Gen. Andrew Lewis, respectively, followed by the rather irregular and independent force under Col. John Field. Colonel Christian's contingent left later, and portions of them did not reach Point Pleasant in time to engage in the battle, but Captains Shelby and Russell, with parts of their companies, hastened ahead and did valiant service in the engagement. It was a distance of one hundred and sixty miles from Camp Union to their destination at the mouth of the Kanawha. The regiments passed through a trackless forest so rugged and mountainous as to render their progress extremely tedious and laborious. They marched in long files through 'the deep and gloomy wood' with scouts or spies thrown out in front and on the flanks, while axmen went in advance to clear a trail over which they would drive the beef cattle, and the pack-horses, laden with provisions, blankets and ammunition. They struck out straight through the dense wilderness, making their road as they went. On September 21st they reached the Kanawha at the mouth of Elk Creek (present site of Charleston). Here they halted and built dugout canoes for baggage transportation upon the river. A portion of the army proceeded down the Kanawha, while the other section marched along the Indian trail, which followed the base of the hills, instead of the river bank, as it was thus easier to cross the heads of the creeks and ravines. Their long and weary tramp was ended October 6th, when they camped on Point Pleasant, the high triangular point of land jutting out on the north side of the Kanawha where it empties into the Ohio.

"General Lewis was disappointed in not finding Governor Dunmore at the appointed place of meeting. Dunmore was far away. While the backwoods general was mustering his 'unruly and turbulent host of skilled riflemen,' the Earl of Dunmore had led his own levies, some fifteen hundred strong, through the mountains at the Potomac Gap to Fort Pitt. Here he changed his plans and decided not to attempt uniting with Lewis at Point Pleasant. Taking as scouts George Rogers Clark, Michael Cresap, Simon Kenton, and Simon Girty, he descended the Ohio River with a flotilla of a hundred canoes, besides keel boats and pirogues, to the mouth of the Hockhocking, where he built and garrisoned a small stockade, naming it Fort Gower. Thence he proceeded up the Hockhocking to the falls, moved overland to the Scioto, finally

halting on the north bank of the Sippo Creek four miles from its mouth at the Scioto, and about the same distance east of Old Chillicothe, now Westfall, Pickaway County. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp, with breastworks of fallen trees, so constructed as to embrace about twelve acres of ground. In the center of this he built a citadel of entrenchments, in which he and his chief officers resided for special protection. This camp Dunmore named Charlotte, according to most authorities, in honor of the handsome queen of George III, but more likely the gallant governor called the camp Charlotte after his accomplished wife Charlotte, who was the daughter of the Earl of Galloway. While Governor Dunmore was thus engaged in the heart of the Ohio country Lewis was destined to strike the decisive blow on the banks of the Kanawha. On the ninth of October Simon Girty and probably two other messengers arrived at Lewis's camp bringing the message from Lord Dunmore which bade Lewis join his lordship at the Indian towns on the Pickaway plains. General Lewis, deeply displeased at this change in the campaign, arranged to break camp that he might set out the next morning in accordance with his superior's orders. He had with him about eleven hundred men. His plans were destined to be rudely forestalled, for Cornstalk, coming rapidly through the forest, had reached the Ohio. The very night that Girty brought Lewis the message from Dunmore the Indian chief ferried his men across the river on rafts a few miles above the Kanawha, and by dawn was on the point of hurling his whole force of savage braves on the camp of the slumbering Virginians. The great Shawnee chief, Cornstalk, was as wary and able as he was brave. He was chief of the Shawnees, and the head of the Indian tribes of Ohio now united against the whites. The Shawnees were a very extensive and warlike tribe. They were the most populous of any of the tribes in Ohio, and they had, in the main, ever been the fierce foe of the whites, first against the French, then with the French against the British, and now goaded on by the late depredations upon their land and homes, and the recent massacre of members of their own and fellow tribes, they were aroused to the greatest warlike ferocity. Cornstalk's army numbered about eleven hundred, practically the same as that of Lewis, and was composed of the flower of the Shawnees, Delaware, Mingo, Wyandot, and Cayuga and minor tribes. The great General Cornstalk, sachem of the Shawnee and king of the northern confederacy, though in chief command, was aided by some of the most famous and skilled warriors

of his race. Logan, Ellinipsico, son of Cornstalk; Red Hawk, the Delaware chief; Scrappathus, a Mingo; Chiyawee, the Wyandot; Red Eagle, Blue Jacket, Packishenoah, the Shawnee chief and father of Tecumseh; his son Cheesekau, elder brother of Tecumseh. In no battle were there ever so many bold and distinguished braves. They were unaided by French or English allies. Cornstalk had the craft of his race and the tact of a Napoleon. He saw his enemy divided. Lewis was at Kanawha; Dunmore on the Pickaway Plains. If Lewis's army could be surprised and overwhelmed, the fate of Lord Dunmore would be merely a question of days. So Cornstalk, 'mighty in battle and swift to carry out what he had planned, led his long file of warriors with noiseless speed, through leagues of trackless woodland to the banks of the Ohio.' Stealthily and unannounced had Cornstalk arrived on the Virginia side of the Ohio banks below the mouth of Oldtown Creek, which, parallel to the Kanawha, pours into the Ohio some three miles above the Kanawha point. Early on the morning of the tenth, just as the sun was peeping over the Virginia hills, two soldiers (Robertson and Hickman) left the camp and proceeded up the Ohio River in quest of game. When they had progressed about two miles they unexpectedly came in sight of a large number of Indians, just rising from their encampment, and who discovering the two hunters, fired upon them and killed one (Hickman); the other escaped unhurt and fled back to communicate the intelligence 'that he had seen a body of the enemy covering four acres of ground as closely as they could stand by the side of each other.'

"Gen. Andrew Lewis was a well seasoned soldier, alert and self-possessed in every emergency and an Irishman, quick-witted and full of fight. He had been schooled in Indian warfare for twenty years. He was major of a Virginia regiment at Braddock's defeat. He had served with Washington, who held him in the highest esteem. General Lewis, 'lighting a pipe,' it is reported, coolly ordered the troops in battle array in the grey of early dawn. Col. Charles Lewis with several companies was directed to move toward the right in the direction of Crooked Creek. Colonel Fleming, with other companies, was instructed to proceed to the left up the Ohio. Lewis's force met the left of Cornstalk's column about a half mile from the Virginian's camp. Fleming's command found the Indian right flank at a greater distance up the Ohio bank. Cornstalk's line of advance was more than a mile

in front stretch, so drawn as to cut diagonally across the river point. By this tactic he had calculated upon pocketing General Lewis on the corner of the bluff between the Ohio and the Kanawha.

"The first shock of the onslaught was favorable to the foe. Col. Charles Lewis made a gallant advance that was met by a furious response. The colonel was mortally wounded at almost the first fire of the enemy. He calmly marched back to the camp and died. His men, many of whom were killed, unable to withstand the superior numbers of the Indians at this point, began to waver and fall back. Colonel Fleming was equally hard pressed in his encounter. He received two balls through his left arm and one through his breast, urging his men on to victorious action he retired to the camp, the main portion of his line giving way.

"General Lewis now began to fortify his position by felling timber and forming a breastwork before his camp. The fight was soon general, and extended the full front of the opposing armies. What a strange and awful scene was presented, one of mingled picturesque beauty and ghastly carnage on that October Monday morning. A host of forest savages, 'a thousand painted and plumed warriors, the pick of the young men of the western tribes, the most daring braves between the Ohio and the Great Lakes' their brown athletic and agile bodies decked in the gay and rich trappings of war; their raven black hair tossed like netted manes in the fray as with glowering eyes and tense muscles they leaped through the brush and stood face to face with the white foe, the latter rigid with firm resolution and unwincing courage, fighters typical of the frontier; a primitive army equal in numbers to their assailants, heroes in homespun, and backwoodsmen in buckskin, clothed in fringed leather hunting shirts and coarse woollen leggings of every color; they wore skin and fur caps, and slung over their shouders were the straps of the shot-bag and the strings of the powder-horn. Each, like his barbaric antagonist, carried his flint-lock, his tomahawk and his gleaming scalp-knife. For that tragic tableau, quaint and dramatic, nature never made a more magnificent or peaceful setting. The two lines grappled in deadly conflict on the peak of land elevated by precipitate banks high above the Ohio, which swept by in majestic width, joined by the Kanawha that noiselessly crept its way amid a forest and hill-framed valley. The Ohio heights fretted the sky to the west, and the Virginia mountains in the near eastern background were resplendent in the gorgeous drap-

ery of early autumn. It was a landscape upon which nature had lavished her most luxuriant charms. It was a picture for the painter and the poet rather than the cold chronicler of history. No event in American annals surpasses this in the mingling of natural beauty and human violence. The brutal savage and the implacable Anglo-Saxon were to exchange lives by gory combat in the irrepressible conflict between their races.

"It was nearly noon and the action was 'extremely hot,' says a participant. The Indians, who had pushed within the right line of the Virginians, were gradually forced to give way; the dense underwood, many steep banks and fallen timber favored their gradual retreat. They were stubbornly but slowly yielding their ground, concealing their losses as best they could by throwing their dead in the Ohio, and carrying off their wounded. The incessant rattle of the rifles; the shouts of the Virginians, and war whoops of the red men made the woods resound with the 'blast of war.' The groans of the wounded and the moans of the dying added sad cadence to the clash of arms. At intervals, amid the din, Cornstalk's stentorian voice could be heard as in his native tongue he shouted cheer and courage to his faltering men, and bade them 'be strong, be strong.' But their desperate effort did not avail, though exerted to the utmost. No more bitter or fierce contest in Indian warfare is recorded. The hostile lines though a mile and a quarter in length were so close together, being at no point more than twenty yards apart, that many of the combatants grappled in hand-to-hand fighting, and tomahawked or stabbed each other to death. The battle was a succession of single combats, each man sheltering himself behind a stump or rock, or tree-trunk. The superiority of the backwoodsmen in the use of rifles —they were dead shots, those Virginia mountaineers—was offset by the agility of the Indians in the art of hiding and dodging from harm. After noon the action in a small degree abated. The slow retreat of the Indians gave them an advantageous resting spot whence it appeared difficult to dislodge them. They sustained an 'equal weight of action from wing to wing.' Seeing the unremitting obstinacy of the foe, and fearing the final result if they were not beaten before night, General Lewis, late in the afternoon, directed Captains Shelby, Mathews and Stuart with their companies to steal their way under cover of the thick and high growth of weeds and bushes up the bank of the Kanawha and along the edge of Crooked Creek until they should get behind the

flank of the enemy, when they were to emerge from their covert, move downwards towards the river point, and attack the Indians in the rear. The strategic manoeuver thus planned was promptly and adroitly executed and turned the tide in favor of the colonial soldiers. The Indians finding themselves suddenly and unexpectedly encompassed between two armies and believing that the force appearing in the rear was the reinforcement from Colonel Christian's delayed troops, they were discouraged and dismayed, and began to give way. The appearance of troops in the rear of the Indians at once prevented the continuance of Cornstalk's scheme of fighting, namely, that of alternately attacking and retreating, particularly with his center, thus often exposing the advancing front of the Virginians to the mercy of the Indian flanks. The skirmishing continued during the afternoon, the Indians though at bay making a show at bravado. But their strength was spent, and at the close of the day under the veil of darkness they noiselessly and precipitately retreated across the Ohio and started for the Scioto towns.

"The battle of Point Pleasant was won. 'Such a battle with the Indians, it is imagined, was never heard of before,' says the writer of a letter printed in the Government reports. But the day was dearly bought. The Americans lost a fifth of their number, some seventy-five being killed or fatally wounded, and one hundred and forty-seven severely or slightly wounded. Among the slain were some of the bravest Virginian officers, including Col. Charles Lewis, Maj. John Field, Captains Thomas Buford, John Murray, James Ward, Samuel Wilson, Robert McClannahan; and Lieutenants Allen, Goldsby and Dillon. The Indian loss was never definitely known. They cunningly carried off or concealed most of their killed, and secretly cared for their wounded. They lost probably only half as many as the whites. About forty warriors were known to be killed outright, or to have died of their wounds. Of the number of wounded no estimate could be made. While the Virginians lost many officers, strangely enough among the Indians no chief of importance was slain, except Packishenoah, the Shawnee chief, and father of Tecumseh. No 'official report' of this battle was made, or if so, probably not preserved. The battle of Point Pleasant was the most extensive, the most bitterly contested, and fraught with the most significance of any Indian battle in American history. It was purely a frontier encounter. The whites were colonial volunteers. The red men, the choice of their tribes, led by their greatest warriors. The

significance of that battle was manifold and far-reaching. It was the last battle fought by the colonists while subject to British rule. It was the first battle of the Revolution. Whatever the exact understanding may have been between Lord Dunmore and the royal authorities, or between the Indians and the British powers, or whether there was any explicit understanding at all, that battle represented the opening bloodshed between the allies of the British and the colonial dependents. Had Cornstalk been the conqueror of that contest the whole course of American events would doubtless have been otherwise than history records. The colonists would have been stunned to inaction by the blow of defeat, the fear of an extended and horrible Indian warfare on their western borders, would have deterred them from entering upon a revolt against England's power. At any rate the Ohio and Mississippi valleys would most certainly have remained the great western province of the royal power, and the United States be but a strip east of the Alleghenies. The victory of General Lewis destroyed the danger in the West, and gave nerve and courage to the Virginians, who were the strength and sinew of the Revolutionary movement. England's fate lay in the balance in the battle of Point Pleasant, though no British soldier participated therein. America has no more historic soil than the ground of the Kanawha and Ohio point—reddened that October day by the blood of savage warriors and frontier woodsmen.

"The Virginian victors buried their dead, and left the bodies of the vanquished to the decay of uncovered graves. General Lewis, leaving his sick and wounded in the camp at the Point, protected by rude breastworks, and with an adequate guard, crossed the Ohio (October 18) and began his march by way of the Salt Licks and Jackson to join Dunmore on the Pickaway Plains. When but a few miles from Dunmore's camp Lewis was met by a messenger from the Earl informing him that a treaty of peace was being negotiated with the Indians and ordering him (Lewis) to return immediately to the mouth of the Big Kanawha. Lewis's men were flushed with success, and exasperated at their losses in the late battle and eager for revenge upon the red men, and the opportunity to crush their power and destroy their homes. Lewis shared the feelings of his soldiers and refused to obey the order of Dunmore. He continued to advance until when on the east bank of the Congo near its juncture with the Sippo, he was met by the Earl himself and the Indian chief, White Eyes. The Earl explained the situation to Lewis, complimented his general-

ship, and the bravery of his men, stating there was no further need of advancement by his (Lewis's) division of the army. General Lewis, recrossing the Congo, encamped for the day, and then reluctantly commenced his return march to the Ohio, proceeding by the route he had come, to Point Pleasant. Meanwhile Cornstalk and his crestfallen warriors had reached the Pickaway Plains. The spirit of the Indians had been broken by their defeat; but the stern old chief, their commander, Cornstalk, remained with unshaken heart. He was still prepared to fight to the bitter end. He summoned a council over the situation, and in an eloquent address strove to goad on the braves to another campaign. They listened in sullen silence. Finally, finding himself unable to stir his braves to further battle, he struck his tomahawk into the war post and peremptorily declared, 'I will go and make peace.' He was as good as his word. With his retinue of fellow chiefs, some eight in number, Cornstalk proceeded to Dunmore's quarters within the entrenchments of Camp Charlotte. Here he made a prolonged and passionate plea for his people, reciting the wrongs inflicted by the whites, and the rights denied the red men. Various parleyings ensued, the net conclusion of which was, the Indians agreed to give up all white prisoners and stolen horses in their possession, cease from further hostilities, and molestation of travelers down the Ohio and 'surrender all claim to the lands south of the Ohio.'

"This agreement, whatever its explicit text, was another step in the westward progress of the white invader. Cornstalk haughtily and disdainfully acceded to the terms of the whites. But there was one distinguished chief who was not at that council, and who had refused to be present. It was Logan. He declared that he was a 'warrior, not a councillor, and he would not come.' Logan was a splendid specimen of his race. He was chief of the Mingo tribe and his father, whom he succeeded, had been chief of the Cayugas. Up to the time of the Dunmore war Logan had been the friend of the white man. He took no part in the French and Indian war, except that of peacemaker. But when in the border troubles between the Indians and whites in the spring of 1774, Logan's relatives were massacred at the Yellow Creek, as he supposed, by Cresap and party, Logan's rage became terrible. His character changed into all the revengeful and distorted hate and unrelenting ferocity of which the Indian nature is capable. From that moment for the rest of his life he was the inveterate and implacable foe of the white. He would not attend the peace

council with Cornstalk. His influence with the Indians made it important that his concurrence be secured. Lord Dunmore, desiring his presence, sent John Gibson, afterwards general, a frontier veteran and one familiar with the Indian language, to urge the attendance of Logan. Taking Gibson aside, under the shade of a neighboring tree, Logan suddenly addressed him that famous speech which immortalized the chief and furnished a model of oratory for thousands of American school boys. The speech is popularly supposed to have been delivered in Logan's native Indian tongue, and have been literally translated and written down in English by John Gibson, and so delivered to Lord Dunmore, who read it in open council to the Virginian army. However it may have been, that speech is one of the great Indian classics. It has a weird, pathetic strain, and is a poetic recital with a rhetorical charm not unlike the Greek Chorus.

"'I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry and he gave him not meat; if ever he came cold and naked and he clothed him not? During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan remained idle in his camp, an advocate of peace. Such was my love for the whites that my countrymen pointed as I passed and said, "Logan is the friend of the white man." I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me for revenge. I have sought it. I have killed many. I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country I rejoice at the beams of peace; but don't harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one.'

"This speech was a fitting epilogue to the close of the Dunmore war. The campaign had ended. The camp was struck and the soldiers took up their march from the Pickaway Plains back to the Ohio. When Dunmore's army arrived at Fort Gower at the mouth of the Hockhocking the soldiers learned for the first time of the action taken by the first Continental Congress, which had assembled at Philadelphia September 5, 1774. The officers of the army thereupon held a meeting and passed resolutions to the effect, after complimenting the success of their general, that they professed allegiance to the king and crown, but added that 'their devotion would only last while the king deigned to reign over a

free people, for their love of liberty for America outweighed all other considerations, and they would exert every power for its defense when called forth by the voice of their countrymen.' Strange scene, on the soil of Ohio, on the banks of the 'beautiful river,' Virginia frontiersmen celebrate their triumph over the western Indians by proclaiming their sympathy with colonial independence. That was six months before the shot was fired at Lexington that was 'heard 'round the world'."

The resolutions referred to by Randall and taken from the American Archives are as follows:

"Meeting of Officers Under Earl of Dunmore.—At a meeting of the officers under the command of his Excellency, the Right Honorable the Earl of Dunmore, convened at Fort Gower, November 5, 1774, for the purpose of considering the grievances of British America, an officer present addressed the meeting in the following words:

" 'Gentlemen:—Having now concluded the campaign, by the assistance of Providence, with honor and advantage to the colony and ourselves, it only remains that we should give our country the strongest assurance that we are ready, at all times, to the utmost of our power, to maintain and defend her just right and privileges. We have lived about three months in the woods without any intelligence from Boston, or from the delegates at Philadelphia. It is possible, from the groundless reports of designing men, that our countrymen may be jealous of the use such a body would make of arms in their hands at this critical juncture. That we are a respectable body is certain, when it is considered that we can live weeks without bread or salt; that we can sleep in the open air without any covering but that of the canopy of Heaven; and that our men can march and shoot with any in the known world. Blessed with these talents, let us solemnly engage to one another, and our country in particular, that we will use them to no purpose but for the honor and advantage of America in general, and of Virginia in particular. It behooves us, then, for the satisfaction of our country, that we should give them our real sentiments, by way of resolves, at this very alarming crisis.'

"Whereupon the meeting made choice of a committee to draw up and prepare resolves for their consideration, who immediately withdrew, and after some time spent therein, reported that they had agreed to and prepared the following resolves, which were read, maturely considered, and agreed to, nemine contradicente,

by the meeting, and ordered to be published in the *Virginia Gazette:*

"Resolved, That we will bear the most faithful allegiance to His Majesty, King George the Third, whilst His Majesty delights to reign over a brave and free people, that we will, at the expense of life, and everything dear and valuable, exert ourselves in support of his crown, and the dignity of the British Empire. But as the love of liberty, and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges; not in any precipitate, riotous or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen.

"Resolved, That we entertain the greatest respect for His Excellency, the Right Honorable Lord Dunmore, who commanded the expedition against the Shawnese; and who, we are confident, underwent the great fatigue of this singular campaign from no other motive than the true interest of this country.

"Signed by order and in behalf of the whole corps.

"Benjamin Ashby, Clerk."

The historian Galbreath in his writings gives this story:

"The immediate cause of the Dunmore war appears to have been the effort of soldiers who had served the British cause in the French and Indian war to come into possession of lands in Virginia, south of the Ohio River, for which they had been granted warrants by Lord Dunmore. Authority was granted to locate these lands on and after April 14, 1774. On that date parties were waiting on the south side of the Ohio to locate their claims on choice lands in the valleys of its tributaries. Ebenezer Zane, George Rogers Clark and Michael Cresap led three of these parties. As the Indians saw these men coming in large numbers to claim their land, and with their surveyors and their surveying instruments that had come to have for the red man a more sinister look than firearms in the hands of a foe, they felt instinctively that their homes and their hunting grounds were doomed. The white man, it is true, was confining himself to what had reluctantly been conceded to be his side of the river; but what would now the privilege of hunting on both sides of the river be worth to the Indian if white men should flock, 'like pigeons,' into the valley of the Ohio and take up their permanent abode? And how long would it be until they crossed the river and crowded the Indian farther back into the wilderness? When civilization

of the pioneer type comes into contact with civilization of the Indian type, both are apt to degenerate into savagery, and this is certainly what happened in the Ohio Valley in the spring and summer of the eventful year of 1774.

"As nearly as can be gleaned from much confusing testimony, the first recorded offense was by a band of Shawnees, who about April 1st of that year captured three white men, Thomas Green, Lawrence Darnell, and William Nash, who were locating lines in Mason County, Virginia. They held them for a few days and then ordered them away with the threat that in the future Virginians caught on the Ohio River would be killed. Shortly afterward a party of surveyors attacked a band of Shawnee warriors opposite the mouth of the Scioto River, killed a number of them 'and took thirty horse-loads of skins from them.'

"Lord Dunmore was intensely loyal to the King of Great Brittin. He was also ambitious to advance the prestige and power of Virginia, the colony over which he had been commissioned to rule. He refused to recognize the Quebec Act and pleased Virginians by insisting upon the original charter rights of the colony to lands on both sides of the Ohio River. He laid claim also to Western Pennsylvania, and appointed Dr. John Connolly, an unscrupulous adventurer, Royal Commandant of 'West Augusta,' including Fort Pitt, which was now rebuilt and renamed Fort Dunmore."

While the quoted resolution passed by the army of General Lewis cannot in any sense be termed "the first declaration of American Independence" as some enthusiasts of spectacular proclivities refer to it, surely the sentiments therein expressed show they held that "the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America" outweighed "every other consideration"—even their support and honor of the crown.

With this sentiment in the hearts of those patriots who fought the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10, 1774, and with the same spirit possessed by the American patriots at this very time in session at Philadelphia, certainly, there is reason for referring to the engagement of General Lewis as "the first battle of the American Revolution."

While it may matter little as to the title given to the engagement at Point Pleasant, Randall in again referring to it as the "first battle of Revolution" further says: "Our grounds for that view were that in this frontier contest the Virginians were fighting against the Indians, not merely from retaliatory motives, but in defiance of the Quebec Act, for they were proposing to in-

vade the British royal domain—the Ohio country—then part of the province of Quebec, and attack the Indians who were the protected wards of England and consequently allies of Parliamentary power. Moreover, did not the Virginians have for their ulterior result [underlying motive—Editor] the privilege of settling across the Ohio in a territory they claimed to be a part of their colony? In brief, were they not as Virginians contending for colonial rights against the mother country? The unjust and usurping features of the Quebec Act were as said, cause for one of the clauses of the Declaration of Independence."

As to the motives of Lord Dunmore in inaugurating this campaign, without going into details, it would seem that he believed he was doing what he considered the best for the Virginians, if not the colonies.

CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT NORTHWEST IN THE REVOLUTION

ACTIVITIES IN MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY COUNTRY—BRITISH MILITARY AND CIVIL HEADQUARTERS AT DETROIT—CONGRESS CREATES INDIAN DEPARTMENTS—MURDER OF CHIEF CORNSTALK—FIRST SIEGE OF FORT HENRY.

As recorded early in this story, it was inevitable that the struggle for supremacy in America including the great Northwest and the Maumee and Sandusky country, between the French and English, could only be settled by the force of arms. It was visioned by farseeing statesmen and leaders in the mother country, and especially in the colonies, soon after the domination of the English and long before the American Revolution, that a people of independent thought and character such as were the colonials and frontiersmen, would eventually assert their rights to some form of independent government.

By the unwise attitude and procedure of the home government, the crisis came sooner than was anticipated, and the period beginning with the year 1775 witnessed on the American continent the birth of a new nation. History generally confines the record of these events in a great measure to the section on the seaboard and east of the Alleghenies. But the truth is that within the bounds of now Ohio, there were more activities which concerned the Revolution than in many New England states. It continued here "a score of years, three times as long as was suffered by the more pretentious settlements in the Atlantic states." Even then full independence was not achieved in the West until two score years more. One western writer calls attention to the fact that there was no campaign, not even a battle of note on the soil of Connecticut. Yet from the standard histories, little is said about the terrible struggles during those famous years west of the Allegheny range. And in all this western struggle, the Maumee and Sandusky region played the most conspicuous part.

True, not a single English settlement that could be called such was to be found within the present borders of Ohio at the time the first gun was fired at Lexington, April 19, 1775; yet the story as it unfolds will show that within the borders of now Ohio and the

Maumee and Sandusky valleys occurred the great war dramas which saved the Northwest to a greater and stronger nation. Here were matched "diplomacy, strategy and courage," upon the result of which depended whether the Northwest would be under American or British rule; whether the line of Great Lakes or the Ohio River would mark the division between American and British territory; whether the Maumee and Sandusky would be populated by Americans or Canadian French. Independence was bound to come to the colonies later, if not when it did. But if George Rogers Clark had failed in the West and at Vincennes; if the Indians with British backing had been victorious at Fallen Timbers; or later the tide of battle had turned toward the British in 1812 on the Maumee, the Sandusky and Lake Erie; the British flag today might be flying over Toledo, the state capital and all Ohio to the "River Beautiful."

Continuing this narrative: As in the contest between the French and the English, the Indian once more "assumed his place in the triangle, and as the party of the third part again wielded the balance of power. The tribes concerned in the struggle in the Ohio region were practically the same and their locations the same as earlier outlined. The always hostile and powerful Shawnees were still established on the Scioto and the Miami, their various villages being known as "Chillicothe"—the "place where the people dwell." The Delawares had their important towns on the Muskingum, a number of whom under the influence of the Moravian missionaries to be referred to later, had been converted to Christianity. The Wyandots, a strong factor, were located on the Sandusky River, to which region with the Maumee this story is gradually narrowing. The Wyandots generally espoused the cause of the British until late in their career, and were friendly with the British traders who had their posts upon the Sandusky, well on toward the close of the Revolution. The Delawares were divided in their allegiance, the non-Christians being with the British and the Christian members of the tribe, under the leadership of the renowned chief White Eyes, leaning toward the Americans. Captain Pipe was at the head of the pro-British portion of the tribe, but his followers to a great extent were held back by the Moravian missionaries. The Shawnees were held in check by Chief Cornstalk according to his promise, until his death, after which as events will show they espoused the British cause as an uncompromising foe of the Americans.

The same efforts to align the Indians with their cause were

now made by the Americans and the British that obtained between the French and the English. Both the Americans and British made efforts to secure or hold the friendship of the Six Nations as well as other tribes. Sir William Johnson died in 1774. His chief deputy and son-in-law, Col. Guy Johnson, who succeeded him as the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, assisted by Chief Joseph Brandt, made haste to adopt measures and assure the Indians that there would be no change in the attitude toward them than existed under the British government. But the outbreak of the Revolution compelled Johnson to flee from his country seat (Johnson Hall) near Johnstown, New York, to Canada, in May, 1775, and he later joined Gen. William Howe in New York. The representatives of the Americans were likewise alert. The result was that the Iroquois, the Mohawks, Senecas and Cayugas joined the British, while the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, espoused the American cause; thereby neutralizing the influence of the great Iroquois federation or Long-House.

During the French rule and under the British control until the close of the Revolutionary war, the commandant of the military post at Detroit to which the Maumee and Sandusky region was subject, exercised the functions of military governor and administrator of civil affairs, with power that was absolute. A civil government was first provided for the territory with Detroit as the capital, under the Quebec Act, June 22, 1774. All the territory northwest of the Ohio River was under its jurisdiction. The legislative power was also vested in the governor (at the time Sir Guy Carleton), a lieutenant-governor or commander-in-chief, and in a council of not less than seventeen and no more than twenty-three members. All were to be appointed by the King. The English criminal law was used as the rule of procedure, but the judgment or will of the commandant, or the justice of the peace or notary of his appointing, generally declared and interpreted such law. As open hostilities began, on June 9, 1775, Governor Carleton proclaimed martial law and an organized system of raids of frontier settlements at the south begun, as a rule led by British officers.

With the progress of events, to the office of lieutenant-governor was added the British Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Detroit, the Maumee and Sandusky region and also Vincennes and Michilimackinac. The first appointee was Captain, later the famous Col. Henry Hamilton of the Fifteenth Regiment of the British forces, who will be heard of more prominently later. War

belts of wampum were distributed to all the Indian tribes with enticing invitations to join the British at Detroit, where "feasts were held at which rum flowed freely in the incitement of the savages against the Americans who," as the British told, "were endeavoring to crowd them from their lands and had now rebelled against the good King, their father who was distributing many presents and kindnesses to his (Indian) children." Through Commandant Hamilton's policy, the Indians arrived and departed from Detroit as they pleased, and were given rum, tobacco, provisions and firearms for white scalps.

To aid the Americans in offsetting the diligence of the British among the Indians, the Continental Congress created three Indian departments to superintend Indian affairs. The Northern Department was to include the Six Nations and all the tribes northward and eastward; the Southern Department was to embrace the Cherokees and all the Indians that might be south of them; the Middle Department had to do with the nations between the other two departments—the Ohio Country tribes. In June, 1775, the Continental Congress also authorized General Washington to recruit the friendly tribes of the Six Nations to be used in the Canadian campaign, and made an appropriation for the distribution of Indian presents. In April, 1776, Col. George Morgan was appointed Indian agent for the central department, with headquarters at Pittsburg. A delegation of Indians was received by Congress at Philadelphia and a sort of conciliatory meeting held. During all this "the Kentucky settlers were hovering close to their stockades and awaiting anxiously the trend of events," while the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia were the scenes of Indian invasions and atrocities. The stories of those indomitable characters, Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton and Samuel Brady, will be taken up individually.

While there were being enacted a continuous series of border raids by the Indians from as far north as Detroit, by the efforts of George Rogers Clark and the diplomacy and firmness of the Indian agent, Colonel Morgan, a general outbreak and war by the Indians had been averted. But now a sad occurrence set the whole section aflame.

A majority of the tribes had identified themselves with the British. While the Shawnees too were hostile, since the Dunmore treaty, through the influence of Cornstalk who had remained loyal to his agreement, they had been held in leash. Under the pressure of the British representatives and glowing promises, the Shawnees had now broken away and were preparing to take the warpath

against the settlements of Virginia and Kentucky. To avert this calamity, Cornstalk planned to visit the garrison at Point Pleasant, the scene of his earlier disaster. Consequently in the spring of 1777, with Chief Red Hawk who had fought with him in his engagement with Lewis, he crossed the Ohio to Fort Randolph, the name of the Point Pleasant quarters, and gave information which enabled the Americans to forestall the coming attack. Whether planned or not, two young Virginian volunteers, Gilmore and Hamilton, crossed the Kanawha from the garrison to hunt deer. On their return to the fort, they were fired on by unknown Indians from across the Kanawha and Gilmore was killed. In their rage and madness over the death of their comrade, the soldiers of the garrison failing to find the attacking party, to satisfy their vengeance attacked and murdered the friendly Cornstalk while he with Red Hawk had been detained at Fort Randolph as hostages and guaranty for the peaceful behavior of their tribes. Ellinipsico, Cornstalk's son, who had arrived to see his father was also killed, and Red Hawk while attempting to escape up a chimney shared the same fate.

Cornstalk evidently was not ignorant of the situation and his possible end. A short time before the tragedy he remarked: "When I was a young man and went to war, I thought that might be the last time; and that I would return no more. Now I am here among you; you may kill me if you please; I can die but once."

The then governor of Virginia, Patrick Henry, made all efforts possible to apprehend Cornstalk's assassins and offered a reward for their capture. Several soldiers were put on trial but for lack of evidence were released. The members of the garrison stood together in protection of the real murderers, when their evidence was called for.

It had now been two years since the battle of Lexington; Washington had been made commander-in-chief of the American army within a couple of months of the same period; Lord Dunmore, after his flight, had destroyed Norfolk some sixteen months previous and ten months had passed since independence had been proclaimed. With it all, the Continental Congress and Virginia as well, gave some attention to the protection of the western settlements. At the instance of Virginia, Fort Pitt and Fort Randolph were strengthened and Fort Fincastle at the mouth of Wheeling River was repaired and the name changed to Fort Henry in honor, probably, of the present governor of Virginia, chosen after the flight of Dunmore.

While many tribes were engaged in the raids upon the advanced settlements after Cornstalk's death, the Shawnees were the most prominent in these incursions. The system was aided and abetted by the notorious Hamilton at Detroit. Harrodsburg, Boonesborough and Logan's Fort were among the stockades attacked and during the summer of 1777, a formidable onslaught was directed at Fort Henry. The parties engaged were the Shawnees, Mingoes, Ottawas and a few non-Christian Delawares accompanied from Detroit by British renegades, flying the British colors. The fort was garrisoned by some fifty soldiers under command of Col. David Shepherd. A part of the garrison upon the approach of the Indians, boldly went forth to meet the force of nearly four hundred, were ambushed and the greater number killed. It was September 1, 1777, and the siege continued during the day. The next morning Col. Andrew Swearingen with twenty men succeeded in entering the fort and Maj. Samuel McCullough being apprised of the attack, arrived from Short Creek with forty mounted men. Although the savages were all about, the gates of the stockade were thrown open and all of McCullough's men succeeded in entering. McCullough himself, however, who had remained in the rear intent on the safety of his band, held back until his own chance of entry was cut off. Realizing his plight he turned his horse toward what was known as Van Meter's stockade a few miles away. The path led to the top of a hill overlooking Wheeling Creek. At the brow of this hill McCullough was met by Indians returning from another expedition. With the prospect of death before him he forced his horse to plunge over the precipice. The leap to a brush covered terrace of the hill was near fifty feet. As by a miracle, McCullough's horse kept his feet and carried his rider two hundred feet farther along the sloping declivity to the bed of the creek. Neither horse or rider was injured, although the entire descent was three hundred feet. The Indians, chagrined at the escape and discouraged by the arrival of the reinforcements, abandoned the siege and wended their way again toward Detroit. Back of the fort upon cleared land were some twenty to thirty cabins, one of which was occupied by Col. Ebenezer Zane. Elizabeth Zane, wife of the Colonel and a sister of McCullough, rendered great service during the siege by "running bullets, cutting patches, making cartridges, cheering and encouraging by her presence, exhortations and assistance, the sometimes almost exhausted efforts of the brave defenders."

CHAPTER XXII

STORY OF DANIEL BOONE

HAMILTON IN CONTROL AT DETROIT—PLANS INDIAN RAIDS—BOONE'S CAPTIVITY AND ESCAPE—OTHER STIRRING EVENTS.

In September, 1777, Governor Hamilton of Detroit was "honored" with absolute control of this then western country, by the British government. He had proven by his barbarous and inhuman methods that he was the man of the hour to take charge of affairs and incite the Indians to murderous raids directed against different sections of the Ohio country. A reward was offered for white scalps, and when Hamilton sent out the savages on their campaigns it is said that the governor sometimes encouraged them by singing war songs attended by the gift of some weapon to "show his sympathy with the Indians in their raids and murderous work." He was charged with establishing regular prices for scalps, but ordinarily none for prisoners; thus inducing the dispatch of captives on the spot. The stronger prisoners were reserved to assist in carrying the plunder to Detroit, and the lives of noted persons were also sometimes spared, their fate being determined later. The Maumeė and Sandusky rivers were the great highways for these raiding parties and consequently many famous characters passed through these regions.

On February 7, 1778, Daniel Boone and twenty-seven Kentuckians were surprised and captured while making salt at the Blue Licks on (Kentucky) Licking River. Their captors were a party of over one hundred Ohio Indians from the Maumee region under the Shawnee chief Black Fish, and guided by two French-Canadian scouts in the British service, Baubin and Lorimer. James and George Girty are also said to have been with the raiders. Boone himself told his story to the noted John Filson of Kentucky, who published it in 1784 like this:

"On the first day of January, 1778, I went with a party of thirty men to Blue Licks on Licking River (Kentucky) to make salt for the different garrisons of the country. On the 7th day of February as I was hunting to procure meat for the company,

I met with a party of one hundred and two Indians and two Frenchmen on their march against Boonesborough. They pursued and took me and brought me the next day to the Licks, where twenty-seven of my party were, three of them having returned home with the salt. * * * We proceeded with them as prisoners to Old Chillicothe (near now Xenia, Ohio), the principal Indian town on the Little Miami (home of Black Fish), where we arrived after an uncomfortable journey and very severe weather, on the 18th day of February. We received as good treatment as prisoners could expect from savages. On the 10th day of March following, I and ten of my men were conducted by forty Indians to Detroit, where we arrived on the 30th day and were treated by Governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with humanity. During our travels (to Detroit) the Indians entertained me well, and their affection for me was so great that they utterly refused to leave me there with the others; although the governor offered them one hundred pounds sterling for me."

Black Fish was at the head of the party in charge of Boone and his fellow prisoners. The route to Detroit, it is claimed by some historians, was by striking east from the Chillicothe town at the head of the Little Miami to the Scioto-Sandusky trail, then north through Lower Sandusky (Fremont) on to Detroit. But at that season of the year especially, the most likely route, as claimed by another authority, would have been from this Chillicothe to the Auglaize; thence along that route to now Defiance; thence down the Maumee trail and across the River Raisin to Detroit.

The reward from Hamilton for the ordinary prisoners brought in was one hundred dollars each. But elated with the prospect of having within his possession a famous white leader and American such as was Boone, the governor raised the price for this intrepid backwoodsman to a fabulous sum. The situation shows the two sides of the Indian nature. On occasion they practiced the most awful cruelty and barbarity. But Boone, a brave and fearless fellow, had a manner with him that at once appealed to Black Fish, and he hoped for his adoption into his own family and displayed toward his prisoner real effection.

Returning to Boone's story to Filson, he says: "The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit, and on the 10th day of April brought me toward Old Chillicothe, where we arrived on the 25th day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march through an exceedingly fertile country, remarkable for fine springs of water. At Chillicothe I spent my

time as comfortably as I could expect; was adopted according to their custom into a family (Black Fish) where I became a son and had great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as cheerful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting; for no people are more envious than they are in this sport. I could observe, in their countenance and gestures, the greatest expressions of joy when they exceeded me; and when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawnee king (Black Fish) took great notice of me and treated me with profound respect and entire friendship, often intrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of my duty to my sovereign. My food and lodgings were in common with them; not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity makes everything acceptable. I now began to meditate an escape and carefully avoided their suspicion; continuing with them at Old Chillicothe until the first of June following, and was then taken by them to the Salt Springs on the Scioto and kept there making salt ten days. During this time I hunted for some of them, and found the land, for a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucky, if possible, and remarkably well watered. When I returned to Chillicothe, alarmed to see four hundred and fifty of their choicest warriors, painted and armed in a fearful manner, ready to march against Boonesborough, I determined to escape at the first opportunity. On the 16th, before sunrise, I departed in the most secret manner and arrived at Boonesborough (by way of the Blue Licks) on the 20th (four days) after a journey of one hundred and sixty miles."

Boone was received with great rejoicing. As he had been absent four and a half months, his wife supposing him dead, had returned with their children to their old Carolina home on the Yadkin. The life of Daniel Boone of course makes a long and fascinating story in itself. He was now again the bitter foe of the Redskin and they would have been willing to have paid dearly for his scalp. From this on his life was again a series of remarkable adventures as was the case before his capture.

And while these stirring events, like that concerning Boone, were taking place along the lower Ohio and in the region of the

Miamis and the Scioto, there were great activities relative to the Revolution transpiring in the Ohio section westward from Pittsburgh. Three prominent personages concerned in the latter were Simon Girty, Alexander McKee and Matthew Elliott. To better understand future events, something of the story of these three notorious renegades is also given here before taking up the important expedition of George Rogers Clark.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RENEGADES

STORY OF THE GIRTY BROTHERS—ALEXANDER McKEE AND MATTHEW ELLIOTT—SIMON GIRTY THE KING OF OUTLAWS—HIS BROTHERS JAMES AND GEORGE GIRTY ALSO ACTIVE—RENEGADE INFLUENCE IN THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY REGION.

There were four brothers of the Girtys: Thomas, born in 1739 in Pennsylvania, on the Susquehanna River; Simon, born in 1741, just above Harrisburg; James, born in 1743, and George, born in 1745.

The father, also Simon, was an Irishman, born near Harrisburg and was of a wandering disposition, intemperate and was killed in 1751 in a drunken debauch with the Indians. His wife, Mary Newton, was English. The family home was at Chambells Mills, on the Susquehanna. The Indian named "The Fish" who killed this elder Girty, was in turn slain by John Turner who lived with the Girtys. Turner later married the widow, and they had one son also named John. In August, 1756, the entire family were captured by a roving band of Indians. The step-father Turner was put to death after a revolting torture. The boys, all then well below their majority, witnessed the scene, as did the mother, while sitting on a log with an infant son in her arms. Simon was taken to the Senecas, James to the Shawnees and George to the Delawares. Thomas, the eldest, escaped soon after his capture. Three years after they were taken, Simon, James and George were returned to their friends at Pittsburgh.

Thomas was the only one of the brothers to remain loyal to the American cause. He married, made his home on Girty's Run, named for him, where he raised a respectable family. In 1783, with his half-brother, John Turner, he visited Simon while the latter was at Detroit. Evidently under the influence of Simon, the loyalty of Thomas and the half-brother seemed in the balance, but soon after their return, both took the oath of allegiance. Thomas died in 1820. John Turner became a man of affairs. He presented a burial ground to the community where he lived and became known as "the benefactor of Squirrel Hill."

Of the three renegade brothers, Simon, whose Indian name

was Katepakomen, for a time was loyal to the colonies and exercised considerable influence. He was a guide and interpreter for Lord Dunmore in the Governor's (1774) campaign against Cornstalk. With Simon Kenton he was the bearer of a message from Dunmore to General Lewis and did valiant duty as a scout. He met Colonel Crawford during these operations and the Colonel had in several ways befriended him.

C. W. Butterfield gives an authentic story of the Girtys. For his services on behalf of Virginia, Simon was awarded a commission of second lieutenant of militia at Pittsburgh. On February 22, 1775, he took the prescribed oath in open court—"To be faithful and bear true allegiance to his majesty King George the Third," and as Butterfield further says, "Girty, notwithstanding there was trouble of a serious nature between the colonies and the mother country, was well disposed toward the latter." In Lord Dunmore's report to his government of loyal subjects, Girty's name is included in the list. In 1775, as guide and interpreter with pay of five shillings a day, he accompanied James Wood, a commissioner to the Indians on a long tour through the wilderness. In this tour they visited the Upper Sandusky Wyandots, the Shawnee and other towns on the Scioto, together with several other tribes and Girty was evidently faithful to his duties. He was employed again by a commission and sent to the Six Nations, but was dismissed evidently, on account of suspicious behavior.

His allegiance now began to waver, the cause being attributed to his failure to receive a captaincy, as a reward for his services to the Americans. He was appointed second lieutenant of a company, but instead of going to the front remained at Pittsburg on detached duty. He was then arrested on a charge of disloyalty but acquitted.

At this point in the story there enter upon the stage, Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee. Elliott, born in Ireland, had resided in Pennsylvania east of the Alleghenies, and at the close of the French and Indian war became a trader at Fort Pitt. He was at this post at the outbreak of serious trouble between the Ohio Indians and Virginia. He was in the Dunmore war with the Shawnees on the Scioto when Dunmore invaded that section; was one of the messengers for the Indians to the Virginia forces bearing a flag of truce, who asked on behalf of Cornstalk's confederacy the terms of peace. He returned to Pittsburg after the war and again engaged in trade with the Indians of the Muskingum section. It was at this time that he was taken by a band of

Wyandots who also appropriated his stock in trade. Quoting Randall: "He escaped to Detroit, where Governor Hamilton treating him as a spy (though it is believed there was a traitorous compact between them) sent him as a prisoner to Quebec, in which guise he was retained until late in 1777. Released on parole (or pretending to be, for in reality he had a captain's commission from the British and was in their service) Elliott returned to Pittsburg where he is found in the spring of 1778. At this time he was at heart a Tory and in sympathy with the British, unscrupulous and deceitful, although assuming loyalty to the Americans."

Alexander McKee, born in Pennsylvania, was an associate of Elliott and also a trader among the Indians with headquarters at Pittsburg. He was a deputy Indian agent under Sir William Johnson from 1772 until Johnson's death in 1774. McKee had prospered by his Indian trade and was a man of property and wielded considerable influence in the section around the head of the Ohio. By his suspicious operations he had, in April, 1776, three months before the Declaration of Independence, been put under parole by the colonial authorities at Pittsburg to refrain in any manner from giving aid to the British.

Under these situations in the most trying times, McKee and his two negro servants, with Simon Girty; Matthew Elliott and a number of soldiers (Tory sympathizers) on March 28, 1778, deserted Pittsburg and the Americans who had employed them, and struck out for Detroit. On their way they stopped with the Delawares on the Muskingum and according to the Moravian records, by their nefarious misrepresentations came near changing the attitude of that tribe from neutrality to open hostility to the Americans.

They circulated among the Delawares the statement that the American forces east of the mountains had been beaten and annihilated by the British; that General Washington was among the slain; that Congress sitting at Yorktown had passed from existence; and that what was left of the American army was coming over the Alleghenies to wreak their vengeance upon the Indians.

Naturally, the report, given credence, created great consternation. In the situation Captain Pipe, pro-British, saw an opening to overthrow his rival, Captain White Eyes, American sympathizer. He urged the Delawares to take up the hatchet against the Americans and "Goschochgung (Coshocton) rang with songs of war, rifles were cleaned, tomahawks sharpened, the warriors

painted their faces and decorated themselves with their plumes." But White Eyes was doubtful of the story. He asked for delay until what Girty and Elliott and McKee told could be confirmed. John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary, with a companion from the Moravian towns, hastened to Pittsburg where they learned of the American victories and not defeats. With all haste and amid constant danger of Indian attacks, Heckewelder and his companion, John Shabosh, with dispatches, started for Goschochgung to contradict the false stories. On the third day out they reached Gnadenhutten. Being assured that among the Indians around Goschochgung, all was excitement and confusion, and that many Indians were preparing for war, without one hour's sleep they started for the Delaware capital yet thirty miles away. They were given a cool reception. Many Indians showed their hostility and for a time the situation was precarious. Even White Eyes and several other chiefs who had befriended Heckewelder, refused his extended hand. The missionary after a pause in the proceedings finally secured the attention of White Eyes who said sternly:

"Then you will tell us the truth with regard to what I state to you. Have the American armies been cut to pieces by the English troops? Is General Washington killed? Is there no more Congress, and have the English hung some of them and taken the remainder to England to hang them there? Is the whole country beyond the mountains in the possession of the English, and are the few thousand Americans who have escaped organizing themselves on this side of the mountains for killing all the Indians in this country; men, women and children?"

Heckewelder declared before the whole assembly that the stories that had been told were false. All the leaders then quickly repaired to the council-house, where the dispatches from Pittsburg were read, following which White Eyes made an elaborate peace address. A newspaper containing the account of the capitulation of Burgoyne's army was found with the dispatches. This the chief unfolded and held up so that all could get a full view of it. "See, my friends and relatives," said White Eyes, "This document containeth great events; not the song of a bird, but the truth." Stepping up to Heckewelder, the chief gave the missionary his hand saying: "Brother, you are welcome with us." All present followed his example.

Girty, McKee, Elliott and their "horrid brood of followers" slunk away from the Delawares, and on their journey westward sowed the seeds of more disturbance among the Shawnees on their

way to Detroit, where they were welcomed by Hamilton into the British fold. At the Forks of the Muskingum, the renegades met James Girty, who under their influence followed them to Detroit some weeks later and was employed as Indian interpreter.

Pennsylvania issued a proclamation declaring Simon Girty, Indian interpreter, Alexander McKee, formerly Indian trader, Matthew Elliott, Indian trader, and James Girty, laborer, as aiding and abetting the common enemy and summoning them back to trial. George Girty joined his brothers a year later, thus completing the list of "renegades." He was forthwith engaged by the British Indian department as an interpreter and sent among the Shawnees, acting also as disbursing agent in apportioning supplies to the tribes.

At Detroit McKee was appointed captain and interpreter of the British Indian department. Girty was given employment as interpreter, his pay being two dollars per day. The party on the way to Detroit had stopped at (Lower) Sandusky (Fremont) and Simon was sent back there to join the Indians in their onslaughts against the Americans. Butterfield calls attention to the fact that up to this time, 1781, when Girty formally took up his residence with the Wyandots, he had taken no part in the slaying of his former countrymen—the Americans. He had good knowledge of many of the Indian tongues, especially the Wyandot and Delaware and began to wield much influence in the Maumee and Sandusky regions. He was a leader if not an instigator in many of the Wyandot, Shawnee and Seneca raids and it seemed his delight to outdo the savages themselves in his heartless cruelties.

One of the first Girty raids concerns the well known story of Ruddell's Station up the Kentucky Licking River. The head of the attacking force was Col. Henry Bird, who ascended the Maumee River from Detroit with six hundred British soldiers and Indians and two pieces of artillery. With the expedition were Simon, James and George Girty and Alexander McKee. Ruddell's Station was surrounded by a part of Bird's force and the balance of the army arriving the following day, Simon Girty was sent forward with a flag of truce demanding an immediate surrender. Captain Ruddell agreed to the terms, provided his men would be protected from the Indians. The conditions were accepted by Colonel Bird. But upon the gates of the stockade being opened, the Indians rushed upon the terror stricken families, killed many of the mothers with suckling babes and wounded

many of the inhabitants. The three hundred prisoners, after the Indians had satisfied their thirst for blood, were next day turned back to Bird. But all the cattle at the post were shot down, which later proved serious by the scarcity of supplies.

Simon Girty was the "chief conspiring agent of the British." At Detroit he declared that seven or eight hundred warriors, Mingo, Shawnees, Wyandots and even Delawares, could be assembled at Upper Sandusky and marched to the beleaguerment of Fort Laurens. Captain Lernoult, then in charge at Detroit, dispatched Capt. Henry Bird of the Eighth or King's Regiment and ten soldiers with Girty to Upper Sandusky to aid in the proposed attack. In the latter part of February (1779) with a band of Indians under Girty, the whole force under Bird, plentifully armed and supplied with ammunition from Detroit, set out from Upper Sandusky and secreted themselves about Fort Laurens—on the west bank of the Tuscarawas River, near now Bolivar and the first fort built by Americans within present Ohio.

By stealth some of the garrison were decoyed from the fort. Sixteen were killed and two taken prisoner. The besieged soldiers left in the works bravely held out until relieved by General McIntosh in March, who on arrival found that Girty's forces had fled. The story of Simon Kenton and Girty will come in with the mention of Kenton later.

The Girtys during the year 1779, were the instigators of most of the Indian raids. Maj. Arnet Schuyler de Peyster, a Knickerbocker Tory from New York, was placed in charge at Detroit in October and the Girtys, and sometimes McKee and Elliott circulated from there south of the lakes with parties of savages headed generally by the British. Early in the above month one David Rogers was returning from New Orleans with supplies for the Virginians. He landed his two keel-boats and seventy men on the Kentucky side of the Ohio some three miles below the mouth of the Little Miami. Here as from a clear sky he was suddenly attacked by a party of Shawnees, Mingoes, Wyandots and Delawares under Simon and George Girty and Matthew Elliott, who had been apprised of Rogers' approach. The entire party of whites, forty-two in number, including Rogers, were shot down and tomahawked on the spot, except two who were badly wounded and finally escaped to tell the story.

Simon Girty's connection with Colonel Crawford will be told in the chapter on the campaign of Crawford. While the renegade had his headquarters on the Sandusky, even the Chief Half-

King of the Wyandots lent his ear to the council of Girty, who was terrifying to the pioneer homes and to the women and children.

When the Moravian Indians after their capture by the Wyandots were brought to the Sandusky, according to the story of the missionaries, Girty took much delight in treating the Christian Indians and the white missionaries as well, with cruelty and disdain. The missionaries were the cause of the Delawares not joining in the border raids. At Lower Sandusky, Girty had assigned a Frenchman named Francis Levalle to conduct the Moravians from that place to Detroit; ordering him to "drive them all the way by land like cattle." Levalle was of a merciful trend, treated them with kindness and sent to Detroit for boats to convey the missionaries there. Before the boats arrived, Girty returning from an expedition, learned of the Frenchman's humanity and according to Heckewelder of the missionary party, he "behaved like a madman on hearing that we were still here and that our conductor had disobeyed orders. He flew at the Frenchman who was in the room adjoining ours most furiously, striking at him and threatening to split his head in two. He swore the most horrid oaths respecting us and continued that way until after midnight. His oaths were all to the purport that he never would leave the house until he split our heads in two with the tomahawk, and made our brains stick to the walls of the room in which we were! Never before did any of us hear the like oaths, or know any one to rave like him. He appeared like an host of evil spirits. He would sometimes come up to the bolted door between us and him, threatening to chop it in pieces to get at us. How we should escape the clutches of this white beast in human form no one could foresee. Yet at the proper time relief was at hand; for, in the morning at break of day, and while he was still sleeping, two large flat-bottomed boats arrived from Detroit for the purpose of taking us to that place. This was joyful news."

In June, 1782, after the Crawford disaster described in a later chapter, the Indians became greatly encouraged and at Wapatomica, near the headwaters of the Muskingum, with a host of Indians from many tribes, were present Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee. Under the advice of the renegades was planned the campaign against Bryant's Station in now Fayette County, Kentucky, and described also later in more detail. The result was the battle of Blue Licks at which George Girty was also present, and on the American side Daniel Boone.

After the slaughter of the Americans, George Girty went to the Mad River section in the vicinity of now Logan County and Simon Girty to the Half-King's village on the Sandusky, about five miles below now Upper Sandusky on the west bank of the river. From here he then led an expedition against the border settlement within five miles of Fort Pitt, "on the very day Lieut.-Col. Stephen Bayard, then temporarily in command of the post, was firing a salute in celebration of the confirmation of the news of peace between the United States and Great Britain." Butterfield says this was the last of Simon Girty's border exploits during the American Revolution. He went to Detroit where he remained in the pay of the British Indian Department as interpreter. In the Indian war, which opened about 1790, with the Americans, Girty, however, was on the side of the Indians and was active in the defeat of St. Clair in now Mercer County. In August, 1784, Simon Girty married Catherine Malotte, a prisoner among the Indians and reported as a most comely woman only half the renegade's age. She probably selected this course rather than remain with the Indians. The ceremony was performed on the Canada side of the Detroit River, near now Amherstburg. A daughter, Ann, was born in 1786. Other children were Thomas, Sarah, and a second son Prideaux, born in 1797.

With Great Britain acknowledging American Independence, Simon was a leading factor in keeping the Indians loyal to the British. He was under the leadership of McKee and while he no longer lived among the Indians he was constantly in touch with them as an emissary of the British. Matthew Elliott who had taken up his home with the Shawnees was in the same line of work. Alexander McKee had established a store and trading post at the foot of the Maumee Rapids (Maumee) and an Indian council was held there in 1788, attended by Girty as McKee's representative. McKee, Elliott and Simon Girty were present at a grand Indian council held at the Glaize (Defiance) in October, 1793, but Girty was the only white man admitted to the secret talks. Girty, Elliott, and McKee witnessed the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, but took no part in the engagement. After Wayne had destroyed all the Indian corn and other crops along the Maumee, Girty and McKee aided in furnishing the Indians with food. Regarding the situation McKee, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote Colonel England, British commandant at Detroit, as follows:

"Camp near Fort Miami, August 30, 1794.

"Sir—I have been employed several days in endeavoring to fix the Indians (who have been driven from their villages and cornfields) between the fort and the (Maumee) bay. Swan Creek is generally agreed upon, and will be a very convenient place for the delivery of provisions, etc."

McKee in a former letter to Detroit told of a letter he had received from Elliott in regard to the council at Defiance, and Elliott's efforts to persuade the "lake Indians" to remain at the Glaize—Defiance.

Eventually, the British government granted Girty a tract of land in Malden township, Essex County, Canada. But he was shunned by his neighbors for his former cruelties and record for depravity. After the birth of his last son, Simon and his wife separated. She could not endure his acts of cruelty and habits of drunkenness. By the near loss of his sight he was unable to engage actively in the War of 1812, but it is recorded that even then he rallied a band of Wyandots to join the forces of Tecumseh. It seems that he and his wife became reconciled, for when General Harrison invaded Canada, in pursuit of Proctor, Girty fled from his home on the Detroit River, but his wife remained and was not molested. After the American-British peace of 1816, Girty returned to his farm home, where he died February 18, 1818, and was buried on his own premises. The funeral service was attended by a squad of British soldiers which fired a salute over his grave. His youngest son Prideaux was once a candidate for the Canadian Parliament, but was defeated. He became a man of some affairs, finally moved to Ohio and died in this state. All of Simon's children were of good reputation and married. But Thomas died before his father and left three children. Simon's widow died in 1852.

Oliver M. Spencer, taken prisoner when a boy in 1792, saw Simon Girty and the Indian Chief Blue Jacket at Defiance, and describes Girty as follows: "He had dark, shaggy hair, low forehead; his contracting brows meeting above his short nose; his gray, sunken eyes averted one's gaze; his lips were thin and compressed, and the dark and sinister expression of his countenance, to me seemed the very picture of a villain. He wore the Indian costume, but without any ornament; and his silk handkerchief, while it supplied the place of a hat, hid an unsightly wound in his forehead. On each side in his belt was stuck a silver mounted pistol, and at his left hung a short, broad dirk,

serving occasionally the use of a knife. He made of me many inquiries; some about my family and the particulars of my captivity; but more of the strength of the different garrisons; the number of American troops at Fort Washington, and whether the President intended soon to send another army against the Indians. He spoke of the wrongs he had received at the hands of his countrymen, and with fiendish exultation of the revenge he had taken. He boasted of his exploits, of the number of his victories, and of his personal prowess." The deep cut in Girty's forehead is said to have been inflicted by the Indian chief Brandt in a drunken brawl, but Simon claimed it was a sabre wound received in the Indian battle with St. Clair and that he had dispatched the Yankee officer who made it.

Girty's great concern was that he might at some time be captured by the Americans, and he always on opportunity asked about his probable fate if taken. One of the last accounts of Simon Girty is from a Mr. Daniel, shortly before the renegade's death. "On a visit to Malden (Canada) I put up at a hotel kept by a Frenchman. In the bar-room I noticed a gray-headed and blind old man. The landlady, about thirty years old and daughter of the proprietor, said: 'Do you know who that is?' On my reply being 'No' she said, 'It is Simon Girty.' He had lost his sight four years before that."

James Girty in 1782 established a trading post at the head of the St. Marys River where the portage or trail led from—site of present town of St. Marys. The year before, he had participated in his last raid against the Americans. When he built his post, there was an Indian village at that point-and it became known as Girty's Town. His wife was a Shawnee squaw known as Betsy. He had a monopoly of the trade throughout the surrounding section and prospered. The outlet for his furs and peltry was down the Maumee River to Detroit. At times the position of James was not secure and on several occasions he packed his goods for flight and finally when General Harmar's army came north, he moved his stock in trade to the site of now Defiance where he occupied a log cabin. At the approach of General Wayne in 1794, he hurriedly moved his goods to Canada by way of the Maumee River. After Wayne left he returned to the Maumee region again, but with fewer Indians, his trade was not profitable and he passed up to Canada again, locating at a town called Gosfield. Girty's Island in the Maumee River is named for him from the fact that his last Ohio country trading post was on

the west river bank, near that island. While he had the cruelty of the Girty blood, he was not intemperate. He took no part in the War of 1812 and died April 15th, 1817, his wife passing on before him. Two children, James and Ann, survived them.

George Girty as before stated, after the battle of Blue Licks returned to the Mad River section. He married a Delaware squaw and his career is lost in his close association with the Indians. But it is known that he died in a drunken carousal in the cabin of James, his brother, near Fort Wayne.

Chronologically this narrative left off with the first siege of Fort Henry to touch upon the exploits of Daniel Boone. Again in speaking of the renegades, it was considered proper to treat of these characters in topical form and follow them through their career. And now from Fort Henry the expedition of George Rogers Clark is reached.

CHAPTER XXIV

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK'S CONQUEST OF THE WEST

HIS OWN STORY—PATRICK HENRY APPROVED CLARK'S PLANS—HIS START FROM RED STONE—REACHES FORT MASSAC—CAPTURE OF KASKASKIA—AID OF FATHER GIBAULT—CAPTAIN HELM OCCUPIES VINCENNES—CLARK PACIFIES THE INDIANS—ATTEMPT AT CLARK'S CAPTURE—NEWS OF CLARK'S CONQUEST—BRITISH USE OF INDIANS—HAMILTON STARTS FOR VINCENNES—SURRENDER OF VINCENNES TO HAMILTON—CLARK STARTS FOR VINCENNES—GREAT DIFFICULTIES OF HIS MARCH—CLARK ATTACKS FORT SACKVILLE—SURRENDER OF HAMILTON—CREATION OF ILLINOIS COUNTY.

There were four critical events in the history of the western country, the termination of any one of which was of vital importance to American Independence. Of the Revolutionary period in the then West, the battle of Point Pleasant, 1774, between the Americans under General Lewis and the Indians directed by Chief Cornstalk was the first; the conquest of Gen. George Rogers Clark and the capture of Vincennes was the second; and Wayne's battle of Fallen Timbers, 1794, was the third. The fourth event concerns the western operations of the War of 1812.

This account of Clark's conquest is taken largely from his own story written at the request of James Madison of Virginia between 1789 and 1791 and the original manuscript is now preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Library at Madison. The narrative of Clark is told in a style which at times makes its meaning vague and the penmanship is difficult to decipher. Hence one reason for its unfamiliarity. It has remained to Mr. Milo M. Quaife,* secretary and editor of the Burton Historical Collections of the Detroit Public Library, to decipher and "translate" some of its doubtful meanings with great and conscientious labor and put it in a form to make it available to the general reader. His "Capture of Old Vincennes" published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, Copyrighted and used here by their permission, as is the story of Hamilton, is a priceless production and should be in every public and school library and read by every American. The quotations are largely as written by Mr. Quaife in his valuable production.

*Author of "Wisconsin, Its History and Its People," S. J. Clarke Pub. Co., Chicago.

As history has noted, the posts at Detroit, Mackinac, Vincennes, Kaskaskia and Cahokia were built by French fur traders to house their stock of goods and as a refuge in times of danger. When the English replaced the French, most of these places were strengthened and enlarged and became formidable works of defense. The locations of all these posts are well known to the general reader, except perhaps two, Cahokia at the mouth of Cahokia Creek, about four miles below and opposite St. Louis, and Kaskaskia on the Kaskaskia River (Illinois) six miles from its entrance to the Mississippi.

England coveted this vast western region as a part of her domain; and while the Americans appreciated the dangers confronting them as to its loss, it remained to the intrepid George Rogers Clark, then only twenty-six years old, but with the genius of a "courageous general and the mind of a farseeing statesman" to formulate plans and by their miraculous execution, rescue that territory to the Americans, never to be surrendered. All he asked was a sufficient military force, with which he planned to descend the Ohio River, proceed to Kaskaskia and march on to Detroit, capturing the British occupied posts each in turn in his advance.

As Clark relates, the first settlers of now Kentucky at Harrodsburg in 1774, were compelled to abandon their enterprise on account of the war with the Shawnees (under Cornstalk). They marched through the wilderness and joined the army of Gen. Andrew Lewis, and in the spring of 1775, returned to the possession of their town. In the meantime, Col. Richard Henderson, who was by the way an associate of Daniel Boone, had made his celebrated land "purchase" of Kentucky from the Cherokees, established himself, and opened a land office at Boonesborough. It was at this period that Clark with only the education of the ordinary pioneer, but a born leader of men, a diplomat, fearless, intelligent and far-seeing in matters of state, "concerned himself about the interests of his country." There were conflicting claims regarding land titles that were likely to work serious internal disputes. There were many opinions concerning Henderson's claim. Some thought it good and others questioned the rights of Virginia there. To show Clark's diplomacy, he conceived the idea of assembling the settlers and having them select delegates to proceed to the Virginia capital and treat with the authorities concerning the Kentucky situation. "If suitable conditions were obtained, we would declare ourselves citizens of the state, if not

we would form an independent government and by giving away a large part of the lands and making other disposition of the balance, we could not only gain a large number of inhabitants, but in a large measure give them protection."

To put his great idea into effect, Clark on his own initiative called a meeting of the settlers at Harrodsburg, to be held June 6, 1776. To further show his diplomacy, he simply gave out the information that at this gathering of the people, matters would come up of much importance to their interests, without stating the specific subject to be discussed. He did this for the reason that should he state in advance what he proposed to offer he feared that in small gatherings where the issue would be debated, there might be a division of opinion among the settlers that would result in friction; and also that by this method their curiosity would be aroused as to what was to take place, thus assuring a larger attendance.

Clark himself and one other were selected by this democratic gathering and lost no time in starting to Williamsburg before the Assembly should adjourn; and besides they did not wish to remain away long, being apprehensive that the Indians "stirred up by the British" might make an attack on Harrodsburg, and the place, therefore, must be put in a state of defense. Before arriving at the capital they learned the Assembly had adjourned. Continuing, Clark recites in detail the situation generally, as to the Indian raids into Kentucky, all of which brought to mind the idea of his expedition into the West. He eventually dispatched two young hunters, S. Moore and B. Linn, (who later became lieutenants with Clark) to the Illinois country as spies, who returned safely with full information as to the situation there. Late in December, 1777, Clark visited Williamsburg and laid the plans for his project before Gov. Patrick Henry and his advisors, Thomas Jefferson, George Wythe and George Mason. The governor and council entered so warmly into the enterprise that Clark had little trouble in getting matters adjusted and on January 2nd following received his instructions. The Continental army had drained the governmental resources in money and men, but Virginia, which claimed a large portion of this western country to be invaded, through the Assembly and Governor Henry, gave Clark authority to raise seven companies of fifty men each and commissioned him colonel. He also received twelve hundred pounds sterling for the use of the expedition, and an order on the authorities at Pittsburg, for boats, ammunition, etc. Finding from the gov-

ernor's conversation on the subject that he did not wish implicit attention to all his instructions should circumstances require otherwise, Clark set out January 4, 1778, as he says: "Clothed with all the authority I could wish." In fact it was in a measure Clark's private enterprise and his men were to be enrolled as militia exclusively from the frontiers west of the Blue Ridge; in order not to weaken the sea coast territory in their struggle against the British there. However, in case of success, each private volunteer was to be awarded three hundred acres of land and officers a greater tract in proportion, out of the lands that might be conquered, then in possession of the Indians.

*"Being now," continues Clark, "in the country where all my arrangements were to be made, I appointed Capt. William Harrod and many other officers to the recruiting service and contracted for flour and other necessary stores. General Hand who then commanded at Pittsburg, promised a supply of the articles for which I had orders. I received word from Capt. Leonard Helm that several gentlemen in his section were endeavoring to counteract his efforts at recruiting, saying no such service was known to the Assembly. In consequence he had to send to the governor to have his conduct ratified. I also encountered opposition to our enterprise in the country around Pittsburg, where the people were violently divided into parties over the territorial claims of Virginia and Pennsylvania. As my real instructions were kept secret, and only an instrument prepared by the governor designedly for deception and directing me to raise men for the defense of Kentucky was made public, many men of both parties considered it injurious to the public interest to draw off men at so critical a moment for defense of a few detached inhabitants that had better be removed." And on the one hand, there was ground for caution by Clark against weakening the colonial cause in the East, for it was at one of the darkest periods. Philadelphia after Howe's success at Brandywine September 11, 1777, was in possession of the British, and the clash at Germantown later, was more discouraging. Washington had just passed through his harrowing experiences at Valley Forge, and Congress had taken refuge at York, Pennsylvania.

Meeting with several disappointments, it was late in May, 1778, before Clark could leave Red Stone on the Monongahela River, with three companies of men and a considerable number of

*The material in quotation marks is the language of the story of Mr. Quaife as written from Clark's manuscript.

families and private adventurers. Thwaites in his story gives this description: "They were a rough and for the most part unlettered folk, these Virginia backwoodsmen. * * * There was of course no attempt among them at military uniform, officers in no wise being distinguished from men. The conventional dress of the eighteenth century borders was an adaptation to local conditions, being in part borrowed from the Indians. Their feet were encased in moccasins. Perhaps a majority of the corps had loose, thin trousers of homespun or buckskin, with a fringe of leather thongs down each outer seam of the legs; but many wore only leggins of leather and were as bare of knee and thigh as a Highland clansman; indeed many of the pioneers were Scotch-Irish, some of whom had been accustomed to this airy costume in the motherland. Common to all were fringed hunting shirts or smocks, generally of buckskin—a picturesque, flowing garment reaching from neck to knees, and girded about the waist by a leather belt, from which dangled the tomahawk and scalping-knife. On one hip hung the carefully scraped powder-horn; on the other a leather sack, serving both as game-bag and provision-pouch, although often the folds of the shirt, full and ample above the belt, were the depository for food and ammunition. A broad-brimmed felt hat, or a cap of fox-skin or squirrel-skin, with the tail dangling behind, crowned the often tall and always sinewy frontiersman. His constant companion was his home-made flint-lock rifle, a clumsy, heavy weapon, so long that it reached to the chin of the tallest man, but unerring in the hands of an expert marksman, such as was each of these backwoodsmen."

Taking on his stores at Pittsburg and Wheeling, Clark with only about one hundred and fifty men formed into the three companies, proceeded cautiously in flat boats down the Ohio River. At the mouth of the Great Kanawha Captain Arbuckle, the commandant, informed Clark that two hundred and fifty Indians had warmly attacked his post the day before and wounded a few of his men and had then directed their course towards Greenbriar. Further on his way, Clark was joined by Capt. James O'Hara. Clark learned that but one company of Major Smith's troops, that of Captain Dillard, had as yet arrived in Kentucky. This alarmed him and he feared the disappointment would prove fatal to his expedition. He wrote a letter to Colonel Bowman telling the latter of his intentions to place a garrison at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville) and that he "had an object in view of the greatest importance to the country" (Clark had as yet not

revealed the plans for his expedition). He urged Colonel Bowman to meet him at the Falls with all the available troops recruited by Major Smith and what militia could safely be spared from the different posts. The commander then moved on to the Ohio Falls and inspected various sites available for a fortification. Reflecting that his secret instructions from Governor Henry were yet unknown to his own men and officers, and not knowing the consequences when they should be divulged, Clark wished to have everything as secure as possible when he was joined by the balance of his forces. He therefore took possession of "Corn Island" of seven acres (opposite the site of Louisville), fortified it and in June divided the island into gardens for the families that had followed his troops. He found these families to be a real help in a way, as they occasioned but little expense and with the invalids could hold the post until a garrison would be able to take up their position on the mainland—which they did later on Clark's instructions after he had passed to Illinois. This post says Clark, "was one of the chief causes of the settlement of Kentucky." The people on the Monongahela had learned of the post from messengers dispatched by Clark.

Upon the arrival of Colonel Bowman with part of the militia and several men of that section of Kentucky, including Simon Kenton, the forces all told were much less in number than was hoped for. The Indians the while continued their raids in that territory and spurred on by the British, their numbers along the Ohio steadily increased. This caused Clark to hesitate to leave the Kentucky posts depleted by the members of his expedition. A division into still smaller numbers would hazard the situation of both of them. It was finally decided to take only one complete company from Kentucky and a part of one other, supposing that those men would be replaced by troops yet expected from Major Smith. This arrangement was almost the unanimous opinion of all and while the soldiers with Clark regretted that the post could not be left secure beyond question, they were, most of them, willing to proceed westward. A few were alarmed at being taken so far into the enemy's country.

Clark kept spies continually among his men on the island and some dissatisfaction was discovered in Captain Dillard's company. The boats were, therefore, all secured and guards were stationed at points where there was a probability of men wading from the island. Despite this caution a lieutenant not named, but of whom Clark had held a good opinion, while in swimming

during the day, discovered the channel opposite their camp might be waded. Before the following daybreak he and the greater number of the company, gained the island bank and crossed to the Kentucky shore before being discovered. Taking the horses belonging to the men from Harrodsburg, Clark ordered a strong party to pursue the deserters, the "foot and horse" to relieve each other. They were ordered to "put to death every man they could who would not surrender." In about twenty miles they overhauled the fleeing party, which on discovering their pursuers, scattered in the woods and only seven or eight were taken. Those who escaped made their way to the various posts; many of whom not being woodsmen, almost perished. The lieutenant and the few men who kept with him, after great suffering from hunger and fatigue arrived at Harrodsburg. Hearing of his conduct, it was some time before the settlers would allow him to enter their homes or feed him. On the return of the pursuing party to camp, the soldiers hung and burned the lieutenant's effigy.

All was now in readiness as far as possible for the great wilderness plunge. After spending a day in visiting with their Kentucky friends who were to remain behind, the latter "returned to the defense of their county" says Clark, "and we in search of new adventures." The day of departure was June 24. They proceeded in their boats up the Ohio about a mile to gain the main channel and "shot the falls the very moment the sun was under a great eclipse, which caused conjectures on the part of the superstitious among us."

Knowing that spies were watching the river below the Illinois towns, Clark planned to proceed a part of the way by land. Therefore, he left behind all baggage "except enough to equip the men after the Indian fashion." The force, after leaving behind those who were judged unequal to the journey, consisted of four companies, respectively under Captains Bowman, Montgomery, Helm and Harrod—a little less than two hundred active men. Vincennes was known to be a town of considerable strength, had four hundred militia with Indian towns adjoining and Indians always lurking in the forest. In this situation on account of his small force, Clark changed his plan of attacking Vincennes, first going against the smaller, scattered villages. He considered this less risk in being overpowered by the Indians. In case of necessity he could probably make good his retreat to the Spanish side of the Mississippi; and if successful in the smaller villages, the chances then were more favorable for taking possession of Vin-

cennes. "I was well aware of the fact," he continues, "that the French inhabitants of these western settlements had great influence over the Indians, by whom they were more beloved than any other Europeans. I knew also that their commercial intercourse extended throughout the entire western and northwestern country, while the governing interest on the Great Lakes was chiefly in the hands of the English, who were not popular with the natives. These reflections, along with others of similar import, determined me to strengthen myself, if possible, by adopting such a course of conduct as would tend to attach the whole French and Indian population to our interests and give us influence beyond the limits of the country which constituted the objective of our campaign." It was at this time that Clark received papers from Colonel (John) Campbell at Pittsburgh, giving him the contents of the treaty between France and America. (Treaty of alliance.)

With the idea of leaving the Ohio at Fort Massac on the north side of the river and about four miles below the mouth of the Tennessee, Clark landed on a small island at the mouth of that river to prepare for his land journey. A party of hunters under one John Duff coming down the river was hailed by Clark's men. They were originally from the east, had been at Kaskaskia and gave Clark valuable information about that post. The hunters informed Clark that Governor Edward Abbott (British) who had built Fort Sackville at Vincennes, had recently left the latter place for Detroit. Philip Rocheblave (a Frenchman, but in the British service) was in command at Kaskaskia. The hunters further told Clark that the forces at Kaskaskia were in good condition, that spies were watching the Mississippi and that all hunters were told to keep close watch on the rebels (Americans). Should they receive timely notice of Clark's approach, it was thought that he would be given a lively reception; for the people at the fort had been taught to entertain horrible ideas of the barbarity of the rebels, especially the Virginians. The hunters asked permission to join Clark as guides, their offer was accepted and they proved of valuable assistance. Clark was pleased with the opinion the inhabitants held of the barbarity of his followers and proceeded to make capital of it.

Proceeding a little nearer Fort Massac the expeditionary force concealed their boats and in a northwesterly direction took up their march. While the weather was favorable, both water and game, in some places being scarce, the men suffered some from lack of these necessaries.

July 4th, in the evening, they arrived within a few miles of Kaskaskia where Clark threw out scouts in advance and halted until nearly dark. Advancing they took possession of a house occupied by a large family on the bank of the Kaskaskia River, about three-quarters of a mile above the town. Clark obtained from the man of the house, boats sufficient to carry his forces across the river where he formed them in three divisions. He wished to get possession of the place with as little disturbance as possible, "but if necessary at the loss of the whole town. If I met with no resistance, at a certain signal a general shout was to be given and a certain part of the town was to be seized immediately, while men from each detachment who were able to talk French were to run through the streets proclaiming what had happened and informing the townsmen to remain in their houses on pain of being shot down."

The people of Kaskaskia were in the most part made up of French, who were its first settlers in the early times of French discovery—they were French, Creoles and Indians. His plans says Clark "produced the desired effect and within a short time we were in possession of the town." While there was great silence among the townsmen, the troops of Clark kept up the greatest possible din throughout every quarter. Within two hours all the inhabitants were disarmed and informed that should anyone attempt to escape they would be put to death. "Rocheblave (the commander of the post) was secured, but some time elapsed before he could be got out of his room. I suppose he delayed to tell his wife what disposition to make of his public papers, but few of which were secured by us. Since his chamber was not entered during the night, she had ample opportunity to dispose of them, but how she did it, we could never learn. I do not suppose she put them in her trunks, although we never examined them. From the idea she entertained of us, she must have expected the loss even of her clothes."

Several writers have given out in their description of the capture of Kaskaskia that in a large room in the stockade there was an elaborate ball in progress. While Clark omits such a scene, Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West" describes such an event as follows: "Inside the fort the lights were lit and through the windows came the sounds of violins. The officers of the post had given a ball, and the mirthloving creoles, young men and girls, were dancing and revelling within, while the sentinels had left their posts. One of his captives showed Clark a postern-gate by

the river-side and through this he entered the fort, having placed his men around about at the entrance. Advancing to the great hall where the revel was held, he leaned silently with folded arms against the door-post, looking at the dancers. An Indian, lying on the floor of the entry, gazed intently on the stranger's face as the light from the torches within flickered across it, and suddenly sprang to his feet uttering the unearthly warhoop. Instantly the dancing ceased; the women screamed, while the men ran towards the door. But Clark, standing unmoved and with unchanged face, grimly bade them continue their dancing, but to remember that they now danced under Virginia and not Great Britain. At the same time his men burst into the fort and seized the French officers."

Roosevelt claims Clark verbally related this scene to Maj. Ebenezer Denny, but Roosevelt has been criticized severely for this apparent fiction, which sounds, however, as if it might have some foundation.

Clark secured little early information, but ascertained that several of the inhabitants were inclined towards the American cause; that a large number of Indians were in the vicinity of Cahokia sixty miles away; that Jean Gabriel Cerre a famous merchant of Illinois during the British regime and a staunch enemy of the Americans, had left Kaskaskia a few days previous with a large stock of furs, going to Quebec by way of Michilimackinac, from where he had returned to Kaskaskia; and that he was then in St. Louis, the Spanish capital, but that his wife was still in the town, together with a large supply of goods that would be of use to Clark's men.

By the attitude of many of the inhabitants toward Cerre, Clark not knowing it at the time, believed that this merchant was a man of importance and that he had enemies who were indebted to him and who took this method of avoiding payment. Clark sensed that while Cerre was bitter against the Americans, could he win the merchant's friendship, it would be a great strike in aid of his cause. Clark's description of his success in this is fully told in his story as delineated by Mr. Quaife in his book on the "Capture of Vincennes," and is most interesting.

To begin with, Clark had a guard stationed at Cerre's house and caused his stores to be sealed along with others. By the morning of July 5, Richard Winston and Daniel Murray, two merchants at Kaskaskia who proved friends to the American cause and gave them important aid, provided plenty of provisions

for Clark's forces and fed them well. In the situation, every man was forbidden to converse with the inhabitants.

In the course of the day Father Pierre Gibault of Canada, who had come to the Illinois country as vicar-general and whose field included all the French settlements of the Illinois section and the Wabash, obtained permission, together with "five or six elderly gentlemen," to call on Clark. When they entered the room where the commander and his officers were sitting, they were evidently greatly shocked by the dirty, bedraggled appearance of the Americans, who had left all extra clothing at the Ohio River, and being "almost naked and torn by the bushes and briars, presented a savage aspect."

After recovering from their surprise sufficiently to proceed, and being asked what they desired, Father Gibault asked which was the commander. Being informed, he stated that as the townsmen expected to be separated, "never perhaps to meet again," they had selected him to petition for permission to spend some time in the church taking leave of each other. Here, Clark says, "I knew that they supposed their very religion to be obnoxious to us, I carelessly told him, therefore, that I had nothing to say about his church and he might go there if he pleased; if he did, he was to tell the people not to leave the town." Clark says further that the whole populace seemed to assemble in the church. The infants were carried along, and the houses for the most part were deserted, with the exception of a few who seemed careless as to how matters turned out. Clark now issued an order preventing the soldiers from entering the houses.

Quoting Clark at this important juncture as Mr. Quaife writes it: "The people remained some time in church, and on breaking up, the priest (Father Gibault) and many of the principle citizens came to thank me for the indulgence shown them, and to beg permission to address me further on a subject dearer to them than all things else. They stated that their present situation was the fate of war and they were reconciled to the loss of their property; but they hoped I would not part them from their families, and that the women and children might keep some of their clothes and a small quantity of provisions, that they might support themselves by their industry. Their entire conduct had been influenced by their commandants, whom they had felt obliged to obey, and they were not much acquainted with the American war, as they had had little opportunity to inform themselves. Many of them, however, had expressed themselves as strongly in

favor of the Americans as they had dared * * * I now asked them very abruptly whether they thought they were addressing a savage. I told them that from the tenor of their conversation I was sure they did. Did they suppose we meant to strip the women and children or take the bread out of their mouths? Or that we should condescend to make war on women and children or the church? I informed them that it was to prevent the effusion of innocent blood by the Indians, instigated thereto by their (British) commandants and enemies, and not the prospect of plunder, that had caused us to visit them. As soon as this object was obtained we would be perfectly satisfied; and as the king of France had joined the Americans (this information affected them very visibly) it was probable the war would shortly come to an end. They were at liberty to take whichever side they pleased without danger of losing their property or having their families distressed. As for their church, all religions would be tolerated in America, and so far were we from meddling with it, that any one who offered insult to it would be punished by me. To convince them we were not savages and plunderers, as they had conceived us to be, they might return to their families and tell them to conduct themselves as usual with entire freedom and without any apprehension of danger. * * * Their friends who were in confinement would be released immediately and the guards withdrawn from every part of the town except the house of Cerre."

Clark now turned his attention towards Cahokia. He ordered Major Bowman to procure horses from the town to mount his own company and part of another, and to take with him a few of the Kaskaskia townsmen, to "inform their friends what had happened," and proceed to Cahokia and gain possession of that post. The French townsmen to take the trip were much pleased at the suggestion that they be armed and commanded by their former militia officers, and with their addition, Colonel Bowman had a force equal to that of Clark when he first arrived.

The mode of taking possession of this town and the scenes on the arrival of the invaders was much the same as had occurred at Kaskaskia. Major Bowman told the people not to be alarmed; that resistance was out of the question and he would convince them that he would prefer their friendship to their hostility. He was given authority to declare to them that they were at liberty to become free Americans as their friends at Kaskaskia had done. Any who did not wish to adopt this course could leave the country; except such as had been engaged in inciting the Indians to war.

"Cries of liberty and freedom, and huzzahs for the Americans rang through the whole town. The gentlemen from Kaskaskia circulated among their friends and in a few hours all was amicably arranged, and Major Bowman was snugly quartered in the old British fort." All the inhabitants cheerfully took the oath of allegiance and Bowman set his men to repairing the fort; established internal police, and by July 8th had matters agreeably settled. The villages adjacent followed the example of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and as no inquiry had been made in regard to those encouraging the Indians to hostility, within a few days the country seemed to be in harmony and quiet. While Clark himself was too busy to indulge in the pleasure himself, friendly correspondence began between his men and the Spanish over the Mississippi, which added to the betterment of the situation.

As Clark accumulated information, he was astonished at the extent to which the British had gone and the money they had expended in inciting the Indians against the Americans. "They had sent emissaries to every tribe throughout that vast country, even bringing the denizens of Lake Superior by water to Detroit and there outfitting them for war. The sound of war was universal, there being scarcely a nation among them but what had declared and received the bloody hatchet."

Clark found it was of supreme importance that they gain Vincennes and this now became his object. But "realizing that all the forces we had, joined by every man in Kentucky, would not be able to take the place by force of arms," he resolved upon other means—diplomacy, at which he displayed most remarkable ability. He of course realized that the Indians were the great factor to be won over, but he wished the proposition of peace to come from them instead of being made by himself. Consequently he arranged that an interview with the savages be made "through the agency of French gentlemen" in order to "assume the impression of carelessness."

In all the communications Clark wrote, he gave out the impression that his headquarters were still at the Falls of Ohio, in order to spread the idea that the troops he had with him were merely an advance detachment and that his main army was at the Falls of Ohio where it was fortifying itself, and that large reinforcements were daily expected, when war would be begun, or continued. His communications and letters were headed something like this: "Headquarters Western American Army, Falls of Ohio, Illinois Detachment," or "Illinois Detachment

Western American Army." Every man was instructed to talk in this strain and indeed many of his own men believed Clark's plan was something like this, else they would have hesitated to take the western journey. The commander now inquired specifically into the manner the people had been governed heretofore, and found that the system had been as rigid as under martial law. To make capital of this, he made every possible move to give the people an example of free government as "enjoyed by any American citizen." He caused a court of civil judicature, elected by the people, to be established at Cahokia. Major Bowman astonished the people by calling an election for magistracy, and they elected him the judge of the court. Similar courts were established at Kaskaskia, and later at Vincennes. This sort of procedure gave Clark almost supreme control over the people who in certain cases appealed to him as the highest authority.

At this point Clark in his story takes up again his dealings with the merchant Jean Cerre who was preparing to leave St. Louis for Canada. The interesting details of how he won over the merchant to the Americans can be found in Mr. Quaife's book on Vincennes. Cerre denied that he had ever attempted to turn the Indians against the Americans and his support of Clark became very valuable.

But Clark's principal objective was Vincennes. Kaskaskia had no more than been secured, before he sent Simon Kenton and two other spies to learn the military situation there. Further, he had no doubt of the fidelity of Father Gibault to the Americans and knew that the priest had great influence over the people. Vincennes being under his jurisdiction Clark sent for him and they had a long conference. Father Gibault did not think it was necessary for Clark to have any military preparations made at the Falls for an attack on Vincennes, although the place was strong and there was a large force of Indians in that section. He confirmed the report that Governor Abbott had gone to Detroit a few weeks previous, and believed that when the inhabitants should fully understand what had happened at the Illinois and the satisfaction and happiness of their friends there, and further when fully acquainted with the nature of the war, their attitude and sentiments would undergo a great change. He felt sure that his presence there would have great influence even among the Indians. Should it be agreeable to Clark he would take the matter up himself, and he had no doubt of being able to "bring the place over to the American interests without my being put to the trou-

ble of marching troops against it." The Father's business being of a spiritual character, it was his desire that another person should be in charge of the temporal work of the embassy, and named Dr. Jean Baptiste Laffont, who proved to be of great assistance as his associate. But Gibault promised that he would "privately direct the whole undertaking." On July 14 they set out for Vincennes, taking with them a large number of letters from their friends to the inhabitants. Governor Abbott's letters to Rocheblave at Kaskaskia had satisfied Clark that the inhabitants at Vincennes were warmly attached to the American cause. The people at Vincennes, therefore, naturally supposing that Abbott's communications to Rocheblave had been seized by Clark, would the more cordially verify Abbott's statements and be more friendly if led to suppose he had written in that style. Father Gibault and party with Simon Kenton as scout arrived at Vincennes safely. After spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal (except for a few Europeans who had been left there by Mr. Abbott and who immediately left the country) and went in a body to the Church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn manner. "A commander was chosen and the fort immediately taken possession of and the American flag displayed, to the great astonishment of the Indians."

The inhabitants of Vincennes now assumed the air of American freemen. They talked in a different style, and with the United States garrison at hand their attitude and language toward the Indians was also altered. "They informed the latter that their Father the King of France had come to life again and that he had joined the Big Knives (Americans) and was angry at the Indians for fighting for the English. They advised the Indians to make peace with the Americans as soon as possible; otherwise they might expect the land to be deluged with blood." With such advice cast at them by their ancient friends the French of the Wabash and Illinois, the savages throughout the tribes began to reflect upon it seriously.

Without the possession of Vincennes Clark's campaign would be a failure and possibly disastrous. He was therefore greatly elated when, about August 1st Father Gibault accompanied by several of the Virginians brought him the joyful news of their complete success there. Clark's troops had been enlisted only for the time necessary to reduce these posts. In the emergency he took upon himself the authority of reenlistments in a new mili-

tary organization. He also appointed French resident officers to enroll a company of young Frenchmen, established a garrison at Cahokia with Captain Bowman as commander and another at Kaskaskia under now Capt. John Williams. Col. William Linn, who had acted as a private in the march of the expedition, took charge of a detachment who were to be discharged on their return to the Falls of the Ohio, and Clark sent orders for the removal of the post there to the mainland. He dispatched Capt. John Montgomery with letters to Governor Henry at the Virginia seat of government, who also conducted there Mr. Rocheblave. "The principles of this gentleman were so fixed that it was quite unsuitable to permit him to remain in the Illinois." Here Quaife quotes Clark as follows: "Rocheblave's wife had taken away all her furniture and other property; all but a few of her slaves who were detained by us to be sold as plunder for the benefit of the soldiers. The sale did not take place for some time, as the officers generally wished the slaves to be returned to Mrs. Rocheblave, and were in hopes that the men might be induced to agree to this. Many of them were men of sentiment, and while the credit from such a course would be considerable, the amount of money each would receive would be small. The desired result was in a fair way to take place, when some of the officers were requested to invite Mr. Rocheblave (I had confined him in his room to protect him from the soldiers, as he seemed to take delight in insulting them at every opportunity, and I was afraid some of them might harm him) to spend the evening at a certain house with a number of his acquaintances. He accepted the invitation, but at the gathering he abused them in a most intolerable manner, calling them rebels and other similar names." On account of the attitude of this Britisher, "all sentiment was cast aside, his slaves were sold and the proceeds amounting to some one thousand five hundred pounds were divided among the men."

Clark through Colonel Montgomery acquainted Governor Henry of his situation and intentions and reminded him of the necessity of sending reinforcements and also some proper person to act as civil governor.

Turning his attention to Vincennes, he recognized the necessity of having an American commandant there and selected Capt. Leonard Helm for the position, who was past middle age and experienced with matters pertaining to the savages. He also gave Helm the further duties of Indian agent for the department of the Wabash and the new commander set out for Vincennes about the middle of August.

A Piankashaw chief known as "Tobacco's Son" lived in a village adjoining Vincennes. He was called by the Indians "the Grand Door to the Wabash," as nothing of importance could be taken up by the league in that section without his consent. In dealing with this chief, who was the Pontiac of the west, Clark displayed great diplomacy, and for this story and the interesting details as to how Clark won over the Indian tribes, the reader is referred again to Mr. Quaife's Vincennes.

Clark in speaking of his manner of negotiating with the Indians, stressed his opinion that the Americans had used the wrong methods in approaching the savages and in making treaties with them; for in this regard he says: "The treaties we made during the three or four weeks beginning the last of August (at Cahokia) were negotiated in a different fashion, probably than any others in America prior to that time. I had always been convinced that our general conduct of Indian affairs was wrong. Inviting them to treaties was considered by them in a different manner than we realized; they imputed it to fear on our part, and the giving of valuable presents confirmed them in this opinion. I resolved, therefore, to guard against this. I took great pains to acquaint myself with the French and Spanish methods of treating with the Indians." * * * In other words, Clark reversed the order and required the Indians to make the opening arguments or speeches in the debates; made them the petitioning party and would later make known his terms and answer—a psychological method of conveying the idea of strength and power.

Clark continually kept spies among the tribes and noted that most of them kept their agreements. The situation became so favorable that he could send a single soldier to any part of the Wabash and Illinois country with safety; and during the fall (1788) all the Indians came in to treat with the Americans, either at Cahokia or Vincennes. Every method was employed to convince the French that the Americans were studying their best interests with a view of bettering their conditions. All disagreeable restrictions were removed, and business with the commanding officers and through the courts, which held weekly sessions, was carried on with as little formality as possible. This produced a good effect upon the French on the lakes, and many traders came in from that section and settled in the Illinois country and at Vincennes. With it all, the friendly correspondence between the Americans and the Spaniards across the Mississippi had its influ-

ence for good, as everything the Indians heard from them was favorable to Clark's cause.

With all that happened there were of course disturbing incidents, one being the rash attempt of two Indians who had been influenced to the scheme by "some bad men from Mackinac who had put it into their heads" to murder Clark, and were frustrated in their plans by the watchful sentinels about Clark's quarters. Clark also tells a long but most interesting story concerning a chief known as "Big Gate" who was a lad when Pontiac besieged Detroit. He was given the odd name because he shot a man, upon an occasion, standing at a gate. By the commander's diplomacy he was won over to the American cause and thereafter held his loyalty.

After his treaty making at Cahokia, Clark himself returned to Kaskaskia. With matters in fairly good condition, the little body of brave Americans had a short respite from their arduous duties. But their good feelings did not last long.

Clark had first entered Kaskaskia July 4th. It was five weeks after the event that Governor Hamilton at Detroit heard that the Americans were in the Illinois country. This showed the precautions Clark had taken to prevent the news of his operations being spread to the enemy. Even then the Britisher did not know who the "rebels" were or where they came from. His information came through a French missionary who arrived at Detroit August 8th, with the announcement that rebels had invaded the Illinois country, captured Kaskaskia, Cahokia and some smaller posts and were advancing upon Vincennes. Hamilton dispatched the news to Captain de Peyster at Michilimackinac, to Lieutenant-Colonel Boulton at Niagara, and to Gov. Guy Carleton at Quebec. Neither did Hamilton learn of the French-American treaty until long after the information reached Clark.

Taking up Clark's own story again, he tells about receiving information from Captain Helm at Vincennes that the British had sent a commissioner to Ouiatenon (now Lafayette, Ind.) with a supply of goods as presents to win over to them again the Indians in that quarter. Clark authorized Helm to select a small party to proceed to Ouiatenon and either capture the British agent or drive him away. Helm gave out that his party was simply going to pay a visit to some of their friends up the Wabash and the French merchants with the party traded with the Indians along the way, "while Captain Helm addressed them upon public affairs." The detachment did not display any hostile intentions

until they arrived near the Wea town. They then made all possible speed and entering the fort took as prisoners The Kite and twenty or thirty Chippewa warriors who were in council there. The British agent hearing something of the approach of the party had left for farther up the Wabash before Helm arrived. The Indians had arrived at Ouiatenon just before the Americans, and had been invited there to procure supplies and to conduct or join an expedition against Vincennes, but now promised their allegiance to the Big Knives. (This British agent was M. Celoron, called by Hamilton later, a traitor).

"Winter was now approaching," continues Clark's narrative, "and affairs began to take on a more gloomy aspect." He had received no word from the authorities in Virginia, but on the other hand had heard from various sources of a great expedition being organized by the British at Detroit. "Talks had been sent to all the Indian tribes" and an advance had already been made to the Maumee. This was, as Clark supposed for the purpose of giving the American army coming to Detroit from Fort Pitt "a warm reception." This news pleased Clark greatly until he learned that instead of marching upon Detroit, the American force from Pittsburg "had spent its time parading and building a few posts to facilitate its future designs," which information "came from the Falls of Ohio and disappointed us greatly." This mention by Clark concerned the campaign of General McIntosh from Fort Pitt, backed by Congress with men and money, when McIntosh built Fort Laurens on the Tuscarawas River, and is taken up in this story later.

"One Denny," says Clark, "an inhabitant of Cahokia, was seized by Major Bowman for sending by the Indians to his friends in Detroit a letter containing dangerous information. His message was intercepted, and he was tied to the tail of a cart and driven through the town, receiving a lash at every door. He was also branded in the hand for other misdemeanors. This was the first and the severest punishment inflicted by us on any of the inhabitants. It was necessary at this time to convince the people that we were capable of extremes either way, and that the good treatment we had heretofore shown them was due to the principles of the government."

By the document captured from Denny, Clark learned enough to make him think that Hamilton's destination might be Illinois instead of towards Pittsburg, although he could not be certain. For some time Clark had received no word from Vincennes. Since

there had been communication fortnightly, he began to feel that something was wrong. Scouts were sent out, but they did not return and this kept the post at Kaskaskia in a state of suspense. (It proved later that these scouts had been taken by the outposts of Hamilton). Unless Helm had kept back the express on account of high water, Clark began to fear the worst—that Vincennes was in British hands. Delayed by bad weather he finally set out for Cahokia in a snow storm to have a conference with the inhabitants there in case of Hamilton's coming and also to have Cahokia evacuated. On their journey he noticed by tracks in the snow that six or seven men had passed along the road. They proceeded carefully to Prairie du Rocher, twelve miles from Kaskaskia. Here Clark spent the evening with Captain Barbour and after supper the gentlemen and ladies planned a ball in Clark's honor. While the social affair was at its height an express came in to inform the commander that late that evening a party of white men and Indians had come to some negroes who were cutting wood up the Kaskaskia River and after engaging them in conversation told the negroes that they were with a party of eight hundred men a few miles away and intended to attack the fort that night.

The report caused great confusion among the assembly and all eyes were turned upon Clark. They urged him to cross the Mississippi to the Spanish side of the river for protection, saying that the fort (Kaskaskia) must already be invested. Clark laughed at the idea and boldly laid plans to enter Kaskaskia before Hamilton's arrival if possible. Some of Clark's friends proposed one thing and some another. Clark coolly told them that it was the fate of war, thanked them for their solicitation in his interests and said that a good soldier should not be afraid of his life where there was a probability of his doing his country service by venturing it. He expressed the hope that the news would not spoil the happy diversion sooner than was necessary and asked that dancing proceed while the horses were being prepared for the race to Kaskaskia. He "forced them to dance and endeavored to appear as unconcerned as if no such thing was in agitation." This conduct so inspired the young men that many of them started for their horses to share Clark's fate. But choosing to lose no time, the commander declined their offer. He wrote a note on the back of a paper to Captain Bowman at Cahokia, ordering him to come with his company and all the volunteers he could raise. He told Bowman to be cautious, and if he found that he could be of no

service, he should retreat to Ste. Genevieve and act as circumstances might dictate.

Clark dressed his men in the garb of hunters and ordered the express, who had given him the alarm and who was an expert woodsman, to press his horse to the limit, and when he had given out so the scout could proceed faster than the animal, to abandon him. The ground was covered with snow and the moon shone brightly, casting its shadows into myriads of weird shapes and forms. The commander and his men, whenever they came to any woods which might serve as a covert for any enemy, would detour from the road. Clark's idea in dressing his men as woodsmen—"in leggins and capotes, with handkerchiefs tied on their heads," was to leave their horses in case they should find that the enemy had actually invested Kaskaskia, enter their lines and fight with the Indians undistinguished from the English. By this method they hoped to gain a ravine at one of the angles of the fort where there was a small sally port. Here they proposed to make themselves known.

Fortunately, no enemy was in sight when Clark and his men arrived at Kaskaskia. The commander here goes into details as to how he subjected the townspeople to the situation and prepared as best he could to defend the fort in case of a siege. The inhabitants brought a large amount of supplies to the fort, the buildings near it were burned causing great consternation among the people, and amidst it all Captain Bowman arrived with a considerable force which gave much encouragement.

It was soon learned, however, that Vincennes being in the hands of the enemy, the party seen in the neighborhood had been sent out by Hamilton to infest the neighborhood until they could make Colonel Clark a prisoner; and as they had to hunt to obtain food and could not do so in the snow without being discovered, they had given the alarm they did in order to give them time to escape. Under no circumstances were they to kill Clark, but give him safe conduct to the British. The scouting party had been near enough to Clark and his men to capture perhaps most of them. But they were unable to distinguish Clark from his followers, and they desisted from firing for fear of killing the commander. Clark here observes that the instructions given by Hamilton regarding the American commander in case of the latter's capture, were one of the reasons of the respect shown to Hamilton by the American officers when he fell into their hands. But

the way Hamilton fared in Virginia was deprecated, as they considered that it involved their honor.

Clark now sent additional scouts to Vincennes and prepared his troops for action. The volunteers who came from Cahokia with Bowman were presented with an elegant stand of colors and sent home. Those who were poorly armed were well outfitted, while presents were made to the others as an acknowledgment of the attitude they had shown in the crisis. They paraded the town with their new colors and equipment and considered themselves as above the young Kaskaskia contingent. So much rivalry grew out of it that Clark when it suited his purpose intervened and "by a little strategy united them."

Bowman now also returned to Cahokia and Clark anxiously awaited the return of his scouts. His purpose was, should he not be able to retain the posts still in his possession, to abandon them on the approach of the enemy and return to Kentucky. With the increase of population there, he would be able in the spring to raise an army of sufficient strength to cut off the retreat of the British to Detroit, as he knew the Indians were averse to long campaigns.

It was on January 29, 1779, that Clark received definite news from Vincennes. It was brought by Francis Vigo, a Spanish merchant, who said that Hamilton had taken Vincennes in December and that his force consisted of "thirty regulars and fifty French volunteers, besides Indian agents, interpreters and boatmen to a considerable number and about four hundred Indians." The British commander considered the season too far advanced to reach the Illinois and therefore had sent some of these Indians to Kentucky to keep watch of the Ohio River and had disbanded the rest of them. "All were to meet again in the spring, drive us (the Americans) out of the Illinois country, and in conjunction with their southern friends attack Kentucky in a body. All the goods belonging to the merchants at Vincennes were to be taken for the king's use."

Vigo reported that the British were repairing the fort and in the spring expected reinforcements to arrive from Detroit. He said Hamilton appeared to have plenty of stores of all kinds and that strict discipline prevailed; although he did not believe they were expecting an American attack. He ventured the opinion that if Clark could approach the place undiscovered, he might capture it. Vigo's information was of very great value.

Later will follow Hamilton's own story of his expedition to

the Wabash. And before proceeding with Colonel Clark's move upon Vincennes, it is well to give a brief account of Hamilton's capture of the post.

In June, 1778, there was another change in the administration of Canadian affairs and Sir Guy Carleton was succeeded as governor-general by Sir Frederick Haldimand. The latter had come to America with the famous Henry Bouquet, his (Swiss) fellow countryman. Hamilton as lieutenant-governor had the run of affairs in the west and in his zeal made it his business to stir up the Indians and inaugurate raids upon the American frontiers. Late in the month that the new governor-general had assumed his role, Hamilton instituted a great gathering of western Indians at Detroit—over sixteen hundred in number. There were eight of the most prominent western tribes represented, including from the Ohio region the Miamis, Hurons, and Mingoes. Even some Delawares came to the conference and brought two scalps. To show that this tribe was represented, Hamilton presented one of the scalps to the Miamis and the other to the Chippewas to display in their villages. This act, says Butterfield, placed Hamilton upon record "as acting in a manner at once barbarous and bloodthirsty." Correspondence between Hamilton and Carleton and even Haldimand shows that these leaders were in sympathy with and even directed the Indian butchery of the Americans as carried out through the lieutenant-governor from Detroit. At the council were distinguished British-Canadian officers, and McKee who had deserted the American cause was there. Roosevelt in his "Winning of the West" says of the situation that it "was essentially an effort to exterminate the borderers; it was a war of extermination waged with appalling and horrible cruelty; it brings out in bold relief the fact that in the West the War of the Revolution was an effort on the part of Great Britain to stop the westward growth of the English race in America and keep the region where only savages would dwell." Roosevelt should have added—should dwell until the territory was permanently secured to the British, when the Indians would be dispossessed as early as possible and the territory become a part of the British possessions."

The forces under Hamilton when he embarked on his westward invasion October 8, consisted of British regulars, Canadian militia and Indians—all told about 200, equally divided. The flotilla consisted of fifteen boats, with clothing, food, ammunition and other supplies, besides a quantity of presents for the Indians.

The details of the journey from Detroit to the mouth of the Maumee and up that river will also be told in Hamilton's own story. At the head of the Maumee the expedition was joined by further Indian bands and thirty British regulars under their officer. The whole force here portaged across to the headwaters of the Wabash. On their way down the Wabash they were joined at the various Indian villages by recruits. When they arrived at the Wea village of Ouiatenon the force numbered over five hundred, four hundred of whom were Indians. Many chiefs of the region who had sworn allegiance to Colonel Clark and the American cause evidently turned and joined Hamilton—anything to the savage for their own preservation. The expedition reached Vincennes December 17, 1778, after seventy-one days from Detroit.

Fort Sackville at Vincennes was in a bad condition and of Captain Helm's force of some fifty soldiers only two were Americans. Yet when Major Hay, the advance officer of Hamilton, demanded his surrender, Helm's reply was "only with the honors of war." According to later reports, deserted by the French members of the garrison, Captain Helm with his two American soldiers, one bearing the American flag, marched from the fort with all the dignity of an honorable surrender. The six hundred inhabitants of Vincennes were compelled to "forswear the oath of allegiance to the American cause and renew their fealty to Great Britain." With his forces securely settled, Hamilton repaired the stockade, built blockhouses and settled himself for the winter, expecting to renew his campaign early in the following spring. Clark's own narrative is now resumed.

With the disposition and makeup of a man like Colonel Clark in the situation he now found himself, there was only one course; to face the enemy with his small force and fight. Governor Hamilton by the junction of his northern and southern Indians would have such an army in the spring that nothing in that section could withstand him. "Kentucky must fall immediately," is the way Clark himself put it, "and it would be fortunate if the disaster ended here. Even if we should immediately make good our retreat to Kentucky, we were convinced that it would be too late even to raise a force sufficient to save that colony, as all the men in it, united to the troops we had, would not suffice; and to get succor in time from the Virginia and Pennsylvania frontiers was out of the question. We saw but one alternative which was to attack the enemy in his stronghold. If we were successful we would save the American cause. If unsuccessful, the conse-

quences would be nothing worse than if we should not make the attempt. We were encouraged by the magnitude of the consequences that would attend our success."

The season of the year was favorable to Clark's plan, since Hamilton would little dream of the Americans being so much out of their minds as to attempt to travel two hundred and forty miles through a drowned and apparently impassable country in the middle of the winter. This being the case they would hardly take the precaution to keep scouts in the field. The proposition to advance met with the approval of every man.

Preparations for the advance were immediately begun and "the whole country took fire at the alarm." As there were plenty of stores, every man was completely outfitted to withstand the coldest weather. Knowing that the raging Wabash at that season of the year would be out of its banks and the overflow water would extend back from it five or six miles or more in the neighborhood of Vincennes, and would be dangerous to navigate, and to convey their artillery and stores, it was arranged to send a boat around the river route so strong that she might force her way under adverse conditions. A large Mississippi boat was purchased and completely outfitted as a galley, christened the *Willing* and mounting two four-pounders and four swivel guns. The craft manned by forty-six "seamen" under the command of Capt. John Rogers "set sail" February 4, 1779. And it might be observed here that it was three months before the British peace commission arrived at Philadelphia and while the American Revolution was still raging over the Alleghenies. Rogers had orders, after proceeding down the Kaskaskia River to the Mississippi and to the mouth of the Wabash, to force his way up the Wabash as far as the mouth of the White River. Here he was to secrete himself until further notice. He was not to leave the river until all hope had been abandoned of Clark's arrival by land; also to so conduct himself as to give no suspicion of the movements of the Americans. Nothing was said by Clark to the Kaskaskians about volunteering until the arrival of volunteers from Cahokia. The latter were given an elaborate entertainment to which all their Kaskaskia friends were invited. Enthused by the situation, the local inhabitants the next day asked permission to organize a Kaskaskia company. The request was granted and the company was enrolled before nightfall. The ladies also began to take much interest in the expedition, which had a great effect on the young men.

"Everything being ready," says Clark, "on the fifth of February, after receiving a lecture and absolution from a priest, we crossed the Kaskaskia with one hundred and seventy men and at a distance of about three miles encamped until February eighth." Sixty were French volunteers in two companies.

To show the commander's real feelings despite his openly displayed cheerfulness, reference is here made to a letter he wrote to Governor Henry of Virginia three days before he started on his desperate campaign, which in part is as follows:

"Kaskaskia, Illinois, Feb. 3, 1779.

"Dr Sr:

"As it is now near twelve months since I have had the least intelligence from you, I almost despair of any relief sent to me. I have, for many months, past, had reports of an army marching against Detroit, but no certainty.

"A late maneuver of the famous Hair-Buyer general, Henry Hamilton, Esqr., Lieut. Governor of Detroit, hath alarmed us much. On the 16th of December last, he, with a body of six hundred men, composed of Regulars, French volunteers and Indians, took possession of St. Vincennes on the Wabash, what few men that composed the garrison not being able to make the least defense. He is influencing all the Indians he possibly can, to join him. I learn that those that have treated with me as yet refused his offers. I have for some time expected an attack from him. He has blocked up the Ohio R[iver] with a party [of] French and Indians." (At this point he recites the information he received from Francis Vigo, the Spaniard). Continuing, his letter further says:

"Being sensible that without a reinforcement, which at present I have hardly a right to expect, that I shall be obliged to give up this country to Mr. Hamilton without a turn of fortune in my favor, I am resolved to take the advantage of his present situation and risk the whole on a single battle. I shall set out in a few days with all the force I can raise of my own troops and a few militia that I can depend on. * * *

"You must be sensible of the feeling that I have for those brave officers and soldiers that are determined to share my fate, let it be what it will. I know the case is desperate, but Sr, we must either quit the country or attack Mr. Hamilton. No time is to be lost. Was I sure of a reinforcement, I should not attempt it. Who knows what fortune will do for us? Great things have been effected by a few men well conducted. Perhaps we may be

fortunate. We have this consolation; that our cause is just and that our country will be grateful and not con[demn] our conduct in case we fail, though, if so, this coun[try] as well as Kentucky, I believe, is lost.

"I have wrote to Col. Rogers desiring of him not to enter the Ohio River until further intelligence from me. I learn that, by a noble stroke, * * * he has got his cargo above the British posts in Florida. If I have success, I shall immediately send dispatches to him. The expresses that you have sent I expect ha[ve] fallen into the hands of Governor Hamilton.

"I have the honor to be Sr your very humble Servt

G. R. Clark."

When the advance was again resumed rain and snow had covered the country with several inches of water and slush making progress slow and fatiguing. To keep the men in good spirits Clark permitted them to shoot game and feast on it like Indians at a war dance, each company taking turns in inviting the others to its feast. These feasts were held every night, the company which gave it being supplied with horses during the day to lay in the game supply. Clark and his officers conducted themselves like woodsmen "shouting now and then and running through the mud and water the same as the men themselves." Thus insensible of their hardships and without complaining, "the men were conducted through difficulties far surpassing anything they had ever before experienced and reached the Little Wabash February 13. There were here two streams three miles apart and the distance from the high bank of one to the other was five miles." This whole distance was covered with water from two to four feet deep. The situation was appalling but Clark ordered a pirogue built and acted as though crossing this expanse would be only a diversion. A crew of men were detached to "explore the drowned lands" and find if possible, a spot of land on the bank of the second little river high enough for a camp. They found an available place of about half an acre and blazed the trees from it back to the camp. Even the opposite bank of the first river from where they were camped was under three feet of water and they built a scaffold there to deposit their baggage. The boat being completed, they ferried their baggage and men across the river, deposited the baggage on the scaffolding, swimming their horses. They loaded the men who were sick and the baggage on the boat, and the second river was crossed in the same manner as the first

one. Evening found the party encamped on the elevation that had been found and the men in high spirits over the success of their difficult experience. "A comical little drummer had afforded them great diversion by floating on his drum and by other tricks." In surmounting their great difficulties, the men began to regard themselves as almost superhuman. They even talked about the main Wabash ahead of them as "a little creek."

Men were sent ahead on February 17, to cross the river Embarrass six miles from Vincennes, for the purpose of procuring some boats if possible and gain information. They reported the situation worse than had yet been experienced, the country between the Embarrass and the Wabash being a veritable lake. In attempting to reach the banks of the Wabash they detoured to below the mouth of the Embarrass, encamped for the night on a comparatively dry spot and the next morning were elated to hear for the first time the morning gun of the British garrison at Vincennes. On the afternoon of the 18th, they gained the banks of the Wabash about seven miles below the town and went into camp.

Men were sent across the river on a raft to find land if possible, and also proceed to the town and make an effort to purloin some canoes. Captain McCarty with a party was sent out the next morning in a canoe he had made, for the same purpose. The first scouts were unable to make land and the captain had run upon a party in camp. Men with the canoe were sent down the river to ascertain news of the galley *Willing*, and canoes were ordered constructed in a sheltered place to be used in case the galley should not arrive. On the twentieth the water guard decoyed a boat ashore containing five Frenchmen with some provisions on board. These men were on their way down the Wabash to join a party of hunters. They informed Clark that the Americans had been discovered and that the inhabitants of Vincennes were well disposed toward them. Further information was that the fort had been completed and greatly strengthened and that the force there was about the same as reported by Mr. Vigo when he left. They told about two boats adrift up the river, one of which was recovered by Captain Worthington.

With two boats now at their command, on the morning of February 21, abandoning their baggage, the troops crossed the Wabash and took up their position upon a small elevation called Mamel. The captured Frenchmen told Clark that it would be impossible to reach the town in their boats or otherwise. Undaunted, the American force took to the water and succeeded in

reaching a spot called the Upper Mamel something over two miles nearer their destination. Being told that the nearest land of any size was the Sugar Camp over two miles away, Clark himself "sounding the water" found it as deep as his neck and ice cold. The men were half starved and to transport them to the Sugar Camp in canoes would take the entire day and the following night. In the situation "a kingdom for a horse" or for one day's provisions. Their provisions were damaged in the march and game was scarce on account of the great floods.

It was a tense moment and says Clark, "I returned but slowly to the troops, giving myself time to think. Every eye was fixed upon me. I unfortunately spoke seriously to one of my officers. The whole was alarmed without knowing what I said. They ran from one to another bewailing their situation. I viewed their confusion for about one minute, whispered to those near me to do as I did, immediately took some water in my hand, poured on some powder, blacked my face, gave a whoop, and marched into the water without saying a word. The party gazed and fell in one after another without saying a word, like a flock of sheep. I ordered those that were near me to begin a favorite song of theirs. It soon passed through the line and the whole went on cheerfully. I now intended to have them transported across the deepest part of the water, but when getting about waist deep, one of the men informed me that he thought he felt a path (ridge). We examined and found it so, and concluded that it kept on the highest ground and by pains to follow it, we got to the Sugar Camp without the least difficulty"—where there was about half an acre of dry ground (at least not under water) where they took their lodgings.

It was the coldest night of their march, some one hundred and forty men in all, huddled on this half acre, partly mud and mire until frozen, rising from the surrounding forest sea and with a bitter enemy almost within rifle shot. In the morning the ice was from one-half to three-quarters of an inch thick; but the sun shone brightly, bringing cheer to the hearts of these bravest of men whose spirits, under any condition, were dauntless, and who held the affection of their commander.

With the plain and the woods beyond towards Vincennes in full view, after commending his men and without waiting for a reply, Clark stepped into the water, again leading the way, and with a cheer his men started to follow. But taking no chances at this critical juncture, being a disciplinarian as well as a

fore Clark immediately addressed the following letter to the inhabitants and dispatched it by the prisoner they had just taken:

"To the Inhabitants of Vincennes—

"Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village with my army determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I am taking the measure of requesting such of you as are true citizens and desirous of enjoying the liberty I bring you, to remain quietly in your houses. If there are any that are friends of the King of England I desire them instantly to repair to the fort and there join his troops and fight like men; and if any that do not repair to the garrison shall hereafter be discovered, they may depend upon being severely punished. Those, on the other hand, who are true friends to Liberty may expect to be well treated. I once more request that they keep out of the streets, for every person found under arms upon my arrival will be treated as an enemy."

Clark entertained conflicting ideas as to what would be the effect of this letter; but believed that it would encourage the friends of the Americans, cause those who were lukewarm to stand for or against him and would startle his enemies. It must appear to the townspeople that his apparent assurance was backed up by facts and that his forces were so strong that he was sure of success; that they would believe that his army was from Kentucky and not from Illinois, as it would be considered impossible for troops to march from the latter section.

To carry the impression further that the troops were from Kentucky, several of Clark's men sent their compliments to some of the townspeople under the "borrowed names" of Kentuckians well known in Vincennes. The soldiers were also all given instructions that when speaking of Clark's forces, "their common conversation" should give the impression to strangers hearing it, that he had nearly one thousand men.

The movements of the messenger bearing Clark's letter were anxiously watched until he reached the town, and in a few minutes with the aid of their glasses they could perceive great activity in the streets and large numbers running or riding into the commons, intent on viewing the approaching army. While this was the case, there was no indication of alarm by the garrison. "Neither drum nor guns were heard" which caused the belief that their information was false and that the enemy was already aware of their presence, and were prepared to meet them. The

next few minutes would tell. Let Clark relate the story with needed corrections for better reading:

"A little before sunset we moved and displayed ourselves in full view of the town, crowds gazing at us. We were plunging ourselves into certain destruction or success; there was no middle way thought of. I said but little to the men, aside from emphasizing the necessity of obedience. It was a matter of consequence to make ourselves appear as formidable as possible and leaving our place of concealment we marched and counter-marched in such manner that we appeared numerous. In raising volunteers in the Illinois, every person that set about the business must have a set of colors given him, (which) they brought with them to the amount of ten or twelve pair. These were displayed to the best advantage, and as the low plain we marched through was not a perfect level, but had frequent risings in it, and they generally ran in an oblique direction to the town, we took advantage of one of them, marched through the water under it, which completely prevented our men being numbered. But our colors showed considerably above the height, as they were fixed on long poles procured for the purpose, and at a distance made no despicable appearance. As our young Frenchmen had, while we lay on Warriors Island, decoyed and taken several fowlers (hunters) with their horses, officers were mounted on these and rode about more conspicuously to deceive the enemy. In this manner we moved and directed our march in such a manner as to suffer it to be dark before we had advanced more than half way to the town. We then altered our direction and crossed ponds where they could not have suspected us, and about eight o'clock gained the heights back of the town; and as there was yet no hostile appearance, we were impatient to have the cause unriddled. Lieutenant Bailey was ordered with fourteen men to march and fire on the fort. The main body moved in a different direction and took possession of the strongest part of the town. The firing now commenced on the fort, but they did not believe it was an enemy until one of their men was shot down through a port as he was lighting his match. * * * The drums now sounded and the business fairly commenced on both sides. I sent reinforcements to assist in the attack on the garrison, while other dispositions were being made in the town.

"We now found that the garrison had known nothing of us; that having finished the fort that evening, they had amused themselves at different games and had retired just before my letter

humanitarian, Clark halted his men when a few of them had entered the water, and because he "had suspicion of three or four of them" (as to bravery) he "called to Major Bowman to fall into the rear with twenty-five men and to put to death any of the men who refused to march." He wished to have no such person with him. The whole force raised a cry of approbation and on they floundered.

Quoting Clark through Quaife, "This was the most trying difficulty of all we had experienced. I had fifteen or twenty of the strongest men follow after me and, judging from my own sensations what must be those of the men, on reaching the middle of the plain where the water was about knee deep I realized that I was failing. There being no trees or bushes here for the men to support themselves by, I did not doubt but that many of the weaker ones would be drowned. I therefore ordered the canoes to make the land, discharge their loads, and then play backward and forward with all possible diligence, picking up the men. To encourage the party I sent some of the strongest men ahead with orders to pass the word back when they reached a certain distance, that the water was getting shallower, and upon approaching the woods to cry out 'land.' This statement produced the desired effect. Encouraged by it the men exerted themselves to the limit of their ability, the weaker holding on to the stronger ones and frequently one man being upheld by two. This was a great advantage to the weak, but the water instead of getting shallower, became continually deeper. On reaching the woods, where they expected land, the water was up to my shoulders. Nevertheless, gaining the woods was a matter of great importance. All the weak and short men clung to the trees and floated on logs until they were taken off by the canoes. The strong and tall men got ashore and started fires. Many would reach the bank and fall with their bodies half in the water, not being able to support themselves outside it. This was a delightful spot of ground about ten acres in extent. We soon found, however, that the fires did us no good and that the only way to restore the men was for two strong ones to take a weak one by the arms and exercise him. The day was delightful and by this means the men soon recovered."

As if designed by Providence, a piece of good fortune fell to the Americans. A canoe of Indian squaws and children was coming up to the town and took through a part of the plain as a near way. They were discovered by Clark's men out after the

exhausted soldiers. The commander's boatmen gave chase and captured the Indian party and found on board nearly half a quarter of buffalo, besides some corn, tallow and kettles—an invaluable prize. Broth was made for the weaker troops and with fine weather the troops took on new life.

"Crossing a narrow, deep lake, in the canoes, and marching some distance, we came to a copse of timber called the Warrior's Island. We were now in full view of the fort (Sackville) and town (Vincennes) not a shrub between us, at about two miles distance. Every man now feasted his eyes and forgot that he had suffered anything, agreeing that all that had passed was owing to good policy and nothing but what a man could bear, and that a soldier had no right to think, etc.—passing from one extreme to another, which is common in such cases." It was on the evening of the 23rd.

The plain between the troops and the town was uneven and the depressions were covered with water, "full of ducks." Several men from the town on horseback were observed out shooting the birds. They were about half a mile away and some of the active young Frenchmen of the troops were sent out to decoy and take one of the party a prisoner in such manner as not to alarm the others, which was done. The new information received was that the British that evening had completed the wall of the fort and that there were many Indians in town. (According to the southern habit, apparently, any event which occurred in the afternoon, Clark refers to as taking place "in the evening").

Clark's forces were now within full view of Vincennes which contained upward of six hundred men, counting soldiers, the regular inhabitants and Indians. In case of defeat there was no avenue of retreat. The arrival of the galley with its crew of over forty men would have been of inestimable value. But the idea of being taken as prisoners was far from the thoughts of all of Clark's men. Capture meant Indian torture. The die was cast and the result would be known within a few hours. Nothing but the boldest conduct would bring success. Many of the inhabitants were indifferent to the interests of either the Americans or the British. A few were friendly to the Americans. Clark had been told that the Grand Chief, the son of Tobacco, had in open council with the British declared that he was a brother and friend of the Big Knives. If true it was a great point in the Americans' favor. There was no chance of their remaining long undiscovered, as hunters were often passing up and down the river. There-

had arrived, as it was near roll-call. The placard being made public, many of the inhabitants were afraid to show themselves out of doors for fear of offense, and not one dared give information. (Consequently the garrison was not informed). Our friends flew to the commons and other convenient places to view the pleasing sight; which was observed from the garrison and the reason asked, but a satisfactory excuse being given, and as a part of the town lay between our line of march and the garrison, we could not be seen by the sentinels on the walls. (That is, the garrison saw the people on the commons, but not the troops)."

The story told to the garrison when they asked the cause of the disturbance among the townspeople was this: Signs of the American approach at Sugar Camp had been noted by a British scouting party who had captured Captain W. Shannon of Clark's forces and another man. They supposed it was an enemy observation party which intended landing on The Heights. Captain La Mothe of the garrison had been sent with a detachment to intercept them. When the people in the commons were asked the reason of their unusual excitement they said they were watching the movements of La Mothe.

Among several persons whose loyalty had been suspected by the British and imprisoned in the fort was Moses Henry. Under pretense of carrying him some provisions, Mrs. Henry while on her errand whispered to her husband the news of Clark's arrival and what she had observed. Henry conveyed the glad news to his fellow prisoners including Captain Helm. Clark in his story says Helm "amused himself greatly during the siege (by the Americans) and I believe did much damage." What the commander meant to convey by this is not clear. The American supply of ammunition was low on account of most of their stores being on the galley *Willing*. But when Hamilton took Vincennes he announced that all the goods in the town were to be seized for the king's use, the owners to receive bills of credit. Colonel Le Gras, Major Bosseron and others had buried most of their powder and ball. This ammunition was immediately brought forth which gave the attackers a good supply. The Tobacco's Son being in town with a number of his warriors mustered them and indicated his desire to join the Americans; further stating that by the next morning he could have a hundred men. Clark told him he was strong enough without the chief's help.

Continuing Clark's narrative: "The garrison was now completely surrounded and the firing continued without intermission

(except about 15 minutes before day) until nine o'clock the following morning by the whole of our troops (except fifty men as a reserve in case of an emergency). I made myself fully acquainted with the situation—fort, town, and the parts relative to each. The cannon of the garrison was on the upper floors of strong blockhouses at each angle of the fort, eleven feet above the surface, and the posts so badly cut that many of our troops lay under the fire of them within twenty or thirty yards of the wall (unharmed, and) they (the garrison troops) did no damage except to the buildings of the town; some of which they shattered. * * * Their musketry in the dark employed against woodsmen covered by houses, palings * * * ditches, the banks of the river, etc., was but of little avail and did no damage to us, except wounding a man or two. * * * Breastworks were soon made by tearing down old houses, gardens, etc., so that those within had very little advantage of those without the fort. (The garrison not knowing the number of the American troop thought themselves in a much worse situation than they really were). The embrasures of their cannon were frequently shut, for our riflemen, finding the true direction of them, would pour such volleys when they opened, that the men could not stand to the guns. Seven or eight of them in a short time got cut down. I believe that if they had stood by their artillery, that the greatest part of them would have been destroyed in the course of the night."

The Americans by their various maneuverings and mysterious movements about the town kept the garrison continually alarmed. They did not know what moment they might be stormed or sapped, and as the bank of the river was within thirty feet of the fort wall, the situation of the magazine being well known, Captain Bowman began some work with the design of blowing it up when their artillery should arrive. The Americans were in fear that the Indians, generally unreliable, might appear and again heartily join the enemy. Therefore no time should be lost. Unless the *Willing* should arrive sooner, it was determined to undermine the fort the following night and the spot and plan of execution was fixed upon which was to be begun the next day.

The Indians belonging to the various hostile tribes had left, but Captain La Mothe who had been sent out to capture the supposed American observation party, was outside the fort when Clark's forces arrived at the town and was still hovering about, waiting an opportunity to join his comrades. Parties attempted to capture him without success, although a few of his men were

taken, among them being Maisonville, the famous Indian partisan. The two boys who captured Maisonville, led him to a position in the street and used him as a breastwork, believing that the British would not fire on them for fear of killing their prisoner. The act of the boys being discovered, an officer ordered them to untie him which they did, but in removing him they took a part of his scalp, and were upbraided for the act.

The fact that Captain La Mothe was at large was not pleasing to Clark, who feared his influence among the Indians unless he was allowed to join his comrades. Even with the few men he had to help strengthen the garrison, Clark considered that La Mothe could do less damage within the fort than outside, and he so planned that the former French trader with his men was allowed to scale the fort walls and join the garrison.

The American attack continued vigorously until nine o'clock on the morning of the 24th. Learning that the two prisoners the British had brought in the previous day carried a number of letters, Colonel Clark believed the messengers might be from Governor Henry; and if so, the papers they bore would be of the greatest importance and he feared that they might be destroyed. To prevent this Clark sent a flag of truce to the garrison and warned Governor Hamilton not to destroy the papers, brought by his prisoners. Clark's demand reads as follows:

"Sir: In order to save yourself from the impending storm that now threatens you I order you to immediately surrender yourself up with all your Garrison, Stores, &c, &c, for if I am obliged to storm, you may depend upon such treatment justly due to a Murderer. Beware of destroying Stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that is in your possession, or hurting one house in the town, for by heavens if you do there shall be no mercy shewn you.

"G. R. Clark."

Hamilton's answer was: "Govr. Hamilton begs to acquaint Col. Clark that he and his Garrison are not disposed to be awed into any action unworthy of British subjects. "H. Hamilton."

During the flag of truce Clark's men refreshed themselves and began their firing with still greater vigor, and even expressed the desire to storm the British works. Several of the garrison were wounded and it was impossible for them to stand near the embrasures.

Towards noon a flag of truce appeared with the following proposals:

"Lt. Gov. Hamilton proposes to Col. Clark a truce for three days, during which time he proposes there shall be no defensive works carried on in the garrison, on condition that Col. Clark shall observe on his part a like cessation of any offensive work; that he wishes to confer with Col. Clark as soon as can be and further proposes that whatever may pass between them two and any other person mutually agreed upon to be present, shall remain a secret till Matters be finally concluded as he wishes that whatever the result of their conference, may be to the honor and credit of each party. If Col. Clark makes a difficulty of coming into the fort, Lt. Gov. Hamilton will speak to him before the Gate. 24th Feb'y. 1779."

Colonel Clark records that he was greatly at a loss to conceive what reason Governor Hamilton could have for wishing a truce for three days on such terms as he proposed. Many said that it was a scheme to get Clark into their possession. Clark himself had a different opinion and had no idea of Hamilton possessing such a scheme, as an act of that nature would forever ruin him. More likely the Britisher had hopes of reenforcements or aid from the Indians, or that something unlooked for might develop in his favor. Although Clark expected the *Willing* to show up in less than three days, which would probably at once put an end to the siege, Clark did not believe it prudent to agree to the proposal and therefore sent the following answer:

"Col. Clark's compliments to Mr. Hamilton and begs leave to inform him that Col. Clark will not agree to any other terms than that of Mr. Hamilton's surrendering himself and Garrison Prisoners at discretion. If Mr. Hamilton is desirous of a conference with Col. Clark, he will meet him at the Church with Capt. Helms.

"24th Feb'y, 1779."

Of course the moments thereafter were tense. But the waiting was not long. A movement of the gate of the fort and as it opened, all eyes beheld Hamilton himself advancing in the gaudy red uniform of a British Colonel of the regular service with Major Jehu Hay, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and also Captain Helm their prisoner. They passed with slow dignity to the Catholic church where Colonel Clark and Captain Bowman were awaiting them. Governor Hamilton produced articles of capitulation containing various provisions, one of which was that the garrison should be surrendered on being permitted to go to Pensacola on parole. After careful discussion Clark rejected the

whole list of proposals. Hamilton then asked Clark to make a proposition. The Colonel's reply was that he had no offer to make other than already presented, that they "surrender themselves as prisoners unconditionally." Clark observed that the British troops had behaved with spirit, and that without viewing the Americans as savages, they could not suppose that they would be treated the worse in consequence. If Hamilton chose to comply with Clark's demands, the sooner he should do so the better, as it would be in vain for him to make any counter proposition. Hamilton must know by this time that the fort would fall and that both sides must regard all blood that might still be spilled as murder on the part of the garrison. Clark intimated that his troops were impatient and begging for permission to storm the fort. Should such steps be taken, many of course would be cut down, and in consequence an enraged body of woodsmen breaking into a fort must be obvious. It would be beyond the power of an American officer to save a single man.

Various arguments were advanced and a considerable time consumed. Captain Helm made the attempt to have Colonel Clark modify his terms, but the commander told him that he was a British prisoner and that it was doubtful whether he could with propriety speak on the subject. Governor Hamilton's rejoinder was that Captain Helm from that moment was liberated and might act according to his pleasure. Clark told Hamilton that he would not receive Helm on such terms and that the latter must return to the fort and await his fate.

At this important point of this dramatic conference, the story of Colonel Clark as rendered by Mr. Quaife in his Vincennes narrative is further quoted, and in which Clark says:

"I told the Governor we would not begin hostilities until a minute after the drums should give the alarm. We took leave of each other and parted, but I had gone only a few steps when the Governor stopped me and politely asked If I would be kind enough to give him my reasons for refusing any other terms than those I had offered to the garrison. I told him I had no objection to giving him my real reason, which simply was that I knew the greater part of the principal Indian partisans of Detroit were with him and I desired to be free to put them to death or treat them in any other way I might think proper. I said that the cries of the widows and the fatherless they had occasioned upon the frontiers now required their blood at my hands and I did not

choose to be so timorous as to disobey the absolute command of their authority, which I regarded as next to divine. I said I would rather lose fifty men than to surrender the power properly to execute this piece of business. If he chose to risk the massacre of his garrison for their sakes it was his own affair and I might perhaps take it into my head to send for some of those widows to see it executed.

"I had observed growing distrust in the countenance of Major Hay, who was paying close attention, and this in great measure influenced my conversation. Upon my concluding, 'Pray, sir,' said he, 'who is it that you call Indian partisans?' 'Sir,' I replied, 'I take Major Hay to be one of the principal ones.' I never saw a man in the moment of execution so stricken as he appeared to be, pale and trembling, and scarcely able to stand. Governor Hamilton blushed and was, I observed, much affected at this behavior in my presence. Captain Bowman's countenance sufficiently disclosed his disdain for the one and his sorrow for the other. I viewed the whole procedure with such sentiments as I suppose are natural to some men under such circumstances. Some moments passed without a word being exchanged on either side. From that moment my resolution respecting Governor Hamilton's situation changed. I told him we would reconsider the matter and let him know the result. If we should decide to make any other proposal than that of surrender at discretion he should be informed of it by a flag of truce. In the contrary event, he should be on his guard at the beat of the drum. In the meantime no offensive measures should be taken. This was agreed to and we parted. On reporting to our officers what had passed at the conference it was agreed that we should modify our demands and the following articles were sent to the garrison and an answer was immediately returned:

"1st. That Lt. Govr. Hamilton engages to deliver up to Col. Clark Fort Sackville as it is at present with all stores, Ammunition &ca.

"2nd. The Garrison will deliver themselves up Prisoners of War & to march out with their arms, accoutrements, Knapsacks &ca.

"3d. The Garrison to be delivered up to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

"4th. Three days to be allowed to the Garrison to settle their accounts with the traders of this place and inhabitants.

"5th. The officers of the Garrison to be allowed their necessary baggage &ca.

"G. R. Clark.

"Post Vincent 24 Feby. 1779.

"Within the limited time Captain Helm returned with the Articles signed thus:

"Agreed to for the following reasons—The remoteness from succors, the State and Quantity of provisions &c, the Unanimity of Officers and men on its expediency, the Honble terms allowed, & lastly the confidence in a generous enemy.

"H. Hamilton

"Lt Govr. & Superintendent."

"The affair being now nearly concluded troops were posted in several strong houses around the garrison and a patrol was kept up during the night to prevent any deception. The remainder of the troops not on duty lay on their arms and for the first time in many days obtained some rest.

"While the conference was being held a party of about twenty warriors, who had been sent to the Falls of the Ohio for scalps and prisoners, were discovered returning. As no firing was going on at the time they entered the plain near the town, they had no suspicion of the presence of an enemy. Captain John Williams was ordered to go out to meet them. The Indians, supposing it to be a party of their friends who had come to welcome them, gave the scalp and war-whoop and came on with all the parade of successful warriors. Williams' party conducted itself in like fashion. Coming closer, the Indians fired a volley in the air, to which Captain Williams replied in kind. When they were within a few steps of each other the chief stopped as if suspicious of something wrong. Captain Williams immediately seized him, whereupon the others, perceiving their mistake, turned in flight. Fifteen of them were killed or captured, however. Two British partisans attached to their party were killed and two men who proved to be American prisoners in their hands were released. The Indians who had been taken by the soldiers were tomahawked and their bodies thrown into the river. We afterward learned that but one man of the entire party ever returned to his tribe, so that in all, seventeen must have been destroyed by us. We knew that nearly all of them were badly wounded, but as we had an enemy of more importance than they were to contend with we could spare no time for pursuit, and Captain Williams allowed his men but a few minutes for executing the business before

recalling them. Under these circumstances those Indians who were not killed or taken immediately got off.

"One reason that I had for not wishing to receive the garrison until the following morning was that it was late in the evening before the capitulation was signed, and in view of the number of prisoners we should have in comparison with our own small force I felt the need of daylight to arrange matters to our advantage. Knowing that we could now prevent any misfortune happening, as we could now dispose our troops so as to render the fort almost useless for defense, I thought it prudent to let the British troops remain in it until morning. We should not have been so suspicious as to take so much precaution, but I must confess I could not help but doubt the honor of men who could condescend to encourage the barbarity of the Indians. Although almost every man had conceived a very favorable opinion of Governor Hamilton (and I believed that what affected myself made some impression on the whole) I was happy to find that while he stayed with us he never deviated from that conduct that became an officer in his situation.

"On the morning of the twenty-fifth arrangements were made for receiving the garrison, and about ten o'clock it was surrendered with due formality and everything was immediately arranged by me to the best possible advantage. On first viewing the interior of the fort and its stores I was astonished at its being surrendered in the manner it had been. However, it was a prudent and lucky circumstance which probably saved the lives of many men on both sides, since on the preceding night we had inclined to attempt to undermine it and I found it would have required great diligence on the part of the garrison to have prevented us from succeeding. I found, too, on further examination, that our information concerning the interior arrangements was so good that in all probability the first hot shot after the arrival of our artillery would have blown up the magazine. This would at once have put an end to the siege, since the situation of the magazine and the quantity of powder it contained were such that its explosion must have destroyed the greater part of the garrison."

Colonel Clark's capture of Vincennes was the climax to one of the most important events in American history. The American flag thereby was hoisted over this vast western empire, may times larger than the whole of New England, never again to be lowered. It halted the bloody onslaughts of the savages instigated by the

British, gave assurance to the pioneer settlers west of the Alleghenies and brought joy and security to the mothers and children of the cabin homes of the wilderness. It was one of the greatest victories of the American Revolution, and allowed the concentration of power in finishing the war for Independence in the east, and "doubled the significance of the surrender of Yorktown." The great states of Ohio and Indiana, Illinois and Michigan and Wisconsin, with all their vast wealth and resources are now a part of the Union instead of being joined to a territory floating the flag of another nation.

Following Colonel Clark still further after his remarkable campaign, he had planned to push on to Detroit, where there was disaffection to the British cause, not over eighty men in the fort and many of these invalids. With Detroit in American possession and a post of communication established at Cuyahoga (site of Cleveland) supplies could have easily been sent from Pittsburg; Lake Erie could have been taken possession of and the future contests of arms in this section, even including the western operations of the War of 1812, might have become unnecessary. Clark's penetration into the future revealed to him the great importance of the move on Detroit; but the government did not grasp the situation sufficiently and without sufficient men and the necessary financial provision, the idea was not carried out.

For the purpose of this story it is scarcely necessary to follow Clark's career further. As to the galley *Willing*, the boat arrived at Vincennes three days after Hamilton's surrender, the crew greatly disappointed at not being able to take part in the victory. The prospect of their coming was, however, a moral support to the Americans at Vincennes, and besides, on their way up the Wabash they took on a messenger from Governor Henry for Colonel Clark with dispatches, saying that in the spring Clark would be reenforced by five hundred men. Had they come on sooner, Clark could have continued his movements against Detroit. Among the dispatches was a resolution passed by the Virginia Assembly commending Clark and his soldiers for their "extraordinary resolution and perseverance in so hazardous an enterprise" as their taking of Kaskaskia. For his Vincennes victory Clark and his men were complimented in like manner by the Virginia Assembly, which body on March 10, 1779, passed an act organizing the Illinois country into the "County of Illinois" and provided for a county government with Vincennes the seat thereof. Colonel John Todd, Jr., was selected as lieutenant or

county commandant at the head of a force of five hundred militia, the duties of which were "to march immediately into said county to garrison forts and protect said county;" necessarily excluding the British and to hold the Indians from further depredations. It was the first American government to be established northwest of the Ohio River and continued in force until Virginia released her claims to the United States five years later.

It was March 10 also that Colonel Clark caused Hamilton and some twenty-five other prisoners to be conducted to Williamsburg, Virginia, by Captains Williams and Rogers. The despised governor was jailed and put in irons and later paroled at the request of General Washington—which is another story.

The quantity of public goods brought by Hamilton from Detroit added to those captured from the traders at Vincennes was very large. The entire amount was divided among the soldiers with the exception of some Indian medals, which were retained for public use. The officers received nothing, except a few articles of clothing, although "the soldiers were laden with great wealth." Clark after disposing of his prisoners and arranging matters at Vincennes, left Lieutenant Richard Brashers in command of the garrison consisting of Lieutenants Bailey and Chapline and forty picked men, and appointed Captain Helm commandant of the town and superintendent of Indian affairs. On March 20th with seventy men, Clark "set sail" on the galley *Willing*, with a convoy of five boats, for Kaskaskia. On August 20th he arrived at the Falls of Ohio where he remained until the spring of 1780. From here he proceeded over the mountains to Richmond to settle his accounts with the governor. While his accounts were all approved, for his entire service during the years of his campaign he received not a penny. Not alone this, but he had used up his entire private fortune in the cause of his expedition, and besides being financially ruined himself, to his great distress carried down to financial disaster several of his friends without redress from the government.

In telling the story of Clark's campaign, the valuable aid rendered the commander by two men should not be lost track of —Father Gibault, and Colonel Francis Vigo of St. Louis, the Spanish headquarters.

While Clark's operations in the Ohio region will be spoken of later, it is proper to mention a personal matter concerning his career. In all his success in his western campaign he met with one great defeat. If the story be true, he left his heart in the

west. Across the Mississippi River from Cahokia was St. Louis the Spanish capital. Don Fernando de Leyba, the Spanish lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana had his headquarters there and was a staunch supporter of the American cause. The commander and Clark became close friends, their mutual attachment being beyond the ordinary. In their social intercourse it is told that Clark met a sister of the Spaniard named Terese, a most beautiful girl and accomplished. The senorita and Clark were drawn together from the very first; then came deep love and betrothal. But when financial reverses came, Clark felt that he could not honorably ask so fine a personage to share his fate and he broke the engagement. It is said that his great love ever held steadfast and that the tear to his heartstrings never healed. But George Rogers Clark was one of the greatest commanders America ever produced.

CHAPTER XXV

SIR HENRY HAMILTON

BRITISH COMMANDER AT DETROIT—HIS OWN STORY OF VINCENNES CAMPAIGN—HIS EXPEDITION PASSES UP THE MAUMEE—DIFFICULTIES OF HIS JOURNEY—RETAKES VINCENNES—TREACHERY OF YOUNG CELORON AND OTHERS—HAMILTON'S ACCOUNT OF HIS SURRENDER—HIS CONFINEMENT AS A PRISONER—HIS PAROLE—FINALLY REACHES LONDON—COMPARISON OF HIS STORY WITH CLARK'S.

After presenting Colonel Clark's narrative of the Wabash and Illinois campaign, it is well to give something of the story as written by Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton in 1781, a copy of which is found in the Illinois Historical Collections. Almost without exception, all the military reports made by British officers of their American operations, have at least been highly colored, and Hamilton's narrative regarding Vincennes at many points may be classed in the same category.

Reading the history of Hamilton's administration of affairs while in authority at Detroit and taking the numerous sources of information, a reader can hardly get away from the belief, no matter what may have been Hamilton's private views, that his methods and attitude toward the border settlers and Americans in general, were merciless and cold blooded in their cruelty and that at all times, as a vehicle to success, he incited the Indians to commit all manner of cruelties and aided them in their work with British leaders. Hardly can the blame for all this be laid upon the shoulders of his superiors, for as commander he was given free rein in most of his dealings.

While Colonel Clark, after meeting Hamilton at Vincennes, seems to have had a reversal of opinion concerning him, he spoke only from this Britisher's conduct with reference to what took place at the surrender of Fort Sackville, and evidently was inclined also to change his opinion by reason of Hamilton's instructions to his men sent out for the special purpose of Clark's capture; when they were ordered, as claimed, to under no circumstances kill Clark and if successful in apprehending him, to give the Colonel due respect and safe conduct to the British quarters. As well known, it was Clark himself who fastened upon Hamilton the iniquitous name of "Hair-Buyer" and historical facts as

character witnesses in a court of justice, would establish his character as more than bad in so far as his public acts were concerned. While Mr. Quaife in his comments is disposed to be lenient with Hamilton, he points out the fact that Hamilton in the story of his campaign makes no mention of the hundreds of cases of Indian butchery of Americans, and "succinctly illustrated by a single sentence from a report made by Hamilton to General Haldimand September 16, 1788," in which the former says: "Since last May the Indians in this district have taken thirty-four prisoners, seventeen of which they delivered up, and eighty-one scalps, several prisoners taken and adopted not being reckoned in this number." That is to say, of one hundred and fifteen settlers accounted for, only seventeen were delivered to the British and Hamilton at Detroit, and eighty-one were put to death, many in a horrible manner. And it would have been of interest had Hamilton told what became of the seventeen prisoners he held.

Hamilton's story of his campaign to Vincennes and of his own later treatment, is addressed to Sir Frederick Haldimand and was written, as he said, as best it could be done "for want of such papers as were seized by order of the Rebel Governor Mr. Jefferson (Thomas Jefferson) on our being thrown into the dungeon at Williamsburg." Hamilton prefaces his narrative like this (the material in parentheses being the notations of the editor): "On the 9th day of November (1775) I arrived at Detroit and almost immediately applications were made by the Indians for my assent to their making inroads upon the Frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, this I declined giving, not having received positive orders on the subject and the rebels being in possession of Montreal, all intercourse with Sir Guy Carleton was cut off. In the month of June, 1777, Lieutenant Governor Cramahe wrote me a Letter containing the copy of Lord George Germain's orders and instructions, by which I was authorized to appoint proper Officers and Interpreters and send them with the Indians against the Rebels, with the strictest injunctions to discourage and restrain them from their usual barbaraties. A most strict adherence to these injunctions has been observed on my part, and as whatever I advance can be well supported, I shall mention some of the measures taken with the Indians, to invalidate the odious falsities propagated by the Rebels (Americans) in different parts of America, and to shew that the Savages have yielded to restraint, and foregone their habits of cruelty."

The facts from authentic sources are, that Germain had com-

plained at the hesitation to employ the savages toward the Americans more vigorously, and Hamilton wrote Lord Germain "that the Ottawas, Chippawas, Wyandots and Pottawatomies with the Senecas, would fall on the scattered settlers on the Ohio and its branches * * * whose arrogance, disloyalty and impudence has justly drawn upon them this deplorable sort of war." And with all this, before he left on his Vincennes campaign, Hamilton "with great joy" received at Detroit the outlaws and renegades, Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee, whose nefarious deeds, countenanced and even encouraged by the British, have already been referred to. Therefore, while Hamilton's story, in this phase of it, is totally unreliable, the statements regarding the advance of his expedition to the Wabash from Detroit have many points of great value.

The real thread of Hamilton's narrative begins with the declaration that "On the 6th of August, 1778, intelligence was brought me by Mr. Francis Maisonville of the attack of the Illinois by Colonel Clark(e), the shameful treatment of Monsieur de Rocheblave, who was laid in Irons and put in a place where hogs had been kept, ankle deep in filth, the indignities offered Madame de Rocheblave, the distruction of his property &c." (Certainly at great variance with Colonel Clark's account of this event).

"Expresses were despatched with all possible speed to inform the Commander-in-Chief at Quebec (Haldimand), Colonel Bolton commandant at Niagara, and Captain De Peyster, commandant at Michilimackinac. No time was lost in making preparations for executing the Orders of the Commander-in-Chief, should he approve of an attempt to dislodge the Rebels. Monsour de Celoron was sent off directly for Ouiattenon (head of Wabash) with Belts and Speeches for the Miamis Indians, and those of the River Ouabache (Wabash), his orders as were given him in writing * * * (were to) give me information of the dispositions of the Indians, the numbers and if possible the views of the Rebels, and that he should not fail to have the few small Cannon at Fort Sackville spiked, and the Trunions knocked off, a detail of his treacherous conduct I had the honor of laying before your Excellency in a letter from Ouiattanon." This Celoron was evidently the son of Captain Bienville de Celoron, who had accompanied his father on the French expedition which encircled most of Ohio in 1749, to clinch the French title to that section. The younger Celoron was identified with the British Indian Department which had quarters at Ouiatenon (near now Lafayette, Indiana) and

when a commissioner from Clark appeared among the Indians there, Celoron took to his heels northward.

At this point Hamilton states that he wrote to Major De Peyster at Michilimackinac of his intended campaign, speaks of the character of his probable forces including Captain La Mothe's company of volunteers and Indians, compliments Captain Lernoult left as commandant at Detroit, for his assistance in outfitting the expedition and the preparation made at the "carrying place" at the head of the Maumee for the transportation of the forces and supplies. Messengers were also sent to the different Indian nations tributary to Detroit notifying them of Hamilton's proposed campaign and "exhorting them to send out frequent parties upon the Frontiers."

Father Pierre Potier, to use Hamilton's own words, "the Jesuit missionary a man of a respectable character and venerable figure, came to the head of our little encampment on the Commons of Detroit, and having attended to the reading of the Articles of War, and the renewal of the Oath of allegiance to His Brittannick Majesty, he gave the blessings to the Catholics present, conditionally, upon their strictly adhering to their oath, being the more engaged thereto as the indulgence and favor of their prince, merited their best services and had exceeded their most sanguine expectations. The subsequent behavior of these people has occasioned my recalling this circumstance."

While reading Hamilton's story would make it appear otherwise, Father Potier was evidently present as the spiritual advisor of his Catholic followers and not as a champion of the British cause. Father Potier came to the Detroit section in 1744 as assistant to Father Armand de la Richardie a Jesuit missionary who was "deputed" in 1728 to establish a permanent mission at Detroit. The Recollect order being already there, to avoid any conflict in their operations, Father Richardie located his mission across the river opposite Fort Pontchartrain, at Point de Montreal site of now Sandwich, and where he built a church and mission house. In 1754 when Richardie left the post, Father Potier became the mission master. He was the last Jesuit missionary to the western Hurons, died in July 1781, and was buried beneath the church of the Huron in Sandwich.

Hamilton's forces at the beginning, as stated in connection with Colonel Clark's narrative, were as follows: Of regulars—one lieutenant fireworker, two matrosses (artillerymen) one lieutenant, two sergeants, thirty of the King's 8th Regiment. Of

irregulars—one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants. Rank and file—four sergeants and seventy volunteers, together with some sixty Indians. On the 7th of October the various supplies and baggage for a winter movement of six hundred miles being provided for, with the good will of Captain Lernoult left in command at Detroit and Alexander Grant, "the latter of whom attended to everything afloat, and by the assistance of Major (Jehu) Hay and (Sampson) Fleming the Commisary," the expedition struck their tents and embarked with one field piece. Proceeding a little farther down the river they made camp.

As Hamilton's movements were now in local territory he is quoted here in full where he says: "I shall observe once for all, that camp duty was as strictly attended to, as the slender knowledge I possessed would admit, and that the Guards, Picketts and advance Centries, were regularly visited from the setting the watch, which was usually at sunset till broad daylight, that the boats were loaded, manned and arranged in such a way as to be perfectly secured within our centries every night. The Indians encamped and decamped as regularly as could be wished, and that among them not a single instance of drunkenness or quarreling occurred for 72 days, nor the least repining at the fatigues of the Journey, or the hardships of the season. Their customs in War, their ceremonies on the way, and what pass'd in the meetings with the various tribes, with the Speeches, are entered upon my diary, and may be of service to persons who wish to be acquainted with their forms without an attention to which no hearty assistance is to be expected from them.

"On the ninth a snowstorm having subsided, it was debated whether or not we should hazard the passage of the Lake, from the Mouth of Detroit River, to that of the Miamis, (Maumee) but considering the advanced Season, and that contrary winds or the freezing of the Lake would frustrate our design, I determined to make the Push. The traverse is 36 miles and it was noon before the swell on the Lake was fallen sufficiently. The night proved extremely dark, the head boats with guides carrying lights for the direction of those astern, about 11 o'clock the wind shifted, it began to rain, a heavy swell roll'd in, we were on a lee shore and all was at stake, what I suffered on this occasion may more readily be conceiv'd than express'd, after rowing some time we lay on our Oars with our sterns to the swells till we judged the most distant boats could discern our lights, and then rowed in shore, when happily we made an ouzy (oozy) beach within a mile

of the entrance of the Miamis (Maumee) River. It blew so hard all night we could neither pitch a tent or make a fire, and yet were happy in our escape, for if providentially we had not passed an extent of rocky coast before the storm arose, we had all inevitably perished.

"This day Monsieur de Celoron met us on his return, he made his report aloud, that the rebels were already arrived at the Miamis, I affected indifference, tho' astonished at his imprudence, and I said I had already heard of it. I ordered him to proceed to Detroit. It soon appeared that his design in giving the false intelligence (saying the American forces of Clark were already on the upper Maumee) was deliberately treacherous, as he had been industrious, in passing the Indian settlements on the way (from Ouiatenon) to spread the alarm. I apprized the Commandant at Detroit by letter of this manège." It would be interesting to know the exact location of Hamilton's camp on the west end of Lake Erie or on the Maumee Bay; as his statement that it was "one mile below the mouth of the river," might at that time not mean what it would by present surveys.

Continuing Hamilton's story: "On the 11th we arrived at the foot of the Rapids (between now Perrysburg and Maumee) where we found Captain Grant, who in the sloop *Archangel* had brought 14 tonns of provisions to expedite our journey * * * The next day we lost Lieutenant Showrd by the accident of his piece going off which shattered his leg, we sent the Surgeon with him in a light boat to Detroit, where he suffered the amputation but a mortification ensuing he lost his life.*

"On the 24th (thirteen days going up the Maumee) we arrived at the Miami towns (now Fort Wayne, Ind.) after the usual fatigues attending such a Navigation, the water being remarkably low. Here we met several tribes of the Indians previously summoned to meet here, and held several conferences, made them presents and dispatched Messengers to the Shawnees, as well as the Nations on our route, inviting them to join us, or at least watch the motion of the Rebels upon the frontiers; for which purpose I sent them amunition. (Hamilton might have added and also to take white scalps). Having pass'd the portage of nine miles, we arrived at one of the sources of the Ouabache (Wabash) called the petite Riviere, the waters were so uncommonly low that we should not have been able to have pass'd, but

* Captain Grant was the commander of the British fleet on Lake Erie, and his story is told later.

at the distance of four miles from the landing place the Beavers had made a dam which kept up the water, this we cut through to give a passage to our boats, and having taken in our lading at the landing pass'd all the boats. The Beavers are never molested at this place by the traders or Indians and soon repair their dam, which is a most serviceable work upon this difficult communication. With great labor we next passed a swamp called les Violets, beyond which the little Riviere a Boete joins the one we had made our way thro. The shallowness of the water obliged us to make a dam across both Rivers to back the water into the Swamp, and when we judged the Water to be sufficiently raised cut our Dyke and passed with all our craft. The same obstacle occurred at the Riviere a l'Anglais (Eel River) and the same work was to be raised."

In the progress of the expedition down the Wabash, many difficulties were encountered and their boats badly damaged. It was sometimes a day's work to make two or three miles progress. Besides, they stopped frequently at the Indian villages for conferences, to furnish them supplies and prevail upon the savages to accompany them. Within a few days of Vincennes a reconnoitering party brought in a lieutenant and three men as prisoners, who had been sent out from Fort Sackville to gain information of Hamilton's approach. The officer had in his pocket two commissions, one from Edward Abbott, British governor of Vincennes and the other from Colonel Clark, and Hamilton states "was in the pay of Congress."

From Hamilton's report: "Learning from the prisoners the state of things at Vincennes, I sent off parties to lay upon the roads from thence to the Illinois, and to the Falls on Ohio, where the Rebels had a Fort, and a number of families lately come to settle, their Orders were to intercept any messengers, secure them and their letters, but not to suffer any violence to be offered to their persons. They executed their Orders and took prisoners, two men sent off by the Officers commanding for the Rebels at Fort Sackville with letters to Colonel Clarke acquainting him of our arrival. Major Hay was detach'd with orders to fall down the river, and send to the principal Inhabitants of St. Vincennes, acquainting them that unless they quitted the Rebels and laid down their Arms, there was no mercy for them, some chiefs accompanied him to conciliate the Paenkashaa Indians residing at St. Vincennes, and to show the French what they might expect if they pretended to resist. Major Hay secured the Arms, ammu-

nition, and spirituous liquors, as soon as the inhabitants laid down their Arms, and the Officer who commanded in the Fort (Captain Helm) being deserted by the Officers and Men who were in pay of the Congress surrender'd his wretched fort on the very day of our arrival being the 17th of December 1778. Thus we employed 71 days in coming only Six hundred Miles, which is to be attributed to the extraordinary difficulties of the way owing to an uncommon drought; the severity of the season, and the inevitable delays at the Indian Villages, particularly at Ouittanon, where the Chiefs who had receiv'd the Rebel colors came in to us from their hunting, acknowledged their error gave up the flags and accused Monsieur de Celoron of having deserted them, besides that he never distributed to them the goods entrusted to him for the Indians. In the fort we found two iron three pounders, mounted on truck carriages, two swivels not mounted, a very small quantity of amunition, and thirty-two stout Horses which had been purchased for Congress, and which I gave to the Indians."

Hamilton reported the stockade in a miserable condition, without a well, barracks, platform or small arms; not even a lock to the gate. Not a shot was fired in the surrender and no person or property injured. The force of the Britisher on arrival was five hundred, a large part Indians who joined the expedition on the way. It became a point of consideration with Hamilton as to the advisability of at once proceeding to the Illinois and attack Clark or as he wrote "content ourselves with establishing ourselves in this post where we had these several advantages; the command of the River Ohio by which the Spaniards had supplied the Rebel forts with Powder &c., the cutting of the communication between the Illinois and the falls of Ohio across the country—The being situated so as to check the River Indians, and encourage the Delawares and Ottawas on white River, further to divide our small force since we must leave a Garrison in Fort (Sackville) appear'd not eligible, and we could not expect the Indians to remain much longer with us. The state of our provisions, the length of the journey (240 miles) and the want of Carriages, added to the nature of the country, subject to inundations all combined to direct our determination to fortify ourselves here, and wait for reinforcements in the Spring."

Hamilton found the inhabitants at Vincennes of all ages, men, women and children, to be 621, of whom 217 were fit to bear arms; several being absent hunting buffalo for their winter's pro-

visions. He assembled the inhabitants at the church, reproached them for their ingratitude and treachery toward the British and compelled them to renounce the cause of the Americans; kiss the crucifix and take the oath in favor of the British by signing their name in writing. The conduct of the French-Canadians at large was, however, "poor encouragement."

Those who had accepted commissions under the Americans surrendered them and all those who had laid down their arms, on application, had passports issued to them permitting them to hunt buffalo. A guard house was built for the fort, also a barracks for four companies and a well dug. Blockhouses of oak, musket proof, were constructed and the fort was laid with gravel. Delegations were sent out to pacify the Indians and proposing a meeting in the spring for a concerted invasion of the Illinois country. Letters were even sent to the Natchez and New Orleans. A party of thirty men with an officer was sent to the mouth of the Wabash to intercept any boats that might be sent along the Ohio River, while precautions were taken to suppress the news of the arrival of Hamilton at Vincennes. He reported that the first news of his situation was carried to the Illinois by a corporal and six men who deserted from Captain La Mothe's company during the latter part of January, 1779. Quoting Hamilton here, he wrote that—"One of the deserters was a brother to Gibault the priest who had been an active Agent for the Rebels, and who's vicious and immoral conduct was sufficient to do infinite mischief in a Country where ignorance and bigotry give full scope to the depravity of a licentious ecclesiastic. This wretch it was who absolved the French inhabitants from their Allegiance to the King of Great Britain. To enumerate the Vices of the Inhabitants would be to give a long catalogue, but to assert that they are not in possession of a single virtue, is no more than the truth and justice require, still the most eminently vicious and scandalous was the reverend Monsieur Gibault."

While several Indian tribes along the Wabash visited Hamilton at different times, and at least declared their distrust of the "Virginians," there was but one chief with his party who really acted with zeal and spirit. This was an Ottawa chief who had been with his band to the mouth of the Wabash to intercept some of the Americans going to the Illinois country. He had no success and was determined to not return until he had taken a prisoner. He took his party by land to Kaskaskia and they were of the detachment which attempted the capture of Colonel Clark;

and the chief told Hamilton he would have succeeded in the attempt and also taken several of Clark's officers, but for the treachery of Charles Baubin, a Canadian and interpreter to the Miamis. Clark in his own story gives his version of this affair. Of course, Hamilton branded Baubin as a "villain" as he did all the natives or others friendly to the Americans and who aided Clark. He concludes here by saying that "thus * * * secret treason brought on our final misfortune."

Hamilton describes the preliminaries to his surrender as follows: "The fort was on the 22nd of February in a tolerable state of defence the Work proposed being finish'd—This day, Mr. Francois Maisonville return'd from a scout having been in pursuit of Deserters, and brought in two Virginian prisoners, whom he had taken on the Ohio. He took me aside immediately and told me he had discover'd about four leagues below the fort, fourteen fires, but could not tell whether of Virginians or Savages. I instantly sent off Captain La Mothe, Lieutenant Shieffelin and 20 Men to bring me a more perfect account. The Waters being out, the meadows were so greatly overflowed it was necessary to take a circuit. Mr. Maisonville had taken upon him to serve as a guide tho' fatigued. They lost their way, night coming on, and were only appriz'd by the firing of Cannon at the fort that it was invested; returning to the Village & finding it impossible to make their way good, they concealed themselves in a barn, sending from time to time one of their Number to explore and make report, but as they emploied Canadians, none of them return'd. * * * The Militia of the Fort had been order'd under arms in the evening. The Major, Le Gras, and one of the Captains, Bosseron, with several of the Private Men being reported absent, I suspected treachery, the two Officers however made their appearance at sunset. About 5 minutes after candles had been lighted we were alarmed by hearing a Musquet discharged; presently after some more, I concluded that some party of Indians was return'd or that there was some riotous frolic in the Village, going upon the Parade to enquire I heard the Balls whistle, order'd the Men to the Blockhouses, forbidding them to fire till they perceived the shot to be directed against the Fort. We were shortly out of suspence, one of the serjeants receiving a shot in the breast. The fire was now return'd, but the enemy had a great advantage from their rifles, and the cover of the Church, Houses, Barns, &c. Mr. McBeath the surgeon having been in the Village when the firing began, push'd to get to the Gate, and narrowly escaped

being kill'd, he reported that as soon as the first shots were fired, the Woman of the house where he was told him that Colonel Clarke was arrived with 500 Men from the Illinois. This very house had lately been searched in the night on suspicion of a stranger being conceald, but the serjeant and party could not discover any such person—Tho' the night was dark we had a Serjeant Matross and five Men wounded. The weather was still so cold we were obliged to bring the Wounded into our own quarters. The Officers who had continued in tents all the winter were exposed to the fire of the enemy's riflemen as the picketting of the Fort was so poorly set up that one might pass the hand clench'd, between the Stockades. We dislodged the enemy from the Church, and nearest houses by a few cannon shot from the Blockhouses, but when day appeared and we saw that the Inhabitants of the Village had joined the Rebels, we despaired of Captain La Mothe's party regaining the fort, but to our great surprize and joy about half-an-hour before sunrise they appear'd and got into the Fort over the Stockades which were upright, and 11 feet out of the ground, with their Arms in their hands. Two Canadians of his Company had deserted the preceding night, and Mr. Maisonville was betrayed and deliver'd to the Rebels by his own Cousin. The firing was but slack after sunrise, and about 8 o'clock a flag of truce from the Rebels appear'd, carried by Nicolas Cardinal a Captain of the Militia of St. Vincennes, who deliver'd me a Letter from Coll Clarke requiring me to surrender at discretion, adding with an Oath that if I destroy'd any Stores or Papers I should be treated as a murtherer. Having assembled the Officers and read this letter I told them my intention was to undergo any extremity rather than trust to the discretion of such sort of people as we had to deal with. They all approve of this resolution, on which I assembled the Men and informed them of our determination. The English assured me they would defend the King's Colors to the last, adding a homely but hearty phrase, that they would stick to me as the shirt to my back—they then gave three cheers—The French on the contrary hung their heads—I return'd for answer to Col Clarke's Note, that threats would not prevent us from doing our duty as British Subjects, and the Flag having return'd, the firing recommenced. La Mothe's Volunteers now began to murmur, saying it was very hard to be obliged to fight against their countrymen and relations, who they now perceived had joind the Americans—As they made half our number, and after such a declaration were not to be trusted—The Englishmen

wounded, six in number were a sixth of those we could depend on, and duty would every hour fall heavier on the remaining few; considering we were at the distance of six hundred miles from succour, that if we did not burn the Village we left the enemy most advantageous cover against us, and that if we did, we had nothing to expect after rejecting the first terms, but the extremity of revenge, I took up the determination of acceping honorable terms if they could be procured, else to abide the Worst.

"I stated these considerations to the Officers first, who allowed them to be reasonable, then to the Men, who very reluctantly admitted them, and here I must declare that if the defence of the Fort had depended on the spirit and courage of the English only the Rebels would have lost their labour, but Colonel Clarke has since told me he knew to a man those of my little garrison who would do their duty, and those who would shrink from it—There is no doubt he was well informed."

Hamilton's reply contained seven provisions and as has been told by Clark they were all rejected. But Hamilton's further account is that "Before anything was concluded the following scene was exhibited, of which I give your Excellency a relation, as it serves to contrast the behaviour of His Majesty's Subjects with that of the Rebels, so often celebrated for humanity, generosity, and indeed everything virtuous, elevated, and noble.

"About 2 o'clock afternoon a party of Indians with some whites return'd from a Scout, with two Canadians whom they had taken prisoners near the falls of Ohio, probably with information for the Rebels at the Fort. Colonel Clarke sent off a detachment of 70 Men against them. The Indian party was 15 or 16 Men, who seeing the English Flag flying at the Fort, discharged their pieces, an usual compliment with those people, they were immediately fired upon by the Rebels and Canadians, two killed on the spot, one shot in the belly, who however escaped, the rest were surrounded and taken bound to the Village, where being set in the Street opposite the Fort Gate they were put to death, notwithstanding a truce at that moment existed. The manner (as related to me by different people, and among others by the man at whose door this execrable feat was perpetrated) was as follows:

"One of them was tomahawk'd immediately. The rest sitting on the ground in a ring bound—seeing by the fate of their comrade what they had to expect, the next on his left sung his death song, and was in turn tomahawk'd, the rest underwent the same

fate, one only was saved at the intercession of a Rebel Officer, who pleaded for him telling Coll Clarke that the Savages' father had formerly spared his life.

"The Chief of this party after having had the hatchet stuck in his head, took it out himself and deliver'd it to the inhuman monster who struck him first, who repeated his stroke a second and a third time, after which the miserable spectacle was dragged by the rope about his neck to the River, thrown in, and suffer'd to spend still a few moments of life in fruitless strugglings—Two serjeants who had been Volunteers with the Indians escaped death by the Intercession of a father and a Sister who were on the spot. Mr. Francis Maisonville whom I formerly mentioned was set in a Chair, and by Coll Clarke's order a Man came with a scalping nife, who hesitating to proceed to this excess of barbarity on a defenceless wretch, Colonel Clarke with imprecations told him to proceed, and when a piece of the scalp had been raised the man stopp'd his hand, he was again order'd to proceed, and as the executor of Coll Clarke's will, was in the act of raising the Skin, a brother of Mr. Maisonville, who had joined the Rebels, step'd up and prevailed on Coll Clarke to desist. The poor man who survived this cruel treatment, and shew'd an unshaken firmness in the minute of impending death, was not afterwards proof to the long confinement he underwent at Williamsburg, the gloominess of his situation affected his spirits first, the apprehension of suffering an ignominious death lower'd them still more, till reason began to be impair'd—The surgeon, a Man of great humanity, tho' attached to the cause of Rebellion, wrote to the Governor and Council of Virginia to solicit a little enlargement for this poor man, as the only means likely to save him, what the answers was I know not, but the unfortunate creature put an end to his miseries and his life, in spight of two persons who watched him and were aware of his situation.

"Colonel Clarke yet reeking with the blood of these unhappy victims came to the Esplanade before the Fort Gate, where I had agreed to meet him and treat of the surrender of the Garrison—He spoke with rapture of his late achievement, while he washed off the blood from his hands stained in this inhuman sacrifice.

"He told me it was in vain to think of persisting in the defence of the Fort, that his cannon would be up in a few hours, that he knew to a Man who might be depended on with every other circumstance of my situation, that if from a spirit of obstinacy I persisted when there was no probability of relief and should stand

an Assault, not a single Soul should be spared. I replyed that tho' my numbers were small I could depend on them. He said he knew I had but 35 or 36 staunch men, that 'twas but folly to think of a defence with so small numbers so overmatch'd; that if I would surrender at discretion and trust to his generosity, I should have better treatment than if I articled for terms—my answer was, that I would then abide the consequence, and never take so disgraceful a step while I had ammunition and provision.

"You will be answerable (said he) for the lives lost by your obstinacy. I said my Men had declared they would die with Arms in their hands rather than surrender at discretion, that still I would accept such terms as might consist with my honor and duty, that knowing what I could pretend to, little time was necessary for drawing up Articles—He said he would think upon it and return in half an hour, he returned accordingly accompanied by one of his Captains—I went to meet them with Major Hay, the soldiers in the meantime apprehensive of some ill design, mann'd the East Blockhouse ready to fire at an instant. The conversation was resumed, and Colonel Clarke appeared as determined as before, I then said further discourse was vain, that I would return to the Fort and to prevent mistakes, the firing should not take place for an hour after, our party took my leave & was proceeding to the fort, when Major Hay & Captain Bowman call'd me back, the subject was renewed, and Coll Clarke agreed to my sending terms for his consideration—They were sent that same evening, Colonel Clarke made his alterations and I agreed to them, having first called the Officers together, and exposed to them the necessity of the step. The Men were then assembled, and were convinced that no advantage to His Majesty's service could result from our holding out in the present circumstances.

"Among reasons not mentioned on the face of the capitulation were the treachery of one-half our little garrison, the certainty of the Inhabitants of the Village having joyned the Rebels—The Northeast Angle of the fort projecting over a sandbank already considerably undermined, the miserable state of the wounded Men, the impossibility of effecting an escape by water, while the half of our number had shewed their poltroonerie and treason, and our wounded must be left at the mercy of a mercyless set of Banditti.

"Having given the necessary orders, I pass'd the night in sorting papers and in preparing for the disagreeable ceremony of

the next day. Mortification, disappointment, and indignation had their turns.

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 25th, we marched out with fix'd Bayonets and the Soldiers with their knapsacks—the colors had not been hoisted this morning, that we might be spared the mortification of hawling them down.

"It had been told Coll Clarke, that we had labour'd all night to lay powder Chests under the Gateway, and had planted the six-pounder loaded with Grape which by a train was to destroy the Rebels as they enter'd to take possession. This report may reasonably be imputed to the invention of the French inhabitants since they had the effrontrie to give Coll Clarke a written account of Cruelties exercised by us while at St. Vincennes, which our own American prisoners confuted in their Accounts to Coll Clarke.

"Thus by the baseness and ingratitude of people who owed their lives and properties to us, we were betrayed into the hands of our enemies. Permit me Sir to make a slight digression, and attempt to show that to a Correspondence with the french inhabitants, and not to our supineness and neglect, The Rebels owed the information necessary for accomplishing their design.

"On our arrival at St. Vincennes a strict search was made for Gunpowder, all that was to be found in the place was put into the Magazine, and a heavy fine was laid on those who should be found to conceal any, nevertheless Colonel Clarke was supplyed by the Inhabitants, his own to the last ounce being damaged on his March. He himself told me that he should never have attempted to attack us but that he was minutely informed of our situation in every respect.

"The Indians who after a march in winter of seventy-one days had acted with great zeal and fidelity, and furnish'd as many parties as I wish'd, had almost all return'd to their homes—Two Companies of Volunteers from Detroit had testyfied so much uneasiness and unwillingness to remain that I chose to send them away rather than keep them against their inclination—Several persons who had been on pay as partisans with the Indians I believe fomented this discontent, which I attributed to their surmizing that France would join the Americans—Those people I discharged and sent away—the conduct of the canadians in general has shewn that no ties that have force upon enlightened and generous minds, can bind them, and that they prefer any subjection, to the freedom of Englishmen. The artful manège of

the inhabitants of the Illinois is not to be forgot—When news was carried to that place of the Indians coming against them under my orders, the young men offer'd their service to Coll Clarke to bear arms against the English, but their Fathers & uncles told him they had sworn allegiance to the King of great Britain, therefore could not act the same part, but that they would not fight against the Americans."

After reciting the terms of capitulation Hamilton continues: "The evening of the day we capitulated, Colonel Clark order'd Neck-irons, fetters and handcuffs to be made which in our hearing he declared were designd for those Officers who had been employed as partisans with the Indians. I took him aside and reminded him that these persons were prisoners of War included in the capitulation which he had so lately set his hand to, he said his resolution was form'd, that he had made a vow never to spare woman or Child of the Indians or those who were employ'd with them—I observed to him that these persons having obey'd my orders were not to be blamed for the execution of them, that I had never known that they had acted contrary to those orders, by encouraging the cruelty of the savages, on the contrary, and that if he was determined to pass by the consideration of his faith and that of the public, pledged for the performance of the Articles of capitulation, I desired he might throw me into prison or lay me in irons rather than the others—He smiled contemptuously, turn'd away and order'd three of these persons to the guard, till the Irons should be made—The scalps of the slaughter'd Indians were hung up by our Tents, a Young man of the name of Rainbault was brought into the fort with a halter about his neck and only for the interposition of the Volunteers from the Illinois some of whom were his Relations would infallibly have been hanged without any crime laid to his charge but his having been with a scouting party; he was half strangled before he was taken from the tree.

"Our Soldiers told us that some of the Rebels had sworn solemnly to destroy Major Hay and myself the first opportunity. As we could not guard against any attempt in the situation we then found ourselves, we thought it best to appear unacquainted with any such resolution, but we were twice in the night obliged to fly for security to Coll Clarke's quarters in the fort, two men that were intoxicated and who's names had been given us, attempting to shoot us in our tent—The attempt was proved but no punishment ensued. We were kept in the dark as to the day of

our departure, tho' I had repeatedly ask'd it, that we might have bread baked, and prepare what was necessary.

"On the 5th of March, Monsieur Dejean was brought in prisoner, along with Monsieur Adhemar, the latter had been sent up with ten pirogues and thirty men to the Miamis, to bring down provisions and stores which had been forwarded from Detroit. Mr. Dejean had obtained leave of the Commandant there to pass to St. Vincennes, and had taken Charge of letters from Detroit for me—The day before Captain Helm (an American officer who commanded the party sent to take the convoy) arrived at Ouiattanon Mr. Dejean heard that we had fallen into the hands of the Rebels, but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy the papers which with everything else were seized by the Rebels.

"Besides the provision cloathing and Stores belonging to the King, all the private Baggage of the Officers fell into the possession of Coll Clarke, not an Article of which was offer'd them, tho' they to conciliate the good offices of the Rebels to our wounded men and those whom we apprehended would not be permitted to go along with us gave away to Coll Clarke and to his people several things we should otherwise not have parted with, we afterwards heard that the prisoners were notwithstanding treated with great severity. Our Surgeon was robbed of his medicines and instruments Coll Clarke being arbiter of that article of the Capitulation by which the Officers were to take their necessary baggage.

"At length on the 8th day of March, we were put into a heavy Oak boat, being 27 in Number, with our provision of Flour and pork at common ration, and 14 Gallons of Spirits for us and our guard which consisted of 23 persons including two officers—We had before us 360 Miles of water carriage and 840 to march to the place of our destination Williamsburgh in Virginia—The 10th in the afternoon we reach'd the Ohio, whose Waters were out in an uncommon and astonishing degree—The depth above the banks 18 feet with such a swift current as made it very fatiguing to row which we all did in turn while our guard were distributed in four light boats—At night we were obliged to lye in our boat making it fast to a tree, for the flood extended as far in the wood as the Eye could reach, we made a miserable shift with our mast and oars to throw a—(covering) over head to keep out the rain, and lay like swine close jammed together having not room to extend ourselves.

"We presently found the discipline of our Guard such as would have enabled us to seize their Arms and escape to the Natchez, this was agitated among us but the Idea given up, on a persuasion

that our companions left in the hands of the Rebels at St. Vincennes would be sufferers for it. We fell in with four delaware Indians who were hunting having only their bows & arrows, our escort obliged them to accompany us part of the way, but they disappeared one day, and we were given to understand they were quietly knock'd on the head."

Further details of Hamilton's story are too long for repetition here. With their escort the British prisoners arrived at the Falls of the Ohio March 30, where the settlers were "in eternal apprehension from the Indians. The people at the forts in * * * a wretched state * * * obliged to close their cattle every night within the fort, and carry their rifles to field when they go to plow or cut wood."

Thus Hamilton's own words shows the condition of the border settlements and their daily danger of massacre by the Indians, through the policy inaugurated by the British at Detroit and set in motion by Hamilton himself. Of course Hamilton's story as has been said was highly colored, but if all true, little blame could be attached to his escort, whose friends at the very time were being set upon by Indians under British leaders, their cabin homes destroyed and their women and children perhaps murdered in cold blood. A deplorable condition from both angles.

And by the way, the Monsieur Dejean Hamilton mentioned, had been a British notary and justice of the peace at Detroit and Hamilton's assistant there. Adhemar had been a wandering Indian trader and once a justice of the peace at Detroit. His first name was Toussaint and he had possibly at one time been a trader at the post which once existed at the mouth of Toussaint Creek shore of Lake Erie, in now Ottawa County, Ohio.

Hamilton says that their guard behaved well and hunted for them as their rations had been expended and their allowance of "bear's flesh and Indian meal was frequently very scanty." At Lynch's Ferry (Lynchburg) on the James River, they were put in canoes and continued by water. On May 20th being on shore to get refreshments, they were agreeably surprised to find themselves at "Brigadier Hamilton's quarters" who was hospitable and kind to them. The same evening they halted at the house of "a Rebel Colonel Lewis" where Hamilton saw two captured officers of the "convention army," Burgoyne's forces, one of which bore to Haldimand, Hamilton's report of his capitulation. Here the account continues: "On the 26th a Rebel Captain with a guard marched us from Beaver dam to Richmond, from thence to Ches-

terfield, where we remained till the 15th June, on which day an officer having a written order in the hand of the Governor of the Province Thomas Jefferson for taking me in Irons to Williamsburg, I was accordingly handcuff'd put on a horse, and my servant not being suffered to go with me, my Valise was fastn'd behind me—Captn. La Mothe was ordered to accompany me, being in like manner handcuff'd." Sometimes riding, sometimes walking, they arrived the second evening at Williamsburg. Quoting Hamilton again, "We were conducted to the Palace where we remain'd about half an hour in the Street at the Governors door, in wet cloaths, weary, hungry, and thirsty, but had not even a cup of water offered to us—During this time a considerable Mob gather'd about us, which accompanied us to jail—On our arrival there we were put into a cell, not ten feet square where we found five criminals and Mr. Dejean who was also handcuff'd. This poor man could not refrain from tears on seeing our equipment. We had the floor for a bed, the 5 felons were as happy as rum could make them and so we were left to our repose for that night.

"The next day we three were taken out about 11 oClock, and before a number of people our handcuffs taken off and fetters put on in exchange—I was honored with the largest which weighed eighteen pounds eight ounces—As I thought opportunities might not offer frequently, and seeing some of the delegates present, I took occasion while my irons were rivetting to speak a few words.

"I told them that the ignominius manner in which we were treated without any proof of criminality, or any hearing, without even a crime being laid to our charge, was a reproach to those only who could act in that manner by prisoners of War, under the sanction of a Capitulation—That after a proceeding so unjust I was prepared for any extremity, but desired the persons present to observe that punishment was exercised on us before any enquiery had taken place or any person who might have accused us being confronted with us—some by their gestures appeard to feel for us, but no one utter'd a word, and when our fetters were properly fixed we were remanded to our Dungeon from which the five felons were removed—The light we received was from a grate, which faced the Court of 20 feet square with walls 30 feet high—The prison having been built 60 Years it may be conceived we were subject to one very offensive convenience, in the heat of summer almost suffocating, our door was only open'd to give us water, we were not allowed any candle, and from the first to the last of our confinement we never could find that the Governor or

Council had order'd provision of any kind to be made for us except Water with which we were really very well supplied. The variety of vermin to which we were a prey, bad air, Çhagrin and want of exercise began to produce their effects on my companions."

Of their situation Hamilton wrote a letter to the lieutenant-governor and council of Virginia (Governor Jefferson being absent) and on August 31, Major Hay with other prisoners arrived at Williamsburg from Chesterfield. The soldiers were confined in the "debtors' room," the officers, five in number, were placed in the "dungeon" with Hamilton and the rest of the prisoners. The air in the prison was so bad, says his narrative, that a candle held at the top of their cell would scarcely live. Finally they were allowed the use of the court. Hamilton was not sufficiently starved to prevent him having an attack of the gout and the surgeon treated him with kindness and consideration.

Finally a parole was extended the Britishers October 1, 1779, but they refused its terms. One reason for the treatment received by Hamilton and his men, was the fact that among the local inhabitants there was one John Dodge whom Hamilton had caused to be imprisoned at Quebec while in trade at Detroit, charged with disloyalty to the British. His acount of his captivity incensed the people against Hamilton to more than an ordinary degree and they believed in giving him some of his own medicine. On Christmas day, the British soldiers marched to King Williams County. On April 18, 1780, a lieutenant, Jacob Schieffelin of the Indian Department at Detroit, made his escape with De Rocheblave and they finally reached New York. The previous October La Mothe and Dejean had accepted a parole, and on August 1st, Hamilton and Hay were taken from Williamsburg to Chesterfield jail and the surgeon and one other to King Williams Court House.

Finally Hamilton and Major Hay, on October 10, 1780, accepted a parole and arrived after various experiences and a rough voyage at New York "very squalid spectacles, not having had any sleep for 3 days and nights, our Cloths ragged, Shoes broken and so alter'd in face and figure that our acquaintance could scarcely recollect us—His Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, Major-General Philips, Lord Rawdon were so good as to take several steps towards procuring our Exchange, which finally took place on the 4th day of March, 1781, we took our passage for England the 10th, but the packet not sailing till the 27th of May our arrival in this Country was so late as the 21st June."

For Hamilton's parole he could thank Washington who made the request.

CHAPTER XXVI

OPERATIONS IN THE OHIO REGION

ATTACK ON FORT RANDOLPH—THE "SQUAW CAMPAIGN"—FORT McINTOSH BUILT—ALSO FORT LAURENS—BRODHEAD DESTROYS GOSCHOCHGUNG—STORY OF SIMON KENTON—OHIO INVASION BY BOWMAN AND THEN GEORGE ROGERS CLARK—SITUATION WITH BRITISH AT DETROIT.

As has been shown, so far as the Revolution in the West was concerned, Detroit was the British key to all this vast territory, the same as later it will be seen was Fort Meigs under Harrison for the Americans, in the War of 1812. The story has been told, even by Governor Hamilton himself, how he called the various Indian tribes to Detroit where the British planned savage raids into the Ohio country and border settlements, in which British soldiers joined and where British officers were in command. It was always the hope of the Americans to capture Detroit and the British longed for the possession of Fort Pitt, the American stronghold. Neither desire was achieved until Detroit came to the Americans by the terms of peace.

Rumors had reached Fort Pitt that a great Indian expedition from Detroit was planning to advance on the former post, and withal from other Indian raids, the Continental Congress began finally to take notice. It is of this abortive movement that Colonel Clark speaks disappointingly, when he found that the American plans did not include aid to himself.

In February, 1778, some 250 Shawnees, as revenge for the murder of their Chief Cornstalk attacked Fort Randolph at Point Pleasant, where Cornstalk had four years before been defeated by General Lewis, but the Indians were repulsed with loss. There was what has been termed the "Squaw Campaign" of Gen. Edward Hand, commander at Fort Pitt, to the Delaware town on the Cuyahoga, where it was reported that the British had deposited a quantity of stores to aid the Indians in their incursions. With a force of five hundred frontiersmen, General Hand with Simon Girty as guide (the last time the renegade was identified with the Americans before he joined the British) marched through the wilderness westward to the Mahoning River where "only one Indian and some squaws and children were found." The Indian

and one squaw were killed, and another squaw rescued reported that a party of Munsees were making salt farther up the Mahoning. Girty at the head of a detachment was sent to capture the workers, and found four squaws and one Indian boy diligently plying their trade, all of whom were dispatched but one squaw. While it may not have been an inglorious experience for Girty, General Hand greatly chagrined, led his mounted troops back to Fort Pitt. It was only a few weeks after this exploit that Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee, as has been related, deserted the Americans and identified themselves with Hamilton and the British at Detroit. But Hamilton among his other troubles was beset with spies as he tells in his story of his Vincennes campaign. They even entered his lines at Detroit, as did John Dodge, whose report from there was one of the causes of Hamilton's harsh treatment after his Virginia imprisonment.

A noted case was that of one Daniel Sullivan, who in 1777 had been employed by Virginia as a spy and who as a boy had experienced Indian life. In the dress of an Indian, in April of the above year, he joined a Canadian fur trader. In a canoe they paddled down the Cuyahoga, and westward along the south shore of Erie and crossing the head of the lake, after eight days reached Detroit. Sullivan gradually gained the confidence of the British officials and finally Hamilton himself. He secured all information possible, the strength of the British, and noted Hamilton's policy of encouraging Indian incursions by paying attractive prices for white scalps. In time he was recognized by a son of the bandit chief Pluggy who had met him in earlier days. Hamilton being informed of Sullivan's identity, sent him in irons to Quebec. Later he was sent to New York with other prisoners, where he was paroled. Finally reaching Fort Pitt, he made his report which coincided with what General Hand had been told by the two friendly Delaware chiefs, Captain White Eyes and John Killbuck, who had also been to Detroit.

For the purpose of putting a quietus upon the British and Indian incursions, the Continental Congress in May, 1778, voted an appropriation of $900,000 to equip an expedition of three thousand men. But the men could not be spared from the Continental troops and Virginia was again called to the rescue. It was planned to organize the forces into two divisions. Reaching Greenbriar one division was to pass down the Great Kanawha to Fort Randolph. Had Clark been provided with some of these men and with money, he might have eventually taken Detroit

himself. The other division was to gather at Fort Pitt and join the first in boats down the Ohio. At General Hand's request he was allowed to join Washington's own command and was succeeded at Fort Pitt by Brig.-Gen. Lachlan McIntosh. At Fort Pitt, McIntosh was joined by detachments of regiments under command of Col. William Crawford, Col. Daniel Brodhead and Col. John Gibson who gained notoriety in the Dunmore conflict by carrying Chief Logan's speech to the treaty council at Camp Charlotte. General McIntosh reached Fort Pitt in August, but primarily at the instance of Washington, an advance on Detroit was abandoned. In the middle of September, however, a treaty was made with the Indians at Fort Pitt permitting the American army to enter the Delaware country and build therein a post; the Delaware tribe going so far as to agree to furnish warriors to aid the Americans. General McIntosh thereupon with five hundred men opened a roadway from Fort Pitt to Beaver Creek and just below where the creek enters the Ohio, on the east bank he built a stockade post, picket enclosed and with four bastions. He named the place Fort McIntosh and equipped it with four cannon. The other division of the army which was to assemble at the mouth of the Great Kanawha never materialized. But the information reaching General McIntosh that a great force of Ohio Indians were gathering to oppose his further advance, he ordered twelve hundred men made ready at Fort Pitt to march to Fort McIntosh. This large force set out November 5th and traveled over the same route taken by Col. Henry Bouquet fourteen years before. At the Tuscarawas, seventy miles on their journey, they were met by a detachment from Fort McIntosh informing them that the winter supplies coming from over the Alleghenies had not arrived. From this fact his base at Fort McIntosh for his advance upon Detroit would be untenable and further plans were abandoned.

To prevent his expedition from being entirely abortive, however, the general on the west bank of the Tuscarawas, below the mouth of Sandy Creek and about a mile and a half below now Bolivar, Tuscarawas County, on November 5 began the building of Fort Laurens, named for the president of the new Congress. Again this was near a temporary post built by Colonel Bouquet in 1764, when he made his advance to the head of the Muskingum. Laurens was the "first fort built by Americans within the boundaries of now Ohio," and McIntosh had with him all told, "the

largest army of white soldiers assembled in the West during the Revolution."

A garrison of one hundred and fifty men under Colonel Gibson was left at Fort Laurens to complete the works and General McIntosh with his army returned to Pittsburg. Gibson soon after reported the completion of the defense, adding that he was ready "to bid defiance to the enemy." The story of Simon Girty acting under British orders reporting to Detroit the establishment of Fort Laurens has already been touched upon. Watching the road to Fort McIntosh finally came their opportunity. Capt. John Clark with the American Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment as convoy, had brought provisions to Fort Laurens. On his return with a sergeant and fourteen men, he was attacked January 29, 1779, by the Indians under Girty with the loss of two killed, four wounded and one man taken prisoner. The other nine including Captain Clark, succeeded in reaching the fort. A number of important letters from Gibson to General McIntosh were captured and carried to Detroit then under command of Captain Lernoult as Hamilton was on his inglorious campaign to Vincennes.

On Girty's return to Detroit boasting of his victory, he gave the information that 600 to 800 warriors were assembling at Upper Sandusky to march against Laurens again. He was furnished with arms, ammunition and supplies, and the notorious Capt. Henry Bird was chosen to head the expedition. This siege has been related in the story of the Girtys, and the disaster to a detachment sent out to corral their horses. Then came Col. Daniel Brodhead who succeeded McIntosh in command of the Western Department.

Chronologically, an account of the Moravian missions and some other matters perhaps should come here, but their narrative will appear under the head of Mission work in the Ohio section, and the work of Brodhead will be briefly set forth.

At the passing of the Moravians and their pathetic story, with the beginning of the spring of 1781, the Delaware nation was aligned as follows: The Moravian Christians, while they declared their neutrality, were in fact in sympathy with the Americans owing to the attempt of the British to drive them into espousing their cause. Captain Pipe with the Munsees were with the British and the balance of non-Christian Delawares were likely to join with the Munsees. Brodhead, now commandant at Fort Pitt, was a man of hard action. In April of the year mentioned, with three hundred regular American troops and Virginia militia, he

crossed the Ohio and proceeding to the Delaware headquarters at Goschochgung (Coshocton), surprised, captured and looted the town. Much property was destroyed or burned, growing crops were devastated and live stock driven off or killed. It is not to the credit of the commander that nearly twenty of the leading Delaware warrior foes were tomahawked and scalped. To make matters more inhuman, of the Indian prisoners who were started for Fort Pitt, twenty more warriors were killed by the Virginia militia in revenge for the Indian border raids. The remaining Delawares fled to the Scioto and Sandusky to later avenge the butchery. Colonel Brodhead urged the missionaries and their followers to accompany him to Fort Pitt for self protection, but most of them remained, trusting to fate. The non-Christian Delawares and near-by tribes immediately joined the British. The sequel so far as the missionaries are concerned, as said, follows later.

Before passing to the western Ohio section and the local situation among the British at Detroit, there is another frontiersman of the class with Daniel Boone, whose fame occupies many pages in western history—Simon Kenton. At the age of sixteen years and in 1771, an incident occurred which may have changed his whole career. Another young man from Farquier, Virginia, and Simon had some difficulty over a love affair, and in personal combat Kenton so belabored his antagonist that at the end he believed he had left him dead; although not intentionally. Fearing the consequences and not knowing his foe had recovered, he took the name of Butler and fled to Fort Pitt. Among the friends he made there was Simon Girty, while the renegade was yet with the Americans. As has been noted, Kenton was a guide for Lord Dunmore in the latter's Ohio operations, was with Colonel Crawford in the latter's early campaigns and a friend and companion of Daniel Boone.

Kenton went with George Rogers Clark as a scout, and after the Colonel's capture of Kaskaskia, brought the news of success back to Kentucky. In the summer of 1778, Simon with Boone and a party of about twenty men from Boonesborough, planned an expedition into the Ohio Paint Creek section, where they were surprised by a superior force of Indians. All escaped southward. But Kenton and one other took sufficient time to capture four horses, and they, too, luckily reached and crossed the Ohio.

In September, 1778, Col. John Bowman of Harrodsburg was planning a raid into the Indian country about the head of the

Little Miami River. He commissioned Kenton with two aides, Alexander Montgomery and George Clark, as spies to Old Chillicothe. They succeeded in reaching their objective, gained the information desired and started on their return. Indian ponies or horses seemed to have had a great attraction for Kenton, for running across some in a pound, each picked out a horse which he mounted and led off another one. All went well until they reached the Ohio River, when one day's delay proved their undoing. A pursuing band of Indians suddenly came upon them, shot and scalped Montgomery, took Kenton prisoner, but Clark escaped.

Kenton was bound upon an unbroken colt which on being released rushed wildly through the brush and timber, greatly to the amusement and gratification of the Indians over Kenton's punishment. At night the prize prisoner was placed upon his back and his hands and feet secured to stakes driven into the ground. At the town of Black Fish who had adopted the escaped Boone, Kenton was forced several times to run the gauntlet and at a meeting in the Shawnee council-house was sentenced to be burned at the stake. For this ceremony he was to be taken to Wapatomika in now Logan County, and on the way at Indian towns was twice more made to run the gauntlet. After an unsuccessful attempt to escape he was punished almost beyond endurance.

At Wapatomika was Simon Girty, his old friend, who finally recognized Kenton. Doing one good turn he pleaded for Kenton's life or a delay in his dreadful death and his request was granted. After some weeks of apparent kindness and consideration, Kenton again, from probable Indian reverses, came under the Indians' displeasure. Another council and another death sentence, and the prisoner with a halter about his neck was driven on foot before horsemen to a town on the headwaters of the Scioto where Kenton for the first time came into the presence of the great chief Logan. The noted Mingo engaged the prisoner in conversation and finally told him he would send two runners ahead to the Sandusky (Upper Sandusky) where Kenton was to be burned at the stake and "speak good words for him." Until their return Kenton was kindly treated and spent much of his time in Logan's company.

The prisoner and Indians continuing towards Sandusky, the savages of the town came to meet them and view their prize. Another grand court was organized and the first speaker was a

Canadian Frenchman, Peter Druyer or Pierre Druillard, a captain in the British service. It was to this humane officer that Logan had sent his runners. The result was that Kenton was ransomed by Druyer, and in company with a chief, the three set off for Lower Sandusky (Fremont). From this point they went by water down the Sandusky River across the head of the lake to Detroit. Kenton was questioned by the authorities there as to what he knew about the Ohio region, but could give little information of value. He was kindly treated, had to report each day and was restricted to certain limits.

In the spring of 1779, several prisoners were brought in, among whom were Capt. Nathan Bullet and Jesse Coffer, once Kenton's companions. Concerting a plan of escape, they were finally furnished with ammunition, rifles and provisions by the wife of an Indian trader who became interested in their cause and hid this material for their use on her husband's premises. One night they made their way out without discovery and in thirty days, midst many narrow escapes from capture, reached Louisville, nearly four hundred miles away. On their journey, they probably passed near where is now Toledo, for their journey was up the west side of the Maumee Valley, and down the Wabash.

Kenton was taken prisoner early in September, 1778, reached Detroit about the 1st of November and escaped the following June. He was later a scout with Clark on his Mad River expedition, where he passed over the same territory of his captivity.

The expeditions of the Americans, hardy frontiersmen from Virginia, Kentucky and even Pennsylvania, into the Ohio country, and the counter expeditions southward by the British at Detroit, joined by the Indians on the way, were numerous at this period and their success was varying.

In May, 1779, Col. John Bowman of Harrodsburg, who had sent Kenton and his spies into the Shawnee region the previous fall, inaugurated a raid upon the Shawnee headquarters at Chillicothe (Oldtown) on the Little Miami, some three miles above now Xenia, Greene County. It was the most notable force that up to that time had invaded the region from south of the Ohio and the concentration was at the mouth of the Licking River where is now Covington. The troops, about three hundred in number, divided into five companies and mounted, arrived near the Oldtown home of Black Fish early in the night of the first day out without the Indians being alarmed.

Not going into details, owing to a misunderstanding in orders, the expedition was not entirely successful. Of the Shawnee warriors one hundred strong under Black Fish, Black Hoof and Black Beard, Black Fish was mortally wounded and the two hundred squaws and children escaped to the woods. The greater part of the town was burned and the effect of the raid was a damper upon Indian activities in this section of the Ohio country. Col. John Bowman was a brother of Capt. Joseph Bowman of Clark's Vincennes expedition and also had assisted Clark in preparing his great western adventure.

As a retaliatory measure, however, the Shawnees, Mingoes and Wyandots, led by Simon and George Girty and Matthew Elliott, engaged in a number of depredations along the Kentucky borders. In the month of October, 1779, a party of seventy Virginians under David Rogers were ascending the Ohio River in two flat boats loaded with merchandise from New Orleans, and which party Colonel Clark spoke of in a letter to Governor Henry, of Virginia. They were, as has been referred to in the account of the Girtys, intercepted by Girty's men and more than forty were killed and scalped including Captain Rogers.

Early in June, 1780, Col. Henry Bird, and three hundred British soldiers and Canadians, with Simon, James and George Girty and Indians, and carrying two pieces of artillery, passed up the Maumee and Auglaize rivers from Detroit to the defeat and massacre of the Americans at Ruddell's and Martin's stations as also related in the chapter on the renegades. At the Ohio River they were joined by some three hundred Indians under Capt. Alexander McKee. From Martin's Station which was also captured, Bird with his forces guarding 150 prisoners, passed back to Detroit down the Maumee.

Despite all these Indian-British incursions the settlements of Kentucky were rapidly increasing. The sturdy frontiersmen thoroughly aroused by the continued depredations of the past three years south of the Ohio determined upon a campaign against the Ohio tribes that would end such attacks. Once more the intrepid George Rogers Clark was called upon for the task, who associated with himself such famous patriotic characters as Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, James Harrod and John Floyd. Clark purposed no half-way job. Therefore he assembled at the mouth of the Licking River nearly one thousand experienced and determined pioneers, armed and equipped for a campaign to the heart of the Shawnee region. From the site of Covington he

crossed the Ohio with his army. At the mouth of the Little Miami they built two blockhouses for the storage of provisions, the first buildings raised upon the site of Cincinnati.

Following up the Little Miami, they reached Old Chillicothe the scene of Bowman's former operations August 6th, 1780. It was only two days after Bird and his British and Indians reached Detroit down the Maumee after their Kentucky onslaught. Here Clark found that the Indians after putting the torch to their huts had fled northward towards Piqua the Shawnee capital five miles south of now Springfield, Clark County, on the north side of Mad River. After a night's encampment Clark left the burning village of Old Chillicothe and set out for Piqua, twelve miles away. This seat of the Shawnee national council was located upon an elevated plain overlooking the Mad River southward. The village was planned after the French method, the well constructed log huts stretching for three miles along a narrow street on the uplands. The squaws cultivated gardens of corn and beans near their cabins and a prominent figure was the council-house and fort surrounded by pickets—a pretentious stockade. It seems to be quite well authenticated that here was born in 1768, the celebrated Shawnee Chief Tecumseh who later figured so prominently in Maumee Valley affairs. This Piqua was not identified with the Piqua of the present day.

Nearing Piqua town Clark divided his forces into two divisions. One he led himself, straight to the front of the village, while Benjamin Logan at the head of the other division of four hundred men was ordered by a circuitous route to gain the rear and prevent the Indians' escape. Noting the approach of Clark's contingent, some seven hundred warriors fled without ceremony. Logan's men were delayed in gaining their position by becoming entangled in a swamp, and this main body of savages escaped.

At the town there remained about one hundred Indians among whom were the renegades Simon and James Girty. After nearly a day's skirmishing and sniping, the Indians using their usual methods of hiding behind the cabins, trees and bushes, finally scattered to all points of the forest. The loss on both sides was less than fifty. The town was burned by Clark and the crops destroyed. Among Clark's force killed was Joseph Rogers commander of the craft *Willing* in the campaign against Vincennes. He was a prisoner at the Piqua town and in his attempt to escape was mortally wounded and died in Clark's arms, who was his cousin.

While Clark's invasion was not entirely successful, the loss of corn and crops was very distressing to the Indians and amidst the Kentuckians at home there was great rejoicing.

It is well here to review the period just passed over from another angle and show something more of the situation at Detroit. The operations of the savages about the latter place had been unsatisfactory to the British and Governor Haldimand in July, 1779, wrote to Captain Lernoult who had succeeded Hamilton, that "I observe with great concern the astonishing consumption of Rum at Detroit, amounting to 17,520 gallons per year," which was most detrimental to the Indian activities. Gov. William Tryon of New York wrote to Lord George Germain, secretary of state, London, in July 1779, that "My opinion remains unchangeable respecting the utility of depradatory excursions. I think (American) Rebellion must soon totter if these exertions are reiterated and made to extremity." It was because "Captain Lernoult was not equal to the demands of his more cruel superiors" that he was suspended in October the above named year by De Peyster.

The success of Colonel Clark's expedition to Vincennes and lands being placed on the market, in 1779 caused increased emigration to west of the Alleghenies. The spring of 1780 saw the number increasing. "Three hundred large family boats arrived at the Falls of Ohio (Louisville) with emigrants from the east during the spring of 1780," according to Butler's History of Kentucky. A few came to avoid conscription for the American army in the east, but new homes in a fertile and new country was the attraction for most of them.

De Peyster's greater efforts with the Indians about Detroit the same spring bore fruit, and in May 1780 he reported that "The prisoners daily brought in here (Detroit) are part of the thousand families who are flying from the oppression of Congress in order to add to the number already settled at Kentuck, the finest country for new settlers in America; but it happens, unfortunately for them, to be the best hunting ground of the Indians which they will never give up and, in fact, it is our interest not to let the Virginians, Marylanders, and Pennsylvanians get possession there, lest, in a short time they become formidable to this post." May 26 De Peyster wrote to Captain Sinclair at Michilimackinac, that "everything is quiet here (Detroit) except the constant noise of the wardrum * * * More Indians from all quarters than ever known before." And on June 1, he wrote to

Governor Haldimand that "I have already fitted out two thousand warriors and sent them along the Ohio and Wabash rivers." Then came the expedition of Henry Bird to Ruddell's Station and the Indians to Bryant's Station, told about.

Colonel De Peyster again wrote July 6, the above year that "I am so hurried with war parties coming in from all quarters that I do not know which way to turn myself." On August 4th he reported the arrival at Detroit of Captain Bird "this morning with about 150 prisoners, mostly Germans who speak English, the remainder coming in for in spite of all his endeavors to prevent it the Indians broke into the forts and seized many. The whole will amount to about 350. Thirteen have entered the (British) Rangers and many more will enter, as the pioneers are greatly fatigued with traveling so far (carrying plunder and by abuse—Editor) some sick and some wounded. * * * We have more (Indians) here than enough. Were it not absolutely necessary to keep in with them, they would tire my patience."

Slocum's History of the Maumee Valley has this footnote: The late Gen. Lewis Cass, in a communication to the North American Review, thus quotes an eye-witness to the return of Captain Bird's Savages: "Hearing the usual signals of success (sounds indicating the numbers of scalps and prisoners given on the approach of a war-party to Detroit) I walked out of town and soon met the party. The squaws and young Aborigines had ranged themselves on the side of the road with sticks and clubs, and were whipping the prisoners with great severity. Among these were two young girls, thirteen or fourteen years old, who escaped from the party and ran for protection to me and a naval officer who was with me. With much trouble and some danger, and after knocking down two of the Aborigines, we succeeded in rescuing the girls, and fled with them to the Council House. Here they were safe, because this was the goal where the right of the Aborigines to beat them ceased. Next morning I received a message by an orderly-sergeant to wait upon Colonel De Peyster the commanding officer. I found the naval officer, who was with me the preceding day, already there. The Colonel stated that a serious complaint had been preferred against us by M'Kee the agent for the Aborigines, for interfering with the Aborigines, and rescuing two of their prisoners. He said the Aborigines had a right to their mode of warfare, and that no one should interrupt them; and after continuing this reproof for some time he told me if I ever took such liberty again, he would send me to Montreal

or Quebec. The naval officer was still more severely reprimanded, and threatened to have his uniform stripped from his back and to be dismissed from his Majesty's service if such an incident again occurred. And although I stated to the Colonel that we saved the lives of the girls at the peril of our own, he abated nothing of his threats of harshness." * * *

De Peyster also tells of a store he allowed to be kept at a village on the Maumee for the convenience of the Indians, being plundered by a French-Canadian named La Balm and his party, who also took the Indians' horses and destroyed their "horned Cattle." Later La Balm and nearly forty of his men were killed by the Indians in an engagement at the head of the Maumee and La Balm's personal effects, including a "watch set with diamonds, his double-barrel gun, regimentals, spurs and papers," were carried to Detroit by the Miamis.

Early in the year 1782, information was gathered by the Americans that the British forces at Detroit were composed of "three hundred regular troops, from seven hundred to one thousand Indian warriors who could be assembled in a few days time. It was also estimated at this time that an American army to successfully attempt an expedition against Detroit should consist of at least one thousand regular soldiers and one thousand militia, with cannon and supplies for at least one month." It seems, however, that the Americans in power did not consider the situation such that they could spare such a force for the work, although before this, in February, 1781, following the instructions of Washington, Governor Jefferson of Virginia wrote George Rogers Clark, who had been made a Brigadier-General for the purpose, that plans to capture Detroit were on foot. Clark was greatly encouraged by the information but it never developed into a fact and the efforts of Clark to realize his dream makes a long story.

CHAPTER XXVII

SANDUSKY CAMPAIGN OF COLONEL CRAWFORD

THE SANDUSKY PLAINS—PLANS FOR CRAWFORD'S INVASION—MARCH TO THE UPPER SANDUSKY—CONTEST AT BATTLE ISLAND—SECOND DAY'S BATTLE—RETREAT OF CRAWFORD—BATTLE OF OLENTANGY—CAPTURE OF CRAWFORD—HIS TORTURE AND DEATH—FATE OF DOCTOR KNIGHT AND RETURN EAST OF AMERICAN FORCES.

East of the main highway running between Upper Sandusky and Carey, in Crawford township, Wyandot County, Ohio, and near the little hamlet of Crawfordsville seven miles northwest from Upper Sandusky, stands a modest little monument bearing this inscription: "In memory of Colonel Crawford who was burned by the Indians in this Valley. Erected by the Pioneer Association of Wyandot Co., O., Aug. 3, 1877." On the east bank of Big Tymochtee Creek, the shaft tells its own story. On the north side of the main highway between Galion and Bucyrus, in Whetstone township, Crawford County, and about five miles east of Bucyrus, rises another memorial on the site of what is known as the "Battle ground of the Olentangy." A third memorable spot is called "Battle Island," three miles and a half northeast of now Upper Sandusky, the place where began the engagement between the American forces under Colonel William Crawford and the British under Capt. William Caldwell of Butler's Rangers assisted by Simon Girty, Alex McKee and Captain Elliott and a large body of Indians. These three places figure most prominently in what is known as the "campaign of Colonel Crawford."

One of the best accounts of this disastrous affair is contained in an address delivered by Hon. James M. Anderson of Columbus, June 11, 1896, the 114th anniversary of the burning of Colonel Crawford, near Crawford's Tymochtee Creek monument before an assemblage of some six thousand people. Leaving out the preliminaries the account reads as follows: In the year 1780, Crawford visited the American Congress, and implored that august body to give the frontier better protection, and to make larger appropriations for that purpose. His earnest appeals had a salutary effect, for war material and supplies were "soon afterward forwarded to Fort Pitt, and other Western posts." After

returning home, and during that year, Crawford again on several occasions led small bands in pursuit of marauding savages.

His great desire, however, had long been to equip and lead an expedition against Detroit, or Sandusky, for from these points the Indians came who wrought death and destruction along the frontier. Upper Sandusky, "the grand rallying point for the British Indians before starting for the border," was on the great highway between the north and the south. The Sandusky River was the water-way, and highway of travel, between Canada and the Mississippi. From time out of mind the Sandusky, Scioto, and Ohio rivers, had been the water-route between Detroit and the south, for warlike Indians, then for French explorers and soldiers, and later for the British. They came in boats from Detroit across the lake to the head of the Sandusky Bay, or to Lower Sandusky now Fremont. William Walker, an intelligent Indian chief, wrote as follows: "Ascending the Sandusky River to the mouth of the west branch, known as the Little Sandusky, in a bark or light wooden canoe, you could in a good stage of water ascend that tributary four or five miles farther. Thence east across to the Little Scioto is a distance of about four miles. This was the portage." "This place," writes Col. James Smith, in his "Life and Travels," who was here in 1757, "is in the plains between a creek that empties into Sandusky, and one that runs into Scioto; and at the time of high water, or in the spring season, there is but about one-half mile of portage, and that very level, and clear of rocks, timber and stones." As the portage was short and trifling, Indians and others as before stated, going south and returning, made use of these streams. Hence Crawford felt that a river town so prominent and obnoxious as Upper Sandusky, which was a sort of entrepot, should be wiped out, for here the Indian allies of Great Britain received annuities and other allowances, and their supplies before starting for the settlements. The Wyandot or Half King's town, or capital, was really the most important place in the Indian country; and in Crawford's opinion the peace and safety of the frontier depended on its destruction, and the crushing defeat and conquest of the Sandusky Indians. This was also the opinion of General Irvine, commandant at Fort Pitt.

At a meeting of the people of Westmoreland County, held on the 18th of June, 1781, to devise ways and means for the defense of the frontier, Crawford's presence had an inspiring effect, and

his words carried great weight. It was there decided to render active and efficient aid to Gen. George Rogers Clark's expedition against Detroit. Thereupon Colonel Crawford, actively coöperated with Colonel Lochry, and General Clark, in trying to raise and equip an army to march against Detroit. He also did all in his power to aid and strengthen the effort Colonel Gibson, the officer then in command at Fort Pitt, was making, to organize a sufficient force to go against Sandusky, or Upper Sandusky as it was commonly called. But both schemes or projects fell through, not for want of men, or martial spirit, but lack of means—the sinews of war. Of one of these expeditions it was intended that Crawford should be a leading officer; and the attempt he made to set Colonel Gibson's on foot, "was his last effort as an officer on the continental establishment." These two projects so dear to his heart, he thought the only means of stopping the inroads of the savage and preventing further barbarities.

But now, desperate as our affairs seemed in the west, the star of hope had risen in the east. The power of England was broken. The battle of Yorktown had been fought—October 19, 1781—peace between the colonies and mother country seemed at hand, and the old warrior thought the time propitious to lay aside the sword, and return to the bosom of his family. As a soldier of the Revolution, Crawford had now served his country six years, and sought retirement. Though placed on the retired list, he would still hold his commission, and stand ready to respond to the calls of his country whenever and wherever his services might really be needed. The exposed condition of the frontier settlements was ever before him, nor could he turn a deaf ear to the cries of the lonely settlers.

The year 1782 is dawning. Crawford, now fifty years old, in fairly vigorous health, is at home on the Youghiogheny, happy in the belief that here he can remain henceforth, free from war's tumults and alarms. In his cabin by the river he loved to tell his children, grandchildren and others—for all sought his company —the story of his eventful life. He now longed for peace, but the stars and signs in the western firmament were lurid and warlike. The cruel and merciless Indian was still on the warpath. While American arms were triumphant in the east, the Western frontier was still the witness and theater of horrible savage barbarities. The tomahawk and scalping knife were doing their bloody work. Settlers daily fell victims, houses and barns went

up in flames, fields were laid waste, and stock stolen or slain. A state of terror reigned along the Pennsylvania and Virginia border. The despairing almost frenzied settlers were calling aloud for help. Is it surprising then that Crawford, though in retirement, found himself taking a deep interest in another proposed expedition against Sandusky, and the Sandusky Indians? His advice was sought and freely given. "Not less," said he, "than four hundred men should venture so far into the enemy's country." As Crawford had long favored an advance against the Sandusky Indians, the settlers naturally turned to him as the particular person to lead it. This he declined; there were others equally capable, and he had done his share. His only son, John, had decided to enlist, so had his distinguished son-in-law, Maj. William Harrison, of the great Virginia family of that name. His nephew, William Crawford, had already volunteered.

John Crawford was "a young man greatly and deservedly esteemed as a soldier and citizen," wrote the historian Brackenridge. Sarah, the eldest daughter of Colonel Crawford, wooed and won by the gallant and scholarly Harrison, was the most charming and beautiful young woman in western Pennsylvania, if tradition and history are to be relied on. As Crawford still held his commission as a colonel in the regular army, and as Irvine, the officer in command of the Western Department, desired him to lead the expedition, should he refuse? That was the question. Finally, yielding to the entreaties of General Irvine, at Fort Pitt, and his beloved son, son-in-law, and nephew, and no doubt other relatives, he reluctantly consented to accept the command if chosen by the volunteers.

Mingo Bottom, two and a half miles below the Steubenville of today was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous. Crawford now began in earnest to get ready for the long, perilous march. On the 14th of May, 1782, in consideration of love and affection, he duly conveyed to his son-in-law, William Harrison, a farm near his own on the Youghiogheny. On the 16th he made his last will and testament, giving to his wife during life, the home farm, and three slaves, Dick, Daniel and Betty, and all his personal property except a slave boy named Martin. He gave his son John the aforesaid boy Martin, and five hundred acres of land, and after his wife's death the home farm, and the three slaves, Dick, Daniel and Betty. He gave to each of his grandchildren, Moses and Richard, sons of John Crawford, four hundred acres, and to

his granddaughter Anne four hundred acres. He made bequests to Anne Connell, and her four children: all the rest of his estate to be divided equally between his three children.

On Saturday, the 18th, he bade adieu to his weeping wife, daughters, grandchildren, and others, and then set out on horseback for Mingo Bottom, going by way of Fort Pitt for instructions. His son, son-in-law, and nephew had already started. Crawford needing more officers, General Irvine detailed two, then on duty at the fort, to accompany him, namely, Lieutenant Rose as aide-de-camp, and Doctor Knight as surgeon. On the 21st General Irvine wrote to Washington: "I have taken some pains to get Colonel Crawford appointed to command, and hope he will be. He left me yesterday on his way down to the place of rendezvous. He does not wish to go with a smaller number than four hundred."

At Mingo Bottom, Colonel Crawford was duly elected to command the expedition. David Williamson was made field major, and second in command; Thomas Gaddis, field major, and third in command; John McClelland, field major, and fourth in command; Major Brinton, field major, and fifth in command; Daniel Leet, brigade major; Dr. John Knight, surgeon; Thomas Nicholson, John Slover and Jonathan Zane, guides. There were of course other officers. Lieut. John Rose, of the regular army went as aide-de-camp to Crawford. General Irvine wrote to Washington on the 21st as follows: "Crawford pressed me for some officers, and I have sent with him Lieutenant Rose, my aide-de-camp, a very vigilant, active, brave young gentleman, well acquainted with service and (Dr. Knight) a surgeon. These are all I could venture to spare."

Butterfield in writing of the campaign says: "The project against Sandusky, was as carefully considered, and as authoritatively planned as any military enterprise in the west during the Revolution." On the 25th of May, the volunteers, four hundred and eighty strong, all mounted on good horses, began their march from Mingo Bottom. "The route," says Butterfield, "lay through what is now the counties of Jefferson, Harrison, Tuscarawas, Holmes, Ashland, Richland, Crawford—nearly to the center of Wyandot County." One of the volunteers, Lieut. Francis Dunlevy, wrote a brief account of the campaign. He afterwards became a classical scholar and held high positions in Ohio. In four days the army reached the Upper Moravian village—

sixty miles from Mingo Bottom. On the 2d of June the Sandusky River was seen three miles west of where Crestline now stands. On the 3d of June the volunteers encamped for the night on the Sandusky Plains, near where the village of Wyandot may now be seen. On the 4th, after traveling six miles, they came to the mouth of the Little Sandusky, a spot well known to John Slover, one of the army pilots. On the same day they found Upper Sandusky Old Town, situate on the Sandusky River about three miles in a southeasterly direction from the Upper Sandusky of today, deserted. Not an Indian was to be seen. "We advanced on," says Knight in his Narrative, "in search of some of their settlements, but had scarcely got the distance of three or four miles from the old town" when we learned that Crawford's mounted scouts who had been sent forward to reconnoiter, had discovered "about three miles in front," near a grove they were occupying, "a large body of Indians running toward them." Crawford heard of their presence with great satisfaction, and commenced a forward movement. Near where the scouts had first sighted them they were soon seen by the entire cavalcade, some little distance ahead taking possession of the grove the reconnoitering party had so recently abandoned—since well known as Battle Island. Crawford at once saw the advantage this would give the Indians, and ordering his men to dismount, moved swiftly forward, and by rapid firing soon dislodged the enemy, and occupied the grove.

It was 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of June when this contest, known as the Battle of Sandusky, began—three miles and a half northeast of the present county seat of Wyandot County—American frontiersmen on one side, and British soldiers and Indians on the other. Crawford's troops, though outnumbered, had the best position, that is they were in possession of the grove—Battle Island—and on higher ground, while the Indians and their white allies were sheltered by the tall coarse prairie grass that then covered the Sandusky Plains.

The Delaware Indians, under Captain Pipe, a noted war chief, and Wingenund, another chief, and the renegade, Simon Girty, first met the Americans; but the Wyandots led by Zhaus-sho-toh, and Capt. Matthew Elliott, another white renegade, soon came to their relief. Two companies of white soldiers from Detroit were in the fight, and forty-four "lake Indians." The enemy was reinforced on the second day by one hundred and

forty Shawnees, and more white soldiers, and lake Indians. The whole were commanded by Capt. William Caldwell, a British officer, assisted by Capt. Alex McKee, Captain Elliott, Captain Grant, Lieutenant Turney, Lieutenant Clinch, besides Simon Girty, and other white officers in uniform. Girty, Elliott and McKee, though renegades and deserters, spoke the Delaware and Wyandot languages.

The first day the battle raged with varying fortunes, sometimes more favorable to one side than the other till dusk, when the British and Indians, defeated but not discouraged, drew farther back and the firing ceased. Lieut. John Turney, of the Corps of Rangers, writing to Major De Peyster at Detroit, from "Camp Upper Sandusky, June 7, 1782," says: "On the 4th about 12 o'clock the enemy appeared about two miles from this place. Captain Caldwell with the rangers, and about two hundred Indians, marched out to fight them, and attacked them about 2 o'clock. The enemy * * * had every advantage of us as to situation of ground, people could possibly wish for. The action became general and was dubious for some time. * * * The battle was very hot till night which put a stop to firing." There was no lack of bravery on either side during the entire time the contest lasted—from 2 o'clock till dark—although only five of the volunteers were killed and nineteen wounded. The loss of the British and Indians, though since denied, was probably far heavier, but as they were constantly expecting the reinforcements then marching to their relief, they were by no means disheartened.

On the part of the Americans, Crawford with consummate ability directed the fight, and his officers and men so far as known bravely did their duty. Lieutenant Rose was probably Crawford's most efficient officer. Cool and daring, his martial bearing and words of encouragement stimulated every drooping spirit, reviving the sanguine expectations, enthusiasm, and courage of every man. Pursued during the engagement "by a party of mounted Indians who were so close to him at times as to throw their tomahawks," Rose happily escaped, owing to "his coolness and superior horsemanship." The strategy and vigilance of Major Williamson and Major Leet, were generally commended. Lieutenant Dunlevy, Philip Smith, Sherrard, Canon, John Campbell, and others were brave, reliable and efficient.

As soon as those who had enlisted for the campaign met at Mingo Bottom, Indian runners who had been acting as spies,

started to notify the Delawares and Wyandots, who in turn notified the Shawnees, and their British allies, at Detroit, of the invasion of the Indian country.

It is well established that Crawford's army, though outnumbered by the enemy, was clearly victorious on the 4th, that the fighting on the 5th was desultory, and that little damage was done, and that on the evening of the 5th our sentries discovered that the enemy was being largely reinforced by bands of Indians and mounted rangers. The Indians mostly came from the Shawnee towns south of the Sandusky Plains, and the white soldiers from Detroit, De Peyster, the British commandant at that place having dispatched Butler's Rangers, and some "Lake Indians" to help repel the invaders. They came from Detroit by lake and river, bringing two field pieces and a mortar. When the astounding discovery was made that the enemy was receiving such reinforcements, Crawford at once called a council of war, at which it was decided not to attack the enemy so "superior in numbers" that night, as intended, but to prepare to retreat in good order soon after dark. Simon Girty was seen during the day by Lieut. Francis Dunlevy, and others, who knew him well. Dunlevy, who was stationed near the edge of the prairie to watch the movements of the enemy, often saw Girty, who appeared to be in a high state of excitement, riding back and forth on a white horse giving orders. Many of the vounteers thought Girty was in command. Our troops about 9 o'clock formed in proper order to begin the retreat, with Colonel Crawford at the head, and the wounded near the center. The enemy suspecting Crawford's object began firing, which resulted in much confusion among the volunteers. Some got separated from the main body and were shot and scalped, or captured, others reached home after many narrow escapes and much suffering; but upwards of three hundred remained together, pushing ahead, while resisting and fighting the pursuing Indians and British. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 6th, the enemy had become so daring and troublesome that the army in retreat decided to make a stand and fight for their lives. An encounter then took place near the Olentangy Creek, in what is now Whetstone township, Crawford County, called the battle of Olentangy, about five miles from the present site of Bucyrus, and six from Galion, in which the Americans were once more successful. It lasted about an hour, and our loss, says Lieutenant Rose, was "three killed and eight

wounded." During the battles and retreat Major Williamson and Lieutenant Rose were active, vigilant and invaluable. The real name of Crawford's brave and brilliant young aide-de-camp was not John Rose, but Gustave Henri De Rosenthal.

On the night of the 5th of June, as the army, somewhat panic stricken, was retreating from the Sandusky Plains, Colonel Crawford, then some distance from the field of action, not seeing his son John, son-in-law William Harrison, nephew William Crawford, or aide-de-camp Lieutenant Rose, called aloud for each, and continued to call till the troops in much confusion had got some distance ahead. Then seeing Doctor Knight, he begged him to remain with him, saying his horse had nearly given out, and that he could not keep up with the troops; he also condemned the precipitate and disorderly retreat, and the violation of orders in deserting the wounded. Failing, during the excitement and rout, to find his missing relatives, or Lieutenant Rose, for it was now quite dark, and the firing becoming very hot, Crawford, Knight, and two other soldiers finally concluded to start east. They afterwards fell in with Captain Biggs and Lieutenant Ashley. About 2 o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th, a number of Delaware Indians, whose camp was only a half mile distant, suddenly appeared before them, not twenty steps away. Doctor Knight and the others, getting behind trees were about to fire, when Crawford induced them not to do so. The other four were so fortunate as to escape, but "The Colonel and I," says Knight in his narrative, "were then taken to the Indian camp." Here they found nine other prisoners, among whom was John McKinley, formerly an officer in the 13th Virginia Regiment, and all were constantly watched, with little to eat, till Monday morning, the 10th of June, when in charge of seventeen Delawares, they all started as they were informed, to Upper Sandusky—the Half King's town, thirty-three miles hence. At the Half King's town, Colonel Crawford had an interview with the notorious Simon Girty, whom he had long known, and begged him to save his life, offering him a thousand dollars. Girty promised to exert all his influence to save him, with probably no intention whatever of doing it. He also informed him that his son-in-law and nephew had been captured by the Shawnees, but afterwards pardoned This was false, for the guide John Slover, who was captured, said after his escape, that he saw the dead bodies of William Harrison and William Crawford at Wapatomica, as they lay black, bloody

and mangled. Slover recognized the faces of both. Girty was born in Pennsylvania, and the Colonel had known him before his desertion. Tom Jelloway, one of the so-called Christian Indians, who understood English, overheard the conversation between Crawford and Girty, which he was careful to repeat to the hostile Delaware chiefs, Captain Pipe and Wingenund. Crawford's offer of money is said to have incensed these chiefs, and fixed their determination to torture him to death. On the morning of the 11th, Crawford, as well as Captain Pipe and Wingenund, arrived at Upper Sandusky Old Town, where Knight and the other nine prisoners had spent the night. Thereupon Captain Pipe, having painted black with his own hand all the prisoners, including Crawford and Knight, started with them on the trail leading to the village of the Wyandots. They had not traveled far till four of the prisoners were tomahawked and scalped. Captain Pipe and Crawford were well acquainted, having frequently met, and on the 17th of September, 1778, both signed a treaty of peace at Fort Pitt, between the Delawares and the United States. On the march, Crawford and Knight, who walked between The Pipe and Wingenund, were carefully guarded. The crafty Pipe told the colonel he was glad to see him, and that he should be adopted as an Indian when they met his friends, meaning the prisoners, at the Wyandot village. After reaching the famous springs where Upper Sandusky now stands, and they changed their course for the Delaware town on the Tymochtee, Crawford and Knight lost hope, and felt that their doom was sealed. When the Little Tymochtee was reached, the Indians caused Crawford and Knight, and the remaining five prisoners, to sit down on the ground, whereupon "a number of squaws and boys fell on the five prisoners and tomahawked them all." An old squaw cut off the head of John McKinley, and kicked it about upon the ground. The young Indian fiends often came to where Crawford and Knight were sitting, and dashed the reeking scalps in their faces. At the end of these dreadful and barbarous scenes, Crawford and Knight were told to move on. They were then in what is now Crawford township, Wyandot County, and soon met Simon Girty and some Indians on horseback. Well knowing Crawford's dreadful doom, they had come from the Half King's town to witness the holocaust. Riding up to Crawford, Girty spoke to him, but said nothing of the determination the two chiefs had come to. Girty now saw the chiefs for the first time since he had given

Crawford his promise, but made no effort to save him, nor is it at all likely he could have saved him. These two war chiefs were not only in close alliance with the British, and determined enemies of the Americans, but as Delaware Indians, loved to inflict cruel tortures, and to witness human suffering and agony. As to what took place after Crawford's capture, we have ample testimony, for Doctor Knight, his fellow captive, whose escape was marvelous, was present nearly all the time.

As the party moved along toward the Tymochtee, almost every Indian the prisoners met, struck them with their fists or with sticks. Girty, waiting until Knight came along, asked, "Is that the doctor?" Knight told him who he was, and went toward him reaching out his hand, but Girty, calling him a damned rascal, told him to begone.

A fire was started on the 11th of June, on the east bank of the Tymochtee, near this grove and about three-quarters of a mile from the Delaware village. Ordinary prisoners were tomahawked without much ado; but Crawford, the "Big Captain," was reserved for a death more terrible; exceeding in fiendish, ferocious, devilish cruelty, and barbarity, anything recorded in savage annals. Around the fire stood a crowd of Indians, thirty or forty men, and sixty or seventy squaws and boys. Simon Girty was present, along with some Wyandot Indians; also Captain Elliott; and Knight thought another British captain was there. Sammy Wells, the captive negro boy well known to the early settlers on the Sandusky Plains, was present holding Girty's horse. Doctor Knight was a short distance from the fire, strongly bound, and guarded by an Indian named Tutelu. Christian Fast, a captive boy of seventeen, a native of Westmoreland, and known to Crawford, was in the crowd. Crawford was stripped naked and ordered to sit down. The Indians then beat him with sticks and their fists, and Knight was treated in the same way. The fatal stake—a post about fifteen feet high—had been set firmly in the ground. Crawford's hands were bound behind his back, and a rope fastened—one end to the foot of the post, and the other to the ligatures between his wrists. The rope was long enough for him to sit down, or walk around the post once or twice and return the same way. Crawford then called to Girty, and asked him if they intended to burn him. Girty answered "Yes." He then replied he would take it all patiently. Upon this Captain Pipe made a speech to the Indians, who at its conclusion yelled a hid-

eous and hearty assent to what had been said. The spot where Crawford was now to be tortured and burnt, marked by a monument to commemorate his memory, is within the limits of Crawford township, as it is defined today, as nearly every one is aware, a short distance northeast of the town of Crawfordsville, in Wyandot County, Ohio, "On a low bottom on the east bank of the Tymochtee Creek." It was here at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Tuesday, June 11, 1782, the frightful torture and orgies commenced. The Indian men took up their guns, and shot powder into the colonel's body from his feet as far up as his neck. Not less than seventy loads were discharged upon his naked body. They then crowded about him, and to the best of Knight's belief, cut off both his ears; for when the Indians drew back, he saw the blood running from both sides of his head. The fire was about six or seven yards from the post to which Crawford was tied. It was made of small hickory poles, burnt quite through the middle, each end of the poles remaining about six feet in length. Three or four Indians at a time would each take up one of the burning poles, and apply the burning ends to his naked body already burnt black with gunpowder. These red devils stood on every side of the old soldier, and met him with their burning fagots, whichever way he moved, or ran round the post. Some of the squaws, with broad boards or wooden shovels, would scoop up quantities of live coals, or hot embers and cast them on him; so that in a short time he had nothing but coals of fire or hot ashes to walk on! In the midst of these excruciating tortures, Crawford called to Girty, and begged him to shoot him; the brutal white savage making no answer, he called again. Girty then, by way of derision told Crawford he had no gun; at the same time turning about to an Indian who was behind him, he laughed heartily, and by all his actions and gestures, seemed delighted at the horrid scene. Girty then came up to Knight, and bade him prepare for death, and swore a fearful oath that he need not expect to escape, but should be burnt at the Shawnees town, and suffer death in all its extremities. Girty continued talking, but Knight was in too great anguish and distress on account of the torments Crawford was suffering before his eyes, as well as the expectation of undergoing the same fate himself in two days, to make any answer to the monster.

Crawford at this period of his suffering, besought the Almighty to have mercy on his soul, spoke very low, and bore his

torments with the most manly fortitude. He continued in all the extremities of pain, for an hour and three-quarters or two hours longer, as near as Knight could judge; when at last being almost spent, to lay down upon his stomach. The savages then scalped him, and repeatedly threw the scalp into the face of Knight, saying "he is your great captain." An old squaw, whose appearance Knight thought every way answered the ideas people entertain of the devil, then got a board, took a parcel of coals and ashes, and laid them on Crawford's back and head. He then raised himself upon his feet and began to walk around the post. They next put burning sticks to him as usual; but he seemed more insensible of pain than before. At this point Knight, expecting soon to suffer in the same way himself, was dragged away from the dreadful scene. Doctor Knight escaped from Tutelu, the Indian having charge of him, Thursday morning, the 13th of June, 1782. Having wandered alone in the wilderness three weeks, Doctor Knight safely arrived at Fort Pitt on the morning of July 4th, 1782, at 7 o'clock, weak, fatigued, and in a sad plight.

When it became known in the Indian villages that Colonel Crawford had suffered such extreme torture, there was great joy, yelling and shouting; but when the story of his shocking death was told along the border, and repeated in army circles, and wherever his name was known, sorrow and grief were on every countenance.

The returning volunteers, at the head of whom was Major Williamson, without much further annoyance reached Mingo Bottom, and crossed the Ohio the 13th of June; they were discharged the 14th, and thus a memorable campaign lasting twenty days came to an end. John, the beloved son of Colonel Crawford, reached home about the same time.

When the heartrending intelligence flashed upon the land, Washington, deeply moved, wrote these words: "It is with the greatest sorrow and concern that I have learned the melancholy tidings of Colonel Crawford's death. He was known to me as an officer of much care and prudence; brave, experienced and active. The manner of his death was shocking to me, and I have this day communicated to the Congress such papers as I have regarding it." Writing to General Irvine, at Fort Pitt, on the 6th of August, he said: "I lament the failure of the expedition against Sandusky, and am particularly affected with the disastrous death of Colonel Crawford."

From other sources are made the following notations: Captain Caldwell in command of the British and Indians, who was shot through both legs evidently in the second engagement, writing from Lower Sandusky (Fremont) to Major De Peyster at Detroit June 11, 1782 extravagantly puts Crawford's loss at 250 and that there were six hundred Americans under Crawford. Caldwell put his own loss at one ranger killed "myself and two wounded. Le Vellier the interpreter killed and four Indians killed and eight wounded." Of course his loss was much greater. The British Rangers in the engagement were sent from Detroit across the head of Lake Erie and up the Sandusky River to the falls at Lower Sandusky in a vessel called the *Faith*, much used in the Detroit Sandusky trade.

SITE OF OLENTANGY BATTLEFIELD,
CRAWFORD COUNTY

CHAPTER XXVIII

CLOSE OF REVOLUTION IN THE EAST

WESTERN EVENTS DURING THE PERIOD—BATTLE OF THE BLUE LICKS—CLARK'S SECOND INVASION OF OHIO—SECOND SIEGE OF FORT HENRY—GREAT COUNCIL AT DETROIT—AMERICANS TREAT WITH INDIANS—FORT HARMAR BUILT—AMERICANS PLAN SURVEYS WHILE BRITISH STILL HOLD LAKE POSTS.

It is unnecessary to review the closing events of the Revolutionary war on the Atlantic coast in detail. Shetrone in his story of "The Indian in Ohio," sketches the situation at this period so well, including the battle of the Blue Licks, Colonel George Rogers Clark's last strike into the Ohio region and the second siege of Fort Henry by the British and Indians, that the same is appended nearly verbatim:

"Following the surrender of Cornwallis there was a general cessation of fighting between the armies proper, hostilities being confined to the southern and western frontiers. Communication and transportation, in so vast a territory without modern utilities, such as railroads, the telegraph and even highways, were necessarily slow and uncertain, and under such conditions much time was required to bring an end to so gigantic a conflict. Preliminary peace terms between England and the new-born American republic were agreed upon at Versailles, in November, 1782. In April of 1783, Washington disbanded his army of Continentals; the final peace was ratified in September following, and late in November all British troops embarked from New York for England.

"But the last-named event did not serve entirely to put the Atlantic ocean between the American republic and the 'mother Country;' for by the terms of the treaty, England retained her possessions in Canada. Notwithstanding the provisions of the treaty for the withdrawal of garrisons from all posts in American territory, the British were reluctant to relinquish possession, with the result that such important posts as Fort Niagara, Fort Detroit, and posts at the mouths of the Sandusky and the Maumee rivers, continued in British possession until 1796. With the object of protecting their extensive and lucrative fur trade and in the

belief that the American Republic would prove a failure, the British inaugurated a policy of instigating Indian hostility against the western settlements, which was to involve the Ohio country in more or less serious conflict for a dozen years to come, and which, in fact ended only with the War of 1812.

"The British excitation of the Indians against the Americans was conducted, as previously, mainly from Detroit. The tribes of Ohio as we have seen, were strongly attached to the British, and following the unsuccessful raid of Colonel Crawford against the Sandusky towns, their elation and confidence knew no bounds. Scarcely had Crawford's defeated command returned across the Ohio than the warriors were clamoring for further victories over the settlers. Detroit and the Indian towns upon the Sandusky and Mad rivers became veritable bee-hives of hostile activity. The designs of the British-Indian allies embraced the settlers both of the Pennsylvania-Virginia border and those of Kentucky to the southward.

"Under leadership of Simon Girty and Matthew Elliott, one of the largest Indian armies ever assembled in Ohio was brought together at Wapatomika, at the source of the Mad River, in Logan County. The warriors, eleven hundred strong, comprised the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnee, Mingoes, Ottawas and others. At the suggestion of Captain Snake, of the Shawnees, it was decided to direct the first of a series of raids against Fort Henry, at the site of Wheeling. De Peyster accordingly despatched a company of Rangers under Capt. Andrew Bradt, and these together with the force under Captain Caldwell, fresh from their participation in the rout of Crawford's command, joined with the Indian forces. But at this point reports to the effect that the Kentuckians, under George Rogers Clark, were advancing against the Ohio towns led the assembled army to change their plans, and accordingly they marched southward to meet and intercept Clark's supposed raid. But the expected Kentuckians failed to appear; and disappointed, many of the warriors abandoned the campaign and returned to their towns.

"With the remaining force, consisting of 300 Indians and sixty white rangers, Captain Caldwell in August proceeded to the Ohio and crossing into Kentucky laid siege to Bryant's station. The stockade, however, was so stubbornly defended by the Kentuckians, among whom was Daniel Boone, that the siege was abandoned and Caldwell led his men back across the Ohio. The following day the Kentuckians, learning of the attack gathered

from far and near, and prepared to pursue the Indians into their own country. They came up with the enemy at the Blue Licks on Licking River, and disregarding the advice of Daniel Boone, impetuously charged directly into an ambuscade prepared for them by the Indians. The slaughter which followed was terrific, and the battle one of the bloodiest fought on Kentucky soil. One hundred of the Kentuckians were killed or captured, among them being Boone's son, Israel Boone. Hilarious over their success, the Indians and Rangers returned to Wapatomika and Sandusky.

"But the spirited Kentuckians, typical frontiersmen that they were, refused to acknowledge themselves defeated or even humbled. They were made of sterner stuff, and the incursion of Caldwell and his warriors only served to rouse them to a keener realization of the necessity for checking the onslaughts of the Indians, which threatened the very existence of their settlements. No sooner had Caldwell departed the scene of his Blue Licks victory than volunteers began to assemble from all parts of the Kentucky country with the avowed determination of avenging the catastrophe and of striking a blow that once for all would convince the Ohio tribesmen that the country across the Ohio was anything but a promising field for pillage, plunder and conquest. Leadership of this supreme effort naturally fell upon George Rogers Clark, and the man who had inaugurated the first formidable blow at British dominance in the northwest, was now successfully to strike the final blow which would end forever the Indian forays against the Kentucky settlements.

"By the last of October, 1782, volunteers to the number of more than one thousand mounted men had assembled at the mouth of the Licking River, opposite Cincinnati, and placed themselves under the command of Colonel Clark. The army, well equipped and provisioned, proceeded up the Miami River and early in November reached the Indian towns about the headwaters of that stream. At Lower Piqua, Clark found 'a peaceful people' whom he did not molest. Proceeding to Upper Piqua, he destroyed an Indian fort and proceeded thence to Loramie trading post, Loramies Creek, headwaters of the Great Miami on the portage between the Miami and Lake Erie, which shared a similar fate. This post, presided over by one Pierre Loramie, a Frenchman, was an important center of trade between the British and the Indians.

"Ineffectual efforts were made by Clark to draw the Shawnee and their allies into battle, but the Indians, although urged on

by the renegade white leaders, were too well acquainted with Clark's prowess and too deeply awed by the size of his army to risk an engagement. After burning the property and cabins of the Indian towns and destroying their supplies of corn and provisions, the Kentuckians marched triumphantly back to their settlements, fully vindicated, and, as time proved, having inflicted a lesson which would preclude further forays against their towns.

"Having chastised the Kentuckians at Blue Licks, the allies (Indians and British) began preparations for the deferred raid upon Fort Henry. Captain Bradt and his company of rangers and 200 Indians arrived at Fort Henry early in September, and began one of the most spectacular and historic sieges of the war. Fort Henry, at this time, was in command of Col. Ebenezer Zane, and was garrisoned by eighteen men, besides the families of the same, making in all some forty or fifty persons, men, women and children. Before the departure of Bradt and his command from Wapatomika, De Peyster, having been informed of the ending of hostilities, had despatched a courier into the Ohio country bearing instructions that further attacks against the frontiersmen should cease. The courier, however, arrived too late to intercept Bradt, who, appearing before Fort Henry with the British flag flying at the head of his troops, demanded its surrender in the name of the King of England. For two days and two nights the siege of the stockade continued with a fury perhaps never equalled in Indian warfare. The attackers stormed the fort from every conceivable angle and with reckless abandon. They attempted to set fire to the palisades, and to shoot flaming arrows and firebrands onto the roof, while the unremitting crack of musketry found every crack and crevice in the walls of the stockage. The little garrison, in which the women played a spectacular part, returned the fire with a will, and met every attempt on the part of the attackers with equal courage and effect. (The heroine of the day concerns the oft told story of Betty Zane). Despairing of success, the Bradt party finally withdrew and returned to their towns.

"The siege of Fort Henry greatly aroused the frontiersmen, particularly the border settlers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Through the joint action of Congress and the Pennsylvania council, a general campaign against the hostile Indians was planned. This plan proposed three separate expeditions, one of which was to operate from Fort Pitt, under General Irvine, against the Ohio tribes on the Sandusky. However, plans for these campaigns were countermanded by General Washington following

a manifesto issued by General Carleton, commander of the British forces in America, ordering a cessation of Indian incursions against the Americans. But, although Carleton's order put an end for the time being to British instigation and aid of Indian depredations, the Ohio tribesmen, on their own incentive, continued to molest the border settlers of Pennsylvania.

"In order to end these forays, Congress, at the suggestion of the Pennsylvania Council, in June, 1783, sent Maj. Ephraim Douglass with a message to the Sandusky towns. This message delivered by Douglas under a flag of truce, was to the effect that, since the war was terminated and the British had ceded to the United States 'the back country,' together with all forts therein, the Indians must discontinue their hostile demonstrations against the Americans, or be exterminated by the American armies. Douglass and his companion, Capt. George Cully, were hospitably received at Sandusky by the Wyandots, under Dunquod, the Half-King; the Delawares, under Captain Pipe and Wingenund, and by the Shawnee. From Sandusky the emissaries and the Indians proceeded to Detroit, where with De Peyster's coöperation a great Indian council was held. Besides the Ohio tribes, there were present representatives of the Indians of the lake region as well as those from farther west and north. Douglass impressed upon the assembled chiefs the fact that the war was over, and the necessity that the Indians conduct themselves accordingly, or suffer the consequences.

Up to this point, the enmity of the Ohio Indian has been directed against the white man, non-resident of his territory; for through all the years of threatened occupation of his land, he had succeeded in retaining it intact. From this time forward, however, the situation is to assume a very different aspect. The long-repelled occupation of the Ohio country by Americans finally gains a foothold in Ohio, and henceforth the stand of the Indian against the enemy, is to be mainly on his own soil."

With the Revolution in the east at an end and American Independence in theory achieved, the time had arrived when the status of the great country lying north and west of the Ohio must be defined. This Northwest territory, embracing what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, and ceded to the United States by England, was subject to charter claims on the part of the states of Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. By a provision of the Articles of Confederation, which united the several states as a commonwealth,

the northwest territory was to be 'disposed of for the common benefit of all the states, and the territory when ceded (by the claimant states) should be divided into new states and admitted into the Union as confederated states on equal footing with the original thirteen.' One by one, though reluctantly, the several states waived their claims to the territory in question, and by the first of June, 1786, the Northwest territory had become 'The public domain of the confederated states.' Virginia ceded her rights to the United States March 1, 1784; Massachusetts released her claims April 19, 1785, and fully in May, 1800; Connecticut on September 14, 1786, excepting the Western Reserve. New York had given up her claims in 1781.

"While these results were pending, and in anticipation thereof, Congress took action looking to the extinguishment of the Indian titles to the Northwest Territory. A conference was called to meet at Fort Stanwix, N. Y., in October, 1784, at which a treaty was entered into with the Iroquois, in which the latter waived all claim to the territory north and west of the Ohio. It will be recalled that the Iroquois, since their great conquest of the western country, had held a proprietary claim thereto, and had continued to look upon the actual Indian inhabitants of that country merely as tenants under suffrage. But the Ohio tribes took a different view of the matter. They strongly maintained that the territory belonged to them alone, and denied the right of the Six Nations to make cession of their lands to the Americans. Thus, while the claims of the several states were in a fair way to be extinguished and the Iroquois already had waived proprietorship, the task of securing clear title to the Ohio country was but half finished. For the purpose of an attempted settlement with these Ohio tribes, who had not been represented at Fort Stanwix and who were highly angered at the proceedings of that conference, a meeting was called at Fort McIntosh, in January, 1785. George Rogers Clark, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee were the U. S. commissioners. At this meeting a treaty was effected with the Delawares, Wyandots and Ottawas, in which these tribes agreed to confine themselves to certain sections of central-northern Ohio. The limits were the Maumee and Cuyahoga rivers and from Lake Erie to practically the later Greenville treaty line. This McIntosh treaty is spoken of in the early chapter on Indian treaties. A year later, at the mouth of the Great Miami, the Shawnee entered into a perfunctory agreement by which they were to occupy land mainly between the Great Miami

and the Wabash rivers. Neither the Fort McIntosh nor the Shawnee treaty was effective, however, for the tribesmen, on the ground that no treaty was binding which was made without the consent of all the Ohio tribes, soon entirely ignored or disregarded them.

"However, Congress proceeded with plans for surveying the lands ceded by the Iroquois, and in order to facilitate the work a stockade, known as Fort Harmar, was established late in 1785 at the mouth of the Muskingum River. This fort was garrisoned by Maj. John Doughty and a detachment of troops, and under its protection the work of laying off the land now comprised in southeastern Ohio was begun."

After the Treaty of Paris another authority puts it this way: The British then began to experience the embarrassment of their desired relations to the Indians—to wit, the difficulties in retaining their influence with them while lessening the expenditures on their behalf. (In fact neither side had much use for the savage when they could not use them as allies). Colonel De Peyster reported from Detroit to British Governor Haldimand's secretary, June 18, 1783, before the arrival of the American Ambassador Douglass, that "We are all in expectation of news. Everything that is bad is spread through the Indian country, but as I have nothing more than the King's proclamation for authority I evade answering questions. Heavens! if goods do not arrive soon what will become of me. I have lost several stone in weight of flesh within these twenty days. I hope Sir John (Johnson British superintendent of Indian affairs) is to make us a visit."

This authority further says that "Agent Ephraim Douglass reported February 2nd, 1784, that early in the fall of 1783, Sir John Johnson assembled the different western tribes of Indians at Sandusky (American territory) and having prepared them with lavish distribution of presents addressed them in a speech to this purport, Simon Girty being the interpreter, viz: 'That the King, his and their common father, had made peace with the Americans, and had given them the land possessed by the British on this continent; but that the report of his having given them any part of the Indian lands was false, and fabricated by the Americans for the purpose of provoking the Indians against their father; that they should, therefore, shut their ears against it. So far the contrary was proved, that the great river Ohio was to be the line between the Indians in this quarter and the Americans, over which the latter ought not to pass and return in safety!' "

Congress to prevent complications and disturbances had in 1783 forbidden the purchase of lands from the Indians by individuals or companies. Regarding the situation at this time, Slocum in his "History of the Maumee Basin" says: "The impartial and unreserved historian must attribute a large proportion of the trouble the United States has had with the savages, including their many savage butcheries, to the perfidy and arrogant meddlesomeness of the British from the first. They were repeatedly importuned to withdraw from this territory according to the terms of the Treaty of Paris, and to let the savages in American territory alone. President Washington sent Baron von Steuben of the United States Army to Governor Haldimand 12th July, 1783, to ask that orders be issued for the withdrawal of British troops from Detroit and other posts in American territory whence they persisted in dominating the savages throughout Ohio and the southwest. The request was refused and statements made that the treaty was provisional, and that no orders had been received to surrender the posts. Gov. George Clinton of New York was refused the surrender of Fort Niagara May 10, 1784. Another unsuccessful demand was made for their surrender July 12, 1784, through the then Lieut.-Col. William Hull." As has been referred to and will be shown again, later, the British continued to hold the posts of Detroit, Michilimackinac, Niagara and Oswego until 1796; and in 1794, they built Fort Miami on the lower Maumee River by reason of which as will further appear, they frustrated peace in the Northwest Territory and caused the loss of hundreds of American lives.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY

INDIAN TREATIES—OHIO COUNTRY LAND SURVEYS—BRITISH STILL ATTEMPT AMERICAN DISRUPTION—ORDINANCE OF 1787—OHIO COMPANY OF ASSOCIATES—SETTLEMENT AT MARIETTA—OFFICERS OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY—FORT WASHINGTON ESTABLISHED.

While the several states were relinquishing to the United States their claims upon this vast territory of the Northwest and the authorities were making treaties with the Indians for its possession, American leaders were before Congress with various propositions for a form of Government therefor.

On May 20th, 1785, Congress passed an ordinance for a survey and the disposition of that part of the territory purchased from the Indians at the treaties of Fort Stanwix and Fort McIntosh. A surveyor was appointed for each state interested, who were under the control of Thomas Hutchins, geographer of the United States, and who was the engineer of the Colonel Bouquet Ohio expedition of 1764.

The plan was to survey the lands into townships of six miles square by lines running north and south and east and west; and each township was to be divided into sections one mile square, making thirty-six sections to a township. The north and south lines six miles apart dividing the townships were called "ranges" and the east and west lines the same distance apart were called "township" lines. Section sixteen of each township was set apart for school revenues and the other lands sold for not less than one dollar per acre and the cost of surveying. Congress later, however, sold large tracts at a much lower price. The first survey was started at the point where the western boundary of Pennsylvania intersects the north bank of the Ohio River. A line run due west from this point was known as the geographers base line.

So far as northwestern Ohio is concerned, in this state's survey later, the 41st parallel of latitude running east from the Indiana line and dividing Paulding and Van Wert counties was established and surveyed as the base line by Sylvanus Bourne in May, 1819. The six miles in width strips north from this line are designated as "townships" one, two, three, four, north, etc.

The boundary line between Ohio and Indiana was taken as the meridian and the "ranges" also in six mile strips are numbered east and west from this Ohio-Indiana boundary line—thus, range one, two, three and four east or west, etc. From various reservations and local land appropriations, many other terms are used in describing land locations in the Maumee and Sandusky regions.

Noting the settlement preparations the British continued to aid and abet many schemes to embarrass the progress of the new and struggling Republic, "to deprive it of its rights and even disrupt it altogether." Doctor John Connolly, the noted Virginia loyalist and who was a British subject and resident of Canada, in his activities in the years 1787-88 and 89, traversed the Maumee River between Detroit and Kentucky in his efforts to turn the Kentuckians against the states in the east and to make an alliance with the British for the purpose of capturing the Spanish lands on the Mississippi, and by gaining control of the Mississippi basin, possibly form a separate government. It was charged that Doctor Connolly in this work was a direct emissary from Lord Dorchester, then governor of Canada. Even Gen. James Wilkinson, who succeeded Wayne in the American Western command, was not free of the suspicion of encouraging the secession of Kentucky from the United States. Detroit's defenses were strengthened and Benedict Arnold in June, 1790, was reported as visiting Detroit and inspecting the British troops. President Washington, cognizant of the British military preparations, took official notice of the fact.

However, the background for this western settlement had long been in preparation. From 1776 up to the peace of 1783, Congress had made pledges of bounty lands to members of the Continental Army. Until the surrender of the various state claims and Indian rights, the government had no land to give or dispose of. As far back as in June, 1783, at Newberg, Washington's headquarters, "nearly three hundred officers of the Continental line" who were leaving the service in adverse financial condition, petitioned Congress to "work out a district between Lake Erie and the Ohio River as the seat of a new colony." Randall calls attention to the fact that the prime mover in this petition was Rufus Putnam, but nothing then came of the project.

It is not within the province of this story to go into all the details of the various proposals for the formation of a government for the territory, but Theodore Bland with the support of Alexander Hamilton, put such a proposition before Congress at

nearly the same time that did the Continental army officers, and a committee headed by Thomas Jefferson appointed by Congress, on March 1, 1784, "the very day" Virginia ceded her claims, reported what was known as the Jefferson Ordinance. This document provided for the division into seventeen states of all the public territory east of the Mississippi, between latitudes thirty-one and forty-seven degrees north. Ten of these states were to be north of the Ohio River and were to be named Sylvania, Michigania, Cherronesus, Assenisipia, Metropotamia, Illinoia, Saratoga, Washington, Polypotamia and Pelisipia.

These states were to forever remain a part of the United States and slavery should cease therein after 1800. Randall observed that the only persons dwelling in the vast domain to be so divided, at this time "were about three thousand Louisiana French, mostly on the lower Mississippi, and the scattering French settlers in the northwest among whom were a few slaves." The settlers in the French towns in the territory taken by George Rogers Clark, claimed after the Revolution to be American citizens.

There, of course, were many other provisions in the ordinance. After some modification, it was passed by Congress April 23, 1784, and was practically in effect until the passage, July 13, of the later and now famous Ordinance of 1787; three other ordinance drafts in the meantime were considered.

Next to the Constitution of the United States, which was being considered in the Constitutional Convention at the same time, the Ordinance is perhaps the most noted document in American history, and had the attention of many able minds. Daniel Webster declared that—"We are accustomed to praise the law-givers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus, but I doubt whether one single law of any law-giver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787." Manasseh Cutler was one of the chief characters at least in securing its passage and figures in its results prominently later.

The lands therein, known as the Northwest Territory, embraced the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin and practically the part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi. The officers were a governor appointed by Congress for a term of three years; a secretary to hold his office four years; a court consisting of three judges to hold their office during their good behavior and to have a common law jurisdiction. The gov-

ernor and judges were to specify criminal and civil laws to be in force until the organization of a General Assembly and passages by this body of other laws. The governor was also designated as the commander-in-chief of the militia, was empowered to commission all officers below the grade of general, was also clothed with authority to lay out the lands, where Indian titles had been extinguished, into temporary counties and townships, with the power to appoint the civil officers for these divisions.

On October 5, 1787, to assume their duties February 1st, 1788, the following officers were selected by Congress: Governor, Maj.-Gen. Arthur St. Clair; Secretary, Winthrop Sargent; Judges, Samuel H. Parsons, James M. Varnum and John Armstrong. John Cleves Symmes was subsequently appointed to the place declined by Mr. Armstrong. It was estimated that within the year after the organization of the Territory, twenty thousand men, women and children from the eastern states came down the Ohio River to settle in Kentucky and within the new Territory.

The plan of survey of these western lands has already been noted. The first surveying party under Hutchins, of which Gen. Benjamin Tupper was a member, got no further west than Pittsburg. In the winter of 1785-1786 he returned to Massachusetts, but in June, 1786, came west again and the survey of the seven ranges was completed under his leadership. He had noted the topography of the section, fertility of the soil and the advantages of the watercourses. His observations as to the "promised lands in the west" were placed before the soldiers of the Revolution who had been impoverished by the war. Plans had already been discussed for the formation of a land company made up mostly of Revolutionary officers; one of the leading movers as has been stated being Rufus Putnam. Tupper circulated a glowing report of the Ohio country as he viewed it and after many conferences and town meetings, the famous new Ohio Company was projected at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern, Boston, Mass., March 1, 1786, and organized March 3rd with General Putnam president. Later, Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, Gen. Rufus Putnam and Rev. Manasseh Cutler were chosen directors, with Maj. Winthrop Sargent secretary and Col. Richard Platt treasurer of the company. Gen. James Varnum was later added to the list of directors.

Of course when the company was projected they had in mind the successful passage of the ordinance for establishing a government for the Northwest Territory. They could not utilize their land purchase until Congress passed the proper legislation for the

territorial organization. The same parties were interested in both propositions. In fact the "Ordinance of 1787 and the Ohio purchase were parts of one and the same transaction." The purchase would not have been made without the ordinance and Doctor Cutler was one of the prime factors in securing the passage of the ordinance by Congress, and it was he who made the contract for the purchase of the lands.

There were two contracts made with the government. One was by the Ohio Company for the purchase of a million and a half acres and another by private speculators, known as the Scioto Company, for the purchase of near three and a half million acres. Something less than one million acres, however, was secured to the Ohio Company and the failure of the Scioto Company does not belong to this story. The Ohio Company purchase was on the north side of the Ohio River and mostly west of the Muskingum, with a small portion east of the latter stream running north from where Marietta was established. The Scioto purchase was between the Ohio Company purchase and the Scioto River on the west, with the Ohio the southern boundary.

Arriving from different points in the east and starting on different dates this western Mayflower Expedition, in a galley, flatboat and several canoes, left Sumrill's Ferry, now West Newton, Pennsylvania, April 2nd, 1788. Passing down the Ohio the flotilla landed at the mouth of the Muskingum April 7th about noon—forty-seven men under Gen. Rufus Putnam. The next morning the surveyors started to lay off the settlement lands into eight acre lots, tree felling and cabin raising began, and on July 2nd the town was named Marietta in honor of Marie Antionette "the Queen of that French king and nation who had helped these brave men in the times that tried men's souls.

"On the morning of the 9th of July the boom of a boat's gun awoke the echoes between the forest-lined banks of the broad Ohio, and soon a barge, hurried by the swift current and twelve stalwart watermen, turned into the Muskingum and swung up to the rude landing-place. The governor of the Northwest Territory had arrived at the capital. It was a great day for the new colony." The governor and judges began the promulgation of laws and there came the dawn of a new era. The laws declared operative, however, did not affect the Maumee and Sandusky country for many years, by reason of the Indians and British dominance.

While civilization was gaining a foothold on the southern borders of now Ohio the British were adding to their military

strength at Detroit. This latter renewal of activities and the apparent encroachment upon their domains on the Ohio had a disturbing effect upon the Indians and overtures of peace to them by the American government were without satisfactory results. To neutralize the savage restlessness, Congress on July 21, 1787, directed the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Northern Department, or General Josiah Harmar, to make a treaty with the Indians of the Wabash country, the Shawnees of the Upper Maumee section and of the Scioto; and to grant them such assurances as the dignity of the United States would permit. No satisfaction forthcoming, Governor St. Clair was instructed to investigate with great care the attitude of the Indians; remove the causes of trouble if possible and establish good will between the tribes and the government; regulate the Indian trade; take advantage of all opportunities to extinguish the Indians' land claims as far west as the Mississippi and northward to the completion of the forty-first degree north latitude; ascertain the names of the real head men and warriors of the various tribes and to use all possible means to attach these leaders to the interests of the United States. Lastly to frustrate and defeat all Indian combinations and confederations and conciliate the white frontiersmen towards these forest inhabitants.

One of Governor St. Clair's first acts was to create the county of Washington which comprised nearly all the eastern and southern portions of now Ohio.

On January 9th, 1789, Governor St. Clair after much effort, made a further treaty at Fort Harmar, mouth of the Muskingum opposite Marietta, with the Six Nations and the Chippewas, Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Sacs and Wyandots, confirming the boundary land claims of the Indians to be limited within the boundaries of the Cuyahoga and Maumee rivers and Lake Erie and north of a line extending from Fort Laurens to Loramies; practically later the Greenville Treaty line, with many reservations therein to the United States government. Trouble with the Wabash and Illinois Indians was still on and President Washington requested that war with them be avoided if possible, but authorized Governor St. Clair to call one thousand militiamen from Virginia and five hundred from Pennsylvania if necessary, to coöperate with Federal troops for the protection of the western interests of the Americans. Later in the fall of 1789, Major Doughty with a detachment of troops built a defense which General Harmar on his arrival soon after named Fort

Washington on the site of now Cincinnati. About January 1, 1790, Governor St. Clair and the territorial judges left Marietta for the western country going down the Ohio. Stopping at Fort Washington they established the county of Hamilton and changed the name of the settlement from Losantiville to Cincinnati. They arrived at Clarksville January 8th and reaching the Illinois section, they organized all the lands west of Hamilton County into St. Clair County.

Efforts were still continued among the Indians along the Maumee and Wabash rivers to bring about an understanding and while the older men of the less prominent tribes were seemingly for peace the younger warriors were reported as constantly encouraged by the British not to make terms. At the villages at the head of the Maumee (Fort Wayne) the Miamis, Delawares, Shawnees and Pottawatomies informed an American ambassador they could come to no terms without consulting the British commandant at Detroit. They promised within thirty days after the conference on the Maumee to send their answer to Major Hamtramck at Vincennes. Commissioner Gamielin failing of results at the head of the Maumee, on May 2nd, started for Vincennes, where it was reported that three days after his departure all the tribes had sent out war parties who were committing depredations and that even a white captive at the head of the Maumee had been roasted and eaten by the savages. In the situation the government decided upon action. Leaving the instructions of Congress relative to the lands and settlements along the Wabash in the hands of Secretary Winthrop Sargent, who thereupon organized the county of Knox, Governor St. Clair by the rivers route returned from Kaskaskia to Fort Washington. Here still further Indian depredations and raids were reported to the governor by General Harmar, who had in April that year (1790) made a demonstration against the Indians on the Scioto River. With one hundred regulars, supported by Gen. Charles Scott a veteran of the Revolution in command of two hundred and thirty Kentucky volunteers, Harmar "made a dash by a circuitous route" to the Upper Scioto and in the vicinity of Paint Creek, from where he marched down the Scioto to the Ohio with a view of chastising the savages. However, the Indians scattered before his little army and the expedition availed little, while a demonstration by Hamtramck on the Wabash had only slightly more favorable results.

CHAPTER XXX

CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL HARMAR

HIS ARMY A MOTLEY GATHERING—MARCHES NORTH FROM FORT WASHINGTON—REACHES HEAD OF MAUMEE RIVER—GLARING DISPLAY OF INEFFICIENCY OF OFFICERS AND MEN—HIS DEFEAT AT SITE OF PRESENT FORT WAYNE—RETREAT OF DISORGANIZED FORCES—HARMAR RESIGNS COMMAND—ELATION OF VICTORIOUS SAVAGES.

It was in the summer of 1790 that Congress authorized President Washington to call out the militia of Virginia, Western Pennsylvania and of Kentucky to assemble at Fort Washington by the 15th of September. The British at Detroit believed the movement of the American troops was to secure Detroit and other lake posts, but assurances were given to the contrary. The expedition under General Harmar was to be conducted against the Maumee Indian towns "the residence of all the renegade savages and from whence issued all the parties who infested the frontiers." Another object of Harmar was to "build by the Maumee one or more forts and to establish a connecting line of refuge posts for supplies and from which sorties could be made to intercept the savages."

Harmar's command consisted of 320 regulars, including an artillery company carrying three light brass cannon; 1,133 militia from Kentucky, including a battalion of mounted riflemen; and one battalion of infantry from Pennsylvania. Many of the Kentucky militia were without guns when they arrived at the fort and many guns they had needed repairing. The artificers were kept busy repairing the locks, stocks and barrels. The character of the troops was disheartening to the general, "one-half certainly served only to swell the number." The colonels disputed about the commands and there was much trouble in keeping the officers with their commands in proper order—all according to Major Denny's Military Journal and the account of Capt. John Armstrong, from whose reports this story is taken. The Pennsylvania contingent was little better.

On September 26th a detachment of the militia set out from Fort Washington, followed soon by the regulars. On October 3rd the advance forces encamped on the Little Miami River thirty-one

miles from Fort Washington and next day reached a branch of this stream ten miles farther north; on the sixth they made camp six miles north of Old Chillicothe and on the seventh reached Mad River. On the 10th they crossed the Great Miami and following that stream, on October 11, passed Loramies store 112 miles from their starting point; and on the 12th crossed a stream running to the northeast, about a mile at which was (James) Girty's home (trading post) on the St. Marys River, now St. Marys. On the sixteenth Colonel Hardin, who had been sent forward with a detachment, reached the Miami towns, junction of the St. Marys and St. Josephs rivers, head of the Maumee, and on the following day the main army arrived. The Indians had retreated and left behind some cows and large quantities of corn and vegetables. The militia here in parties of thirty or forty regardless of discipline, strolled about in search of plunder. Denny further said that there were "several tolerably good log houses in the village said to have been occupied by British traders, a few pretty good gardens with some fruit trees and vast fields of corn in every direction."

General Harmar, supposing that the Indians with their families and baggage had encamped at some point not far from these Miami Towns, determined to make an effort to discover the place of their encampment and to bring them to battle. Accordingly, on the morning of the 18th, he detached Colonel Trotter, Major Hall, Major Ray and Major McMullen, with a force of 300 men, of which thirty were regulars under Capt. John Armstrong; also forty of Major Fontaine's light horse and 230 active riflemen. The detachment was supplied with three days rations and ordered to examine the country around the Miami villages.

After these troops under the command of Colonel Trotter had moved about one mile from the encampment, says Captain Armstrong in his story, the light horsemen discovered, pursued, and killed an Indian on horseback. Before this party returned to the columns, a second Indian was discovered, when the four field officers left their commands and pursued the Indian—leaving the troops for the space of about half an hour without any directions whatever. The flight of the second Indian was intercepted by the light horsemen, who dispatched him after he had wounded one of their party. Colonel Trotter then changed the route of his detachment and marched in various directions until night, when he returned to the camp at the Miami village.

The return of Colonel Trotter to camp on the evening of the

18th was unexpected by General Harmar, and did not receive his approbation. Colonel Hardin asked for the command of the same detachment for the remaining two days (first allotted Trotter) and his request was granted. On the morning of the 19th the detachment under command of Colonel Hardin marched a northwest course on the Indian path which led towards the Kickapoo towns; and after passing a morass about five miles distant from the Miami village, the troops came to a place where, on the preceding day, a party of Indians had encamped. At this spot the detachment made a short halt, and the commanding officer stationed the companies at points several rods apart. After the lapse of about half an hour the companies in front were ordered to move on; and Captain Faulkner's company was left on the ground, the colonel having neglected to give him orders to march. The troops moved forward about three miles, when they discovered two Indians on foot, who threw off their packs and, the brush being thick, made their escape. About this time Colonel Hardin dispatched Major Fontaine with part of the cavalry in search of Captain Faulkner, supposing him to be lost; and soon afterwards Captain Armstrong, who commanded the regulars, informed Colonel Hardin that a gun had been fired in front which might be considered as an alarm gun, and that he had seen the tracks of a horse that had come down the road and returned. The colonel, however, moved on without giving any order or making any arrangements for an attack; and when Captain Armstrong discovered the fires of the Indians at a distance, and informed Colonel Hardin of the circumstance, that officer, saying that the Indians would not fight, rode in front of the advanced columns until the detachment was fired on from behind the fires. The militia, with the exception of nine who remained with the regulars and were killed, immediately gave way and commenced an irregular retreat, which they continued until they reached the main army. Hardin, who retreated with them, made several ineffectual attempts to rally them. The small band of regulars, obstinately brave, maintained their ground until twenty-two (of the thirty) were killed, whereupon Captain Armstrong, Ensign Hartshorne, and five or six privates, escaped from the carnage, eluded the pursuit of the Indians, and arrived at the camp of General Harmar. The number of Indians who were engaged on this occasion could not be ascertained. (There were about 150). They were led by a distinguished Miami chief whose name was Mish-e-ken-o-quoh, which signifies the Little Turtle.

The ground on which the action took place lies about eleven miles from Fort Wayne, and near the point at which the Goshen State Road crosses Eel River.

On the morning of the 19th the main body of the army under Harmar, having destroyed the Miami village, moved about two miles to a Shawnee village, which was called Chillicothe, where was published the following orders:

"Camp at Chillicothe, one of the Shawnee towns, on the Omee (Maumee) River, October 20th, 1790.

"The party under command of Captain Strong is ordered to burn and destroy every house and wigwam in this village, together with all corn, &c. which he can collect. A party of one hundred men (militia) properly officered, under the command of Colonel Hardin, is to burn and destroy effectually, this afternoon, the Pickaway town (of the Delawares by the River St. Mary) with all the corn, &c. which he can find in its vicinity.

"The cause of the detachment being worsted yesterday was entirely owing to the shameful cowardly conduct of the Militia who ran away and threw down their arms without firing scarcely a gun. In returning to Fort Washington, if any officer or man shall presume to quit the ranks, or not to march in the form that they are ordered, the General will most assuredly order the artillery to fire on them. He hopes the check they received yesterday will make them in the future obedient to orders.

"Josiah Harmar, Brig. General."

At 10 o'clock, A. M. on the 21st, the army moved from the ruins of the Chillicothe village, marched about seven miles on the route to Fort Washington, and encamped. The night being very clear, Colonel Hardin informed General Harmar that he thought it would be a good opportunity to steal a march on the Indians, as he had reason to believe that they had returned to the towns as soon as the army left them. Harmar did not seem willing to send a party back; but Hardin urged the matter, informing the general that, as he had been unfortunate the other day, he wished to have it in his power to pick the militia and try it again; and at the same time endeavored to account for the men's not fighting; and desired an opportunity to retrieve the credit of the militia. In order to satisfy the request of Hardin, and to give the Indians a check and thus prevent their harassing the army on its return to Fort Washington, General Harmar determined to send back a detachment of 400 men. Accordingly,

late in the night of the 21st, a corps of 340 militia, and sixty regular troops under the command of Major Wyllys, were detached, that they might gain the vicinity of the Miami village before day-break and surprise any Indians who might be found there. The detachment marched in three columns. The regular troops were in the center, at the head of which Capt. Joseph Ashton was posted, with Major Wyllys and Colonel Hardin in his front. The militia formed the columns to the right and left. Owing to some delay occasioned by the halting of the militia, the detachment did not reach the bank of the Maumee till some time after sunrise. The spies then discovered some Indians and reported to Major Wyllys, who halted the regular troops and moved the militia on some distance in front where he gave his orders and plan of attack to the several commanding officers of the corps. Major Wyllys reserved to himself the command of the regular troops. Major Hall with his battalion was directed to take a circuitous route around the bend of the Omee (Maumee) River, cross the Pickaway fork (the River St. Mary) and there, in the rear of the Indians, wait until the attack should be brought on by Major M'Mullen's battalion, Major Fontaine's cavalry, and the regular troops under Major Wyllys, who were all ordered to cross the Omee (Maumee) at and near the common fording place. After the attack commenced the troops were by no means to separate, but were to embody, or the battalions to support each other as circumstances required. From this disposition it appeared evident that it was the intention of Hardin and Wyllys to surround the Aborigine encampment; but Major Hall, who had gained his position undiscovered, disobeyed his orders by firing at a single Indian before the commencement of the action. Several small parties of Indians were soon seen running in different directions, and the militia under M'Mullen and the cavalry under Fontaine pursued them in disobedience to orders, and left Major Wyllys unsupported. The consequence was that the regulars, after crossing the Maumee, were attacked by a superior force of Indians and compelled to retreat with the loss of Major Wyllys and the greater part of their corps. Major Fontaine, at the head of the mounted militia, fell, with a number of his followers, in making a charge against a small party of Indians; and on his fall the remainder of his troops dispersed, leaving the federal troops unsupported to become an easy sacrifice to much the largest party of savages that had been seen that day. While the main body of the Indians, led by the Little Turtle, were en-

gaged with the regulars near the banks of the Maumee, some skirmishing took place near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary and St. Joseph, between detached parties of Indians and the militia under Hall and M'Mullen. After the defeat of the regulars, however, the militia retreated on the route to the main army; and the Indians having suffered a severe loss, did not pursue them.

About 11 o'clock A. M. a single horseman reached the camp of Harmar with news of the defeat of the detachment. The general immediately ordered Major Ray to march with his battalion to the assistance of the retreating parties; but so great was the panic which prevailed among the militia that only thirty men could be induced to leave the main army. With this small number Major Ray proceeded a short distance towards the scene of action, when he met Colonel Hardin on his retreat. On reaching the encampment of Harmar, Colonel Hardin requested the general to march back to the Miami village with the whole army; but Harmar said to him, "You see the situation of the army; we are now scarcely able to move our baggage; it would take up three days to go and return to this place; we have no more forage for our horses; the Indians have got a very good scourging; and I will keep the army in perfect readiness to receive them if they think proper to follow." The general at this time had lost all confidence in the militia. The bounds of the camp were made less and, at 8 o'clock in the morning of the 23rd of October, the army took up the line of march for Fort Washington and reached that place on the 4th of November, having lost in the expedition 183 killed and thirty-one wounded. Among the killed were Major Wyllys and Lieut. Ebenezer Frothingham of the regular troops; and Major Fontaine, Captains Thorp, M'Murtrey and Scott, Lieutenants Clark and Rogers, and Ensigns Bridges, Sweet, Higgins and Thielkeld, of the militia. The Indians, whose loss was about equal to that of ours, did not annoy the army after the action of the 22nd of October. Several of the missing, however, were evidently Kentucky militia deserters.

The account of General Harmar's expedition tells its own story of incompetency of the officers, and the striking lack of efficiency and discipline of the militia. Harmar was charged with incompetency and even drunkenness during his campaign. The latter charge was probably untrue, but in March, 1791, he was suspended as commander of the army and General St. Clair was

selected to take his place. Col. Richard Butler was advanced to a major-general and appointed second in command.

Had Harmar been a George Rogers Clark or a Wayne, with the regular troops showing the spirit they did, the campaign could have resulted in an unquestionable success. As it was, General Harmar requested a court of inquiry as to his conduct. President Washington granted his request. After considering the evidence, the court acquitted the general. The matter of his failure to build forts as ordered was passed over, although his command had been specially equipped for such a purpose. With a formidable fort built at the head of the Maumee and the vast acreage of corn and other products gathered there instead of being destroyed, and a cordon of communicating posts built towards Fort Washington, Harmar had the opportunity of placing his name in history as one of the successful commanders of the American frontier. In January, 1791, Harmar resigned his command, was made adjutant-general of Pennsylvania in 1793, and actually rendered good service to his country by furnishing troops for the campaign of General Wayne which followed.

The loss of the Indians in Harmar's defeat was reported through the British authorities as only about twenty, much below the actual facts as usual. As was their custom after a raid or a victory, the savages repaired to Detroit, where they celebrated by parading the grounds displaying aloft the scalps of their upper Maumee victims strung on long poles. The British, gratified with the success of their savage allies, furnished supplies and equipped them for further depredations. The Americans themselves, however, were not blameless in all cases in their conduct.

Just here it may be mentioned that Chief Little Turtle at the head of the Indians in the defeat of Harmar, had in one of his former Kentucky raids, captured a boy about eleven years of age named William Wells, who was or had been living with the Kentucky family of Nathaniel Pope. As the boy developed he won the favor and affection of Little Turtle and his squaw and was adopted as their son. They had a beautiful daughter so it is said named Waumaughapith, meaning Sweet Breeze, whom in due time young Wells married. Becoming a brave warrior, William was a prominent factor in the defeat of General Harmar and his story will come later. The union was evidently a happy one and descendants of Wells and his Miami spouse have long been identified with the early history of Maumee City on the lower Maumee, Fort Wayne and other valley points.

CHAPTER XXXI

CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL ST. CLAIR

MACHINATIONS OF THE BRITISH—BIG BOTTOM MASSACRE—EXPEDITION OF SCOTT AND WILKINSON—ST. CLAIR GATHERS FORCES—HIS ADVANCE NORTH FROM NEAR FORT WASHINGTON—SURPRISE ATTACK OF THE SAVAGES AT SITE OF LATER FORT RECOVERY—DEFEATED AMERICANS RETREAT IN DISORDER—PRESIDENT WASHINGTON ON ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—RESIGNATION OF ST. CLAIR.

It is an axiomatic law of nature that the incongruity between civilization and savagery could never be satisfactorily reconciled. The Indian could survive, or at least live in contentment, only in nature's environment—the woods and waters where game ran wild and the echo of the white man's ax among the hills and valleys was never heard. From the coming of Columbus and the landing of the Pilgrims the fateful story of the savage began to unfold. When civilization reached the western slope of the Allegheny barrier it was the opening chapter in the narrative of the savage decline in the Ohio country and the broad expanse of the West.

The instructions to Lord Dorchester, who was Guy Carleton before his elevation to the peerage, and when he became governor-general of Canada, upon his arrival at Quebec late in the year 1786, were, to "prevent if possible the Indians bringing on war with the Americans." Yet, if a student of history will read the policy pursued by this same Lord Dorchester, it will be found that at the period now being written about (1791) the tribes of the Northwest were, so far as possible, kept hostile to the new United States; while the latter government earnestly made the attempt for Indian conciliation. The failure of the success of this endeavor on the part of the American leaders, made it necessary to subdue the tribes of the Ohio region or drive them entirely from the valleys of the Maumee and Sandusky.

At the very opening of 1791 occurred one of the most bloody tragedies of the decade, known in history as the Big Bottom massacre. Above Marietta on the Muskingum, on January 2nd, twenty-five Delawares and Wyandots swooped down upon an uncompleted blockhouse and a couple of nearby cabins and out of

thirty-six members of this embryo white settlement, eleven men, one woman and two children were dispatched in a barbarous manner. Not satisfied, the savages made a pyre of the structures upon which they burned their victims.

What methods were to be used in subduing the savages without an open breach with the British was a problem. Randall puts the situation at this juncture as follows: "The wily go-between in the international sparring was Chief Joseph Brant, at that time undoubtedly the most influential warrior of his people. Great Britain and the United States eagerly competed for the friendship and services of the great Mohawk, who amidst it all moved mysteriously among the Six Nations, the Ohio tribes and the Canadian authorities. Without doubt he secretly hoped and intrigued for a new western Indian confederacy, with British support hostile to the Americans. Simon Girty likewise temporarily left his abiding place on the Canadian side of the Detroit River and mingled with the Ohio tribes, brooding mischief among the warriors by instigating them against the Americans.

"But Washington, undeceived and undaunted, decided there should be made without delay, martial incursions into the enemy's country, preliminary to an invasion of overwhelming magnitude. In May, Gen. Charles Scott, accompanied by Col. James Wilkinson, with a force of 800 mounted men, left the Ohio River at the mouth of the Kentucky and rapidly advanced to the Wea villages of the Wabash. Their tribal center Ouiatenon (Ouia was the French for Wea) and other towns in the vicinity were destroyed, the surrounding country laid waste and Indians killed and captured. Two months later (July) General Wilkinson commanding 550 mounted Kentuckians speedily proceeded from near Fort Washington to the Indian village Kenapacomaqua (L'Anguielle, French for eel) on the Eel River. The Indian inmates attempted flight by the river and five canoes were seized and all the savages with whom the boats were crowded were taken and killed. The towns and other villages of the Miamis and Kickapoos were wiped out, hundreds of acres of corn, chiefly in the milk, laid waste and considerable numbers of prisoners captured, among them the sons and sisters of the king of the Kickapoos. This expedition was conducted with such celerity and success as to draw forth a letter of thanks to Wilkinson from General Knox, secretary of war."

There was much delay in gathering the troops for General St. Clair's invasion of the Maumee region, much more formidable

than that of Harmar. The advance was not begun until September 17, 1791, when the start was made, again from the vicinity of Fort Washington, with a force of about 2,300 men, mostly regulars. On the west bank of the Great Miami River, within the present limits of Hamilton, Ohio, was constructed Fort Hamilton. Arriving six miles south of where is now Greenville, Ohio, on October 12, the construction of Fort Jefferson was begun. It was twelve days before the army again started on its march and progress was slow and tedious. The evening of November 3rd found the forces on the bank of the Wabash River, one-half mile east of the present Ohio-Indiana state line. During the night the pickets were continually annoyed by lurking Indians and the outposts in consequence did considerable firing. Reconnoitering by a detachment of troops made no important discoveries.

Early on the morning of the 4th, the Indians suddenly opened a furious attack on St. Clair's men who at the time numbered about 1,400 regulars and militia, with some eighty-six officers, The savages were of about equal strength, in command of Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Buckongaleas and others, including the renowned Brant. Tecumseh in the beginning of his career led a party of spies. Ebenezer Denny, adjutant, who was also with Harmar, again tells the story starting November 4, 1791, as follows:

"The troops paraded this morning at the usual time, and had been dismissed from the lines but a few minutes, the sun not yet up, when the woods in front rung with the yells and fire of the savages. The poor militia, who were but 300 yards in front, had scarcely time to return a shot—they fled into our camp. The troops were under arms in an instant, and a smart fire from the front line met the enemy. It was but a few minutes, however, until the men were engaged in every quarter. The enemy from the front filed off to the right and left, and completely surrounded the camp, killed and cut off nearly all the guards, and approached close to the lines. They advanced from one tree, log, or stump to another, under cover of the smoke of our fire. The artillery and musketry made a tremendous noise but did little execution. The Indians seemed to brave everything, and when fairly fixed around us they made no noise other than their fire which they kept up very constant and which seldom failed to tell, although scarcely heard.

"Our left flank, probably from the nature of the ground, gave way first; the enemy got possession of that part of the encamp-

ment but, it being pretty clear ground, they were too much exposed and were soon repulsed. I was at this time with the General (St. Clair) engaged toward the right; he was on foot (he had been sick some days) and led the party himself that drove the enemy and regained our ground on the left. The battalions in the rear charged several times and forced the savages from their shelter, but they always turned with the battalions and fired upon their back; indeed they seemed not to fear anything we could do. They could skip out of reach of the bayonet and return as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge.

"The ground was literally covered with the dead. The wounded were taken to the center, where it was thought most safe, and where a great many who had quit their posts unhurt had crowded together. The General, with other officers, endeavored to rally these men, and twice they were taken out to the lines. It appeared as if the officers had been singled out; a very great proportion fell, or were wounded and obliged to retire from the lines early in the action. General Butler was among the latter, as well as several other of the most experienced officers. The men, being thus left with few officers, became fearful, despaired of success, gave up the fight, and crowded in toward the center of the field, and no exertions could put them in any order even for defense; (they were) perfectly ungovernable. The enemy at length got possession of the artillery, though not until the officers were all killed but one and he badly wounded, and the men (gunners) almost all cut off, and not until the pieces were spiked.

"As our lines were deserted the Indians contracted theirs until their shot centered from all points, and now meeting with little opposition, took more deliberate aim and did great execution. Exposed to a cross fire, men and officers were seen falling in every direction; the distress, too, of the wounded made the scene such as can scarcely be conceived—a few minutes longer, and a retreat would have been impossible—the only hope left was, that perhaps the savages would be so taken up with the camp as not to follow. Delay was death; no preparation could be made; numbers of brave men must be left a sacrifice, there was no alternative. It was past 9 o'clock when repeated orders were given to charge toward the road. The action had continued between two and three hours. Both officers and men seemed confounded, incapable of doing anything; they could not move until it was told that a retreat was intended. A few officers put themselves in front, the men followed, the enemy gave way, and perhaps not

being aware of the design, we were for a few minutes left undisturbed. The stoutest and most active now took the lead, and those who were foremost in breaking the enemy's line were soon left behind.

"At the moment of the retreat one of the few horses saved had been procured for the General; he was on foot until then; I kept by him, and he delayed to see the rear. The enemy soon discovered the movement and pursued, though not more than four or five miles, and but few so far; they turned to share the spoil. Soon after the firing ceased I was directed to endeavor to gain the front and, if possible, to cause a short halt that the rear might get up. I had been on horseback from the first alarm, and well mounted; (therefore) pushed forward, but met with so many difficulties and interruptions from the people that I was two hours at least laboring to reach the front. With the assistance of two or three officers I caused a short halt; but the men grew impatient and would move on. I got Lieutenants Sedam and Morgan, with half a dozen stout men, to fill up the road and to move slowly; I halted, myself, until the General came up. By this time the remains of the army had got somewhat compact, but in the most miserably and defenseless state. The wounded who came off left their arms in the field, and one-half of the others threw theirs away on the retreat. The road for miles was covered with firelocks (flintlocks), cartridge boxes and regimentals. How fortunate that the pursuit was discontinued; a single Indian might have followed with safety upon either flank. Such a panic had seized the men that I believe it would not have been possible to have brought any of them to engage again.

"In the afternoon Lieutenant Kersey with a detachment of the first regiment met us. This regiment, the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army, had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia who informed Major Hamtramck, the commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements, and as we arrived in the evening, found him preparing again to meet us. Stragglers continued to come in for hours after we reached the fort.

"The remnant of the army, with the first regiment, were now at Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles from the field of action, without provisions, and the former without having eaten anything for twenty-four hours. A convoy was known to be upon the road, and within a day's march. The General determined to move with the First Regiment and all the levies (militia) able to march. Those of the wounded and others unable to go on were lodged as comfortably as possible within the fort. Accordingly we set out a little after ten and continued our route until within an hour of daylight, then halted and waited for day and until the rear came up. Moved on again about 9 o'clock; the morning of the 5th we met the convoy; stopped a sufficiency to subsist us to Fort Hamilton; sent the remainder on to Jefferson under an additional escort of a captain and sixty men; proceeded, and at the first water halted, partly cooked and eat for the first time since the night preceding the action. At 1 o'clock moved on, and continued our route until nine at night when we halted and made fires within fifteen miles of Fort Hamilton. Marched again just before day, the General soon after rode on to the fort. Troops reached (there) in the afternoon.

"November 7, 1791. Fort Hamilton command was ordered off with a small supply for the wounded, &c. About twelve same day continued our march, and halted before night within fifteen miles of Fort Washington, which place we reached the afternoon of the 8th.

"The prediction of (defeat by) General Harmar before the army set out on the campaign was founded upon his experience and particular knowledge of things. He saw of what material the bulk of the army was composed; men collected from the streets and prisons of the cities, hurried out into the enemy's country, and with the officers commanding them totally unacquainted with the business in which they were engaged, it was utterly impossible they could be otherwise (than routed). Besides, not any one department was sufficiently prepared; both quarter-master and the contractors extremely deficient. It was a matter of astonishment to him (General Harmar) that the commanding general (St. Clair), who was acknowledged to be perfectly competent, should think of hazarding with such people and under such circumstances, his reputation and life, and the lives of so many others, knowing too, as both did, the enemy with whom he was going to contend; an enemy brought up from infancy to war, and perhaps superior to an equal number of the

best men that could be taken against them. It is a truth, I had hopes that the noise and show which the army made on their march might possibly deter the enemy from attempting a serious and general attack. It was unfortunate that both the general officers were, and had been, disabled by sickness; in such situation it is possible that some essential matters might be overlooked. The Adjt.-Gen. Col. Winthrop Sargent, an old Revolutionary officer, was, however, constantly on the alert; he took upon himself the burden of everything, and a very serious and troublesome task he had. But one most important object was wanting, can't say neglected, but more might have been done toward obtaining it; this was a knowledge of the collected force and situation of the enemy; of this we were perfectly ignorant. Some few scouts out but to no great distance."

One feature of the expedition seems strange in these later years, the wives and women of the families of many of the soldiers were allowed to accompany the army most of the way. They of course were favored on the journey north, but several of them were slain by the Indians in the terrible rout. St Clair's loss was 593 privates killed and missing. Thirty-nine officers were killed including Maj.-Gen. Richard Butler, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, twelve captains, ten lieutenants, eight ensigns, two quartermasters, one adjutant and the surgeon. Thirty-one officers and 252 privates were wounded. The artillery, supplies, clothing, 200 tents, 300 horses, some 130 beef cattle, were among the losses, not to mention the muskets and material thrown away in the rout. Material of the estimated value of nearly thirty-three thousand dollars was taken to the Indian camps on the Maumee and Auglaize rivers to be distributed and divided as the spoils of war.

Six weeks after the defeat, on December 19th, Lieut. Denny, St. Clair's aide, on horseback, arrived at Philadelphia and placed before General Knox the report. It is recorded in history, that President Washington was giving a formal dinner when the news of the disaster was in low tones revealed to him by his secretary, Tobias Lear. In calmness and serenity he kept his seat and following the dinner held a reception. It was the president's habit to keep early hours and the ceremony was over by 10 o'clock. Retiring to his private room with his secretary, he calmly closed the door and paced the floor without speaking for several minutes. He then took a seat on a sofa by the fire and requested his secretary to take a seat also. The president again arose, and as

he walked back and forth Mr. Lear saw that a storm was gathering. In the agony of his emotion, he struck his clenched hands with fearful force against his forehead, and, in a paroxysm of anguish exclaimed:

"It's all over! St. Clair's defeated—routed; the officers nearly all killed—the men by wholesale—that brave army cut to pieces—the rout complete! Too shocking to think of—and a surprise in the bargain!"

He uttered all this with great vehemence. Then, pausing for a moment, he walked about the room several times, greatly agitated, but saying nothing. Near the door he stopped short and stood still a few seconds; then, turning to the secretary, who stood amazed at this spectacle of Washington, the President, in his wrath, again broke out, saying:

"Yes, sir, here, in this very room, on this very spot, I took leave of him; I wished him success and honor. You have your instructions, I said, from the secretary of war, I had a strict eye to them, and will add but one word—beware of a surprise! You know how the Indians fight us. He went off with that as my last solemn warning thrown into his ears. And yet, to suffer that army to be cut to pieces, hacked by a surprise—the very thing I guarded him against! Oh God! Oh God! he's worse than a murderer! How can he answer it to his country? The blood of the slain is upon him—the curse of widows and orphans—the curse of heaven!"

This explosion came out in appealing tones. His frame was shaken with his emotion. Presently the President sat down on the sofa once more. He seemed conscious of passion and uncomfortable. He was silent as his wrath began to subside. He at length said, in an altered voice:

"This must not go beyond this room."

Another pause followed—a longer one—when he said in a tone quite low:

"General St. Clair shall have justice. I looked hastily through the dispatches—saw the whole disaster, but not all the particulars. I will hear him without prejudice, he shall have full justice; yet, long, faithful, and meritorious services have their claims." And absolute justice was accorded him. One of the strongest records in St. Clair's favor is the fact that he retained the "undiminished esteem and good opinion of President Washington." The popular clamor was tremendous, and General St. Clair demanded, as was usual, a court of inquiry. This request was com-

plied with and the court exonerated him of all blame. He followed the example of General Harmar and resigned his commission.

In January, 1792, General Wilkinson visited this battlefield, which was in now Mercer County, with 150 volunteers. They found scattered along the way the remains of many Americans, who had been pursued and killed by the savages, or who had perished of their wounds while endeavoring to escape. The field was strewn with remains, showing the horrible multilations by the bloodthirsty savages. Limbs were separated from bodies and the flesh had been stripped from many bones; but it was impossible to tell whether this had been the work of the wolves or the Indians. It was at this time that Fort Recovery was built on the site of the disaster. As late as 1830 a brass cannon was found buried near the scene of the conflict.

CHAPTER XXXII

PRELIMINARIES TO A THIRD MAUMEE EXPEDITION

BORDER SETTLERS PETITION FOR PROTECTION—AMERICAN-BRITISH SITUATION—AMERICANS STILL TRY FOR PEACE—BRITISH ATTEMPT TO BLOCK INDIAN-AMERICAN TREATIES—SPAIN ALSO FERMENTS INDIAN ANTAGONISM—WAR THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE.

The two American defeats such as administered to Harmar and St. Clair were serious blows to the government and the charge of inefficiency and incompetency laid against the Washington administration was not without warrant. The people of the new states failing to comprehend the importance of success in the West, resulted in the lack of support for a sufficient army to carry out the plans as mapped out. The frontier settlers the larger proportion of whom were along the Muskingum from Marietta up, and upon the Ohio tributaries the Miamis, took refuge in their stockades and there was panic and dismal forebodings upon all quarters.

In their situation the frontier people forwarded more urgent petitions to the state and national authorities asking for protection. Those from Kentucky declared in their appeal that at least fifteen hundred of their people—men, women and children, had been murdered or carried away as captives by the Indians within the past seven years, and the statement was made that the losses from Virginia and Pennsylvania were nearly as severe; also that the savages were under the present conditions more active than ever.

The British on their part noting the increase of the western settlements despite their defeats and knowing the temper of the Americans, realized that the situation meant that a still more formidable American army would invade the Maumee section in due time. With the falling off of their fur trade and other profitable dealings with the Indians, the Montreal merchants in December, 1791, petitioned the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, Colonel Simcoe for protection to their interests; asked a more intimate connection with the savages and the continued occupation of the forts in American territory held by the British.

So far as President Washington was concerned, he had reason to believe that men with the records of Harmar and St. Clair

would be competent commanders in the tasks assigned them, but Indian forest warfare required different tactics than used in combat between two civilized forces, and therefore demanded a leader of an extraordinary type. Realizing this, Washington did not propose to make a mistake in his third selection of a commander for another and still more vigorous campaign. Among those considered were Generals Henry Lee, Daniel Morgan, Anthony Wayne, Andrew Pickens, Charles Scott, James Wilkinson, Alexander M'Gillivray, and the Marietta leader Rufus Putnam. The choice after careful deliberation fell to the redoubtable Anthony Wayne, early in 1792.

However, the United States still tried the expedient of peace which the savages were, after their two victories, much more disinclined to favor, considering the fact that they had rejected the American overtures made even before the campaign of Harmar. They saw now visions of complete success such as was planned by Pontiac in 1763. Knowing their temper and realizing the false economy in sending out ill prepared expeditions, Washington instructed Secretary Knox in equipping Wayne's expedition to rectify this error and General Wayne soon after his appointment issued a statement to relieve the fears of the border settlers, informing them of the movements to secure peace with the Indians by treaty if possible and requesting that all persons, so far as possible, avoid further savage antagonism.

In March, 1792, Maj. John F. Hamtramck on the part of the United States made treaties at Vincennes with small numbers of the Eel River and Wabash tribes and also sent ambassadors of peace to the Indians on the Maumee. By request, some fifty chiefs of the Six Nations also visited Philadelphia and made peace on the terms offered them. On April 7, the same year, two messengers, Girard and Freemen, visited the Miamis of the Maumee with messages of peace from General Wilkinson but never returned. May 20th, Col. John Hardin and Maj. Alexander Truman, official spies, the former to the Northwest and the latter to the Sandusky, were murdered by the Indians. Gen. Rufus Putnam, with Heckewelder the missionary, appointed assistant commissioner by the War Department, on September 27th, at Vincennes, made terms of peace with thirty chiefs representing ten of the Wabash and Illinois tribes.

In the American State Papers for Indian Affairs are found the records of councils and treaties made from the summer of 1792 until the fall of 1793, at the Rapids of the Maumee, The

Auglaize, Sandusky, Detroit, Niagara, and at other places. The most conspicuous of the British representatives were McKee, Elliott, Simcoe and John Butler; while for the Americans the commissioners were such men as Timothy Pickering, Benjamin Lincoln and Beverly Randolph. For the Indians the wiley Brant who had visited Philadelphia, Red Jacket and Cornplanter were the leading speakers. Many of the chiefs wished to disregard the former treaties of Stanwix and Fort McIntosh and insisted that the Indian (it might be said British) boundary should be the Ohio River. A few chiefs were for peace, but the Shawnees were uncompromising in their attitude for war. As Randall says: "The British at first pretending passivity, gradually revealed their hostile attitude, insidiously urging on the tribesmen to an offensive action, and becoming almost insolent in their expressions touching their policy toward the young Federal Republic."

Regarding the various diplomatic activities at this time, Doctor Chas. E. Slocum in his writings has this:

"Of the secret efforts to learn more regarding the relations between the British and the savages, to be the better able therefrom to appease the latter, but one succeeded on account of the vigilance of both the British and savages. William May was started from Fort Hamilton the 13th May, 1792, to follow on the trail of Major Truman. He was captured by the savages, as expected, and after escaping many dangers was taken along the Maumee, and sold to Matthew Elliott then British Assistant Agent to the Indians, from whose service he finally escaped and gave sworn testimony before General Wayne at Pittsburg 11th October, 1792. This evidence detailed some items of interest, among which are the following: There were gathered in the summer of 1792 by the Maumee River at the mouth of the Auglaize then the headquarters of near-by tribes, three thousand and six hundred warriors of many tribes, and more were often arriving at the time of William May's sojourn there, all of whom received daily rations from the British at Detroit.

"This was the largest council of Indians held in America, and it appeared to the British as the culmination of their hopes and efforts for their confederation. The Seneca Chief Cornplanter and forty-eight other chiefs of the Six Nations of New York were there for the Americans in the interest of peace; and Chief Cornplanter reported to General Wayne that * * * 'we cannot tell the names of the nations present. There were present three men from the Gora nations; it took them a whole season to come;

and twenty-seven nations (tribes) from beyond Canada. The whole of them know that we, the Six Nations, have General Washington by the hand.' * * * This reference was to their recent visit to Philadelphia by invitation, and the peace treaty there effected. Other tribes were expected at this Grand Council at the mouth of the Auglaize River, and they came later. A like council was called for the next year, 1793, and runners were sent with invitations to the most distant tribes in all directions, including the Creeks and Cherokees of the south, urging their attendance.

"William May, having been a sailor, was kept by his purchaser three months in the transportation service on board a schooner that carried about one hundred and sixty barrels as a load between Detroit and the foot of the lowest Maumee Rapids, where was situated the great supply house of the British Indian agent Alexander McKee, from whom the savages received their supplies of firearms and ammunition with which to raid and murder Americans wherever possible.

"A number of small forts were built along the frontier as bases of supplies and protection and places of refuge for the remaining American settlers. In addition to the attacks on individuals and families along the borders, a company of mounted Kentucky riflemen under Major John Adair was suddenly attacked November 6, 1792, near Post St. Clair about twenty-five miles north of Fort Hamilton, by a party of savages who exhibited 'a degree of courage that bespoke them warriors indeed,' reads the report of the Major; and six Americans were killed, five wounded, and four were missing. The savages also killed a number of pack-horses and captured others. Their loss of men was thought to be about the same as that of the Kentuckians.

"For the purpose of continuing the efforts to secure peace with the savages by further treaty, President Washington the 2nd March, 1793, appointed Gen. Benjamin Lincoln of Massachusetts, Beverly Randolph of Virginia and Timothy Pickering of Pennsylvania, Commissioners to attend the great council to be held at the foot of the lowest Rapids of the Maumee, or at Sandusky the 1st of June. The 17th May Messrs. Randolph and Pickering arrived at Fort Niagara and there received a note from Lieut-Gov. and Col. John Graves Simcoe to be guests at his home, Navy Hall, nearly a mile from the fort; and there being no other suitable place for them to stop the invitation was accepted. General Lincoln arrived 25th May. Meantime a letter was received

from Colonel M'Kee, British Indian Agent, stating that the tribal councils would probably not end by the Maumee before the latter part of June, and the Commissioners would best remain at Niagara until he notified them that the Indians were ready to receive them.

"Col. John Butler, a leader in the Wyoming Massacre in July, 1778, now British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and Capt. Joseph Brant of like notoriety, with a picked company of fifty savages, arrived at Niagara July 5th from the large collection of Indians then at the British distributing house at the foot of the Maumee Rapids (now the Village of Maumee) and requested explanation of the 'unfair and unwarrantable' warlike preparations of General Wayne; and they desired to know the authority for the trespassing of the Americans north of the Ohio River, all of which they claimed as territory belonging to the Indians. The Commissioners in reply cited the several treaties of previous years and the subsequent mauradings of the savages in explanation, and expressed desire for peace; and agreement was made to meet in full council at Sandusky.

"The Commissioners left Niagara the 10th July and, awaiting a favorable wind, the British sloop sailed from Fort Erie opposite the present City of Buffalo the 14th, and arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River the 21st where they were received, and entertained during their enforced stay there of nearly four weeks, by Capt. Matthew Elliott, British Assistant Agent to the Indians. They frequently urged an early meeting of the Council at Sandusky, the place named by the British.

"The 29th July, a deputation of over twenty Indians arrived at Captain Elliott's from the grand council that had for weeks been in progress at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, with the notorious Simon Girty as interpreter. After a brief preliminary they presented to the Commissioners a short written communication from the council, the principal sentence being that 'If you seriously design to make a firm and lasting peace you will immediately remove all your people from our side of that river' (the Ohio). The Commissioners delivered to them in writing a long and carefully prepared reply in which the treaties of 1768, 1784-85-86 and 1789 were referred to in justification of the advance of American immigrants into the territory north of the Ohio, and with reasons why it was impossible at this late date to make this river the boundary; that the United States Government was willing to make liberal concessions to the Indians, as the treaty with

Great Britain declared the middle of the Great Lakes and the waters which unite them to be the boundary of the United States; and they closed with the desire to soon meet the general council in treaty.

"The 8th and 9th of August the Commissioners received reports that all the tribes represented at the Maumee Council were for peace excepting the Shawnees, Wyandots, Miamis and Delawares, and that they were yielding; that many Indians were tired of the long delays and were departing for their respective villages. The Commissioners desired to go directly to the Maumee Council, but this action the British would not permit.

"The 14th they (the Americans) wrote to the chiefs of the council again urging a meeting for a treaty; also to Colonel M'Kee that his aid to this result would be gratefully acknowledged. The 16th August a long and carefully written reply was received at Captain Elliott's by the Commissioners, closing with the assertion that if the Commissioners would not agree to the Ohio River being the boundary 'a meeting would be altogether unnecessary.' Appended to this paper was written the following names of 'Nations' represented, viz: Wyandots, Seven Nations of Canada, Delawares, Shawnees, Miamis, Ottawas, Chippewas, Senecas of the Glaise (Auglaize River), Pottawotamis, Connoys, Munses, Nantakokias, Mohicans, Messasagoes, Creeks, Cherokees.

"This communication was, undoubtedly, fully conceived and written by the British authorities; it was certainly approved by their censors. This general council, as well as the one the year before by the Maumee at the mouth of the Auglaise, was the result of British efforts for many years to federate all the savages that their dictated decision in council, and united action in war, might become irresistible to the Americans. Joseph Brant, leader in the Six Nations and generally a stanch friend of the British, declared that such united action 'caused the defeat of two American armies (Harmar's and St. Clair's) * * * But to our surprise, when upon the point of entering upon a treaty with the (American) Commissioners, we found that it was opposed by those acting under the British government.' * * * In reply the American Commissioners sent to the chiefs and to the British Colonel M'Kee, regretfully, the statement that their efforts for negotiations were at an end; including with the letters copies of the former treaties. The 23rd August, the Commissioners on their return arrived opposite Fort Erie where they dispatched, by different runners, letters to General Wayne and to General

Knox, Secretary of War, announcing their failure to secure terms for peace."

The situation of the young Republic at this period was made more precarious by "the active but clandestine" policy of Spain who was inciting the southern Indian tribes to make war against the Americans whose commissioners were meeting in council the Creeks, Cherokees and other nations, for the purpose of retaining the friendship of these people. It was reported that through Spanish influence the Cherokees and allied southern tribes were making preparation to join the northern Indians in war against the Americans by reason of the "promised support of the Spaniards, the expected support of the British, and victories obtained by the northern tribes over the armies of the United States." In fact the British efforts were continued with the Creeks, Cherokees and other tribes to hostility against the United States, and attempts were made also to revive the slumbering idea among a few of the people west of the Alleghenies for a separation from the eastern section. The Ohio and Mississippi were the natural outlets for the products of the new settlements this side of the Allegheny barrier, and therefore the western settlers were anxious for a good southern outlet. This the statesmen of the east discouraged, as they believed an addition in that quarter to United States territory would make the country too large to be governed from one central point and would also divert trade from the eastern seaboard. The Spanish and French agitators availed themselves of these disturbing features to circulate their propaganda among the settlers of Kentucky and north and west to the Illinois section. General Wayne called this complication of enemies (British, Indian and Spanish) "an Hydra" and considered that delay in striking would be most injurious to the American cause. He had spent the summer of 1792 at Pittsburg where about twenty-five hundred newly enlisted men were organized into cavalry, infantry and artillery.

CHAPTER XXXIII

CAMPAIGN OF GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE

WAYNE ASSEMBLES AN ARMY—MOVES TOWARD THE MAUMEE—ESTABLISHES FORT GREENVILLE—POSSESSION OF FORT RECOVERY SITE—ATTACK BY LITTLE TURTLE—BRITISH OCCUPY FORT MIAMI—WAYNE BUILDS FORT DEFIANCE—ADVANCE DOWN THE MAUMEE—FORT DEPOSIT AND ROCHE DE BOEUF—ADVANCE TO PRESQUE ISLE AND FALLEN TIMBERS—DEFEAT AND PANIC OF INDIANS—WAYNE DESTROYS CROPS AND VILLAGES—NEAR CLASH WITH BRITISH AT FORT MIAMI—AMERICANS RETURN TO DEFIANCE AND FORT WAYNE—INDIANS DESIRE PEACE TREATY—STORY OF WILLIAM WELLS AND WILLIAM MAY.

For one reason to protect the Virginia frontier, in the fall of 1792, Wayne's army was moved down the Ohio twenty miles to Legionville near old Logstown where quarters were taken up until April, 1793, when they descended the Ohio to near Fort Washington. The infantry and artillery made camp at a point they named "Hobson's Choice"—for the reason that "it was the only ground which was in any degree calculated for the purpose." To show Wayne's efficiency, the four companies of cavalry were sent across the river into Kentucky where they prepared a camp, where all summer, they practiced bushwhacking and charging and counter charging through the woods, brush and broken country on the Licking River. Wayne kept continually drilling his men until October, when he considered the army sufficiently disciplined to begin a forward movement towards the enemy; although from Kentucky disappointments and sickness, his force was disappointingly small.

On October 6, he began his advance "in order to gain a strong position about six miles beyond (north) of Fort Jefferson, so as to keep the enemy in check." The position was fortified and named Fort Greenville, for General Nathanial Greene an old Revolutionary friend of Wayne's. Here Wayne made the following report:

"We have recently experienced a little check to one of our convoys which may probably be exaggerated into something serious by the tongue of fame before this reaches you; the following is, however, the fact, viz: Lieutenant Lowry, of the 2nd sublegion and Ensign Boyd of the 1st with a command consisting of ninety

non-commissioned officers and privates, having in charge twenty wagons belonging to the quartermaster-general's department loaded with grain and one of the contractor's loaded with stores, were attacked early in the morning of the 17th instant about seven miles advanced of Fort St. Clair (twenty-nine miles above Fort Hamilton) by a party of Indians; those two gallant young gentlemen (who promised at a future day to be ornaments to their profession) together with thirteen non-commissioned officers and privates, bravely fell after an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, being abandoned by the greater part of the escort upon the first discharge. The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons and stores standing in the road which have been all brought to this camp without any other loss or damage except some trifling articles * * * It is reported that the Indians at Au Glaize (present Defiance) have sent their women and children into some secret recess or recesses from their towns; and that the whole of the warriors are collected or collecting in force. * * * A great number of men as well as officers have been left sick and debilitated at the respective garrisons, from a malady called the influenza; among others General Wilkinson has been dangerously ill; he is now at Fort Jefferson and on the recovery. * * * The safety of the Western frontiers, the reputation of the legion, the dignity and interest of the nation, all forbid a retrograde manoeuvre, or giving up one inch of ground we now possess, until the enemy are compelled to sue for peace."

A portion of Wayne's army passed the winter at Fort Greenville and on December 22nd, Maj. Henry Burbeck with artillery and eight companies of infantry was ordered on to the battle-field of General St. Clair, where a stockade with blockhouses was constructed and named Fort Recovery.

At this juncture peace with the Indians might have been made but for the machinations of the British, who continued in their efforts to unite the tribes "for their better control" and by advocating the Ohio River as the boundary line for "Indian occupation," while they were in fact advancing this idea in the interests of their own trade and for the purpose of eventually gaining control of the Ohio country and the northwest. The reasons for the weakening of the Indian hostile attitude towards the Americans, was the advance of Wayne who built fortifications on his route as the savages retreated.

Realizing the coming of another conflict, the Indians rallied

all their available warriors, the Miamis under Little Turtle, the Shawnees under Blue Jacket, the Delawares under Buckongehelas, with bands of Wyandots, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos and other contingents. They kept in close touch with the British at Detroit and runners were kept busy with communication between the two interests hostile to the Americans—with McKee on the Maumee, with Elliott, with Simcoe and finally the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Dorchester.

In February 1794, in a speech to a delegation of chiefs Lord Dorchester said: "Children, since my return I find no appearance of a line remains and from the way in which the people of the United States push on and act and talk * * * I shall not be surprised if we are at war with them in the course of the present year; and if so, a line must then be drawn by the warriors. * * * We have acted in the most peaceable manner and born the language and conduct of the people of the United States with patience; but I believe our patience is almost exhausted." The British lord in this declaration referred to the vital question of the boundary line and to General Wayne's advance.

It was in consequence of this situation that Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe was sent to Detroit where he was located in the middle of February 1794. A letter dated at Detroit April 17th says that "we have lately had a visit from Governor Simcoe: he came from Niagara through the woods * * * he has gone to the foot of the Rapids (Maumee River) and three companies of Colonel England's regiment have followed him to assist in building a fort there." (For a further account of the construction of Fort Miami, attention is called to a letter set forth in the later chapter reciting the many official British communications. The letter is dated at Navy Hall, Upper Canada, April 29, 1794 and addressed by Simcoe to Lord Dorchester; also a letter written by Alexander McKee dated at Maumee Rapids July 26, 1794, evidently at McKee's store, and addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe).

These documents show clearly that the stronghold, the lower Maumee Fort Miami (within the limits of present Maumee City) was built within American territory as a defense against the advance of Wayne. It was situated a mile and a half below McKee's store or British agency house on the opposite bank of the river at about the site of where later was built Fort Meigs. All the movements of Wayne, including his being reinforced by Kentucky troops, were reported to Fort Miami, then to Fort Lernoult

at Detroit. At Wayne's advance Fort Miami was strengthened, further garrisoned, larger defense guns added and its first commandant Captain Caldwell was succeeded in command by Maj. William Campbell. To all of this aggressive movement President Washington entered a protest without receiving satisfactory replies.

By reason of confidence gained in the defeat of Harmar and St. Clair, the Indians took the aggressive and the first important engagement with Wayne's forces was at Fort Recovery where St. Clair had met his rout. From his headquarters at Greenville, General Wayne on July 7, reported the Indian attack as follows:

"At seven o'clock in the morning of the 30th ultimo, one of our escorts consisting of ninety riflemen and fifty dragoons commanded by Major McMahon, was attacked by a numerous body of Indians under the walls of Fort Recovery, followed by a general assault upon that post and garrison (of about two hundred men) in every direction. The enemy were soon repulsed with great slaughter, but immediately rallied and reiterated the attack keeping up a very heavy and constant fire at a more respectable distance for the remainder of the day, which was answered with spirit and effect by the garrison and a part of Major McMahon's command that had regained the post. The savages were employed during the night (which was dark and foggy) in carrying off their dead by torch light, which occasionally drew a fire from the garrison. They, nevertheless, succeeded so well that there were but eight or ten bodies left upon the field, and those close under the range of the guns of the fort.

"The enemy again renewed the attack on the morning of the 1st instant, but were ultimately compelled to retreat with loss and disgrace from that very field where they had upon a former occasion been proudly victorious. * * *"

Thus upon St. Clair's battle-ground, "that very field where they had upon a former occasion been proudly victorious," the Indians with a British contingent, were "compelled to retreat with loss and disgrace." It was the turning of the tide in favor of the Americans as the continuation of this story will reveal. The attackers were evidently greatly disappointed in not finding the cannon lost by General St. Clair which when captured by the Indians had been hidden in fallen tree tops and debris. All but one of these pieces had been found by the Americans and were used against the assailants. The one missing cannon, according to a Shawnee, was buried in the river near at hand. There were,

OLD FORT DEFIANCE BLOCK HOUSE

Intersection of the Maumee and Auglaize Rivers.

as the evidence showed, a number of British and militia in the Fort Recovery assault and the Indians were equipped with the very latest pattern of firearms and an abundance of ammunition. There were a number of ounce balls and buckshot found lodged in the blockhouses and stockade of the fort after the assault, mute proof of British connivance. The American loss was twenty-two killed, thirty wounded and three missing. Fifty-nine horses were killed, twenty-two wounded and two hundred and twenty-one were missing. However, Wayne said the loss would not delay his advance after the arrival of the mounted troops from Kentucky.

Further communication was being held by the British with the Mississippi Spanish and the latter were promising their aid. In addition to the official correspondence of the British which is set forth later, their reprehensible attitude is shown by the following letters written by Alexander McKee, British agent to the Indians, addressed to Col. Richard England the commandant at Detroit.

(Maumee) Rapids, July 5, 1794.

Sir: I send this by a party of Saganas (Saginaw Indians) who returned yesterday from Fort Recovery where the whole body of Indians, except the Delawares who had gone another route, imprudently attacked the fort on Monday the 30th of last month, and lost sixteen or seventeen men besides a good many wounded.

Everything had been settled prior to their leaving the fallen timber, and it had been agreed upon to confine themselves to taking convoys and attacking at a distance from the forts, if they should have the address to entice the enemy (Americans) out; but the impetuosity of the Mackinac Indians and their eagerness to begin with the nearest, prevailed with the others to alter their system, the consequences of which from the present appearance of things may most materially injure the interests of these people. Both the Mackina and Lake Indians seemed resolved on going home again, having completed the belts they carried with scalps and prisoners, and having no provisions there at the Glaize (the present Defiance) to subsist upon, so that His Majesty's posts will derive no security from the late great influx of Indians into this part of the country, should they persist in their resolution of returning so soon.

The immediate object of the attack was three hundred packhorses going from this fort (Recovery) to Fort Greenville, in

which the Indians completely succeeded, taking and killing all of them. But the commanding officer, Captain Gibson, sending out a troop of cavalry, and bringing his infantry out in the front of his post, the Indians attacked him and killed about fifty, among whom is Captain Gibson and two other officers. On the near approach of the Indians to the fort, the remains of his garrison retired into it, and from their loopholes killed and wounded as already mentioned. Captain Elliott writes that they are immediately to hold a council at the Glaize (site of the present Defiance, Ohio) in order to try if they can prevail upon the Lake Indians to remain; but without provisions, ammunition, &c., being sent to that place, I conceive it will be extremely difficult to keep them together.

With great respect, I have the honor to be

Your obedient and humble servant,

A. McKEE.

Another letter from McKee to Colonel England seven days before the Battle of Fallen Timber, reads as follows:

(Maumee) Rapids, August 13, 1794.

Sir: I was honored last night with your letter of the 11th, and was extremely glad to find you are making such exertions to supply the Indians with provisions.

Captain Elliott arrived yesterday; what he has brought will greatly relieve us, having been obliged yesterday to take all the corn and flour which the traders had here.

A scouting party from the Americans carried off a man and a woman yesterday morning between this place and Roche de Bout, and afterwards attacked a small party of Delawares in their camp; but they were repulsed with the loss of a man, whom they either hid or threw into the river. They killed a Delaware woman. Scouts are sent up to view the situation of the army; and we now muster 1,000 Indians. All the Lake Indians from Sagina downwards should not lose one moment in joining their brethren, as every accession of strength is an addition to their spirits.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

A. McKEE.

It was after wintering in Kentucky that Maj.-Gen. Charles Scott with nearly sixteen hundred volunteer cavalry of that state, July 26, 1794, joined General Wayne at Greenville where the com-

mander had with him approximately two thousand soldiers. An immediate order to advance the 28th was given. It was unquestionable that the fate of the great northwest this side of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River depended upon the success or failure of this campaign. With a third defeat all this territory would henceforth become a part of the British domain. The expedition to the west by George Rogers Clark has been produced in these pages through Clark's own account and Hamilton's own story. As the campaign of Wayne was also of vital importance to the Maumee and Sandusky valleys the log of Wayne's movements as written by Lieutenant Boyer is also here produced as follows:

Fort Greenville, where we were employed in erecting huts, and remained until the 28th July, 1794.

Camp at Stillwater, (Miami tributary) 28th July, 1794. Agreeable to the general order of yesterday, the legion took up their line of march at eight o'clock, and encamped at half past three on the bank of Stillwater, twelve miles from Greenville. The weather extremely warm—water very bad. Nothing occurred worth noticing.

Camp one mile in advance of Fort Recovery 29th July, 1794. At five o'clock left the camp—arrived on this ground at one o'clock, being fifteen miles. Nothing took place worth reciting. I am now informed that tracks were perceived on our right flank, supposed to be runners from the Oglaize. (Auglaize).

Camp Beaver Swamp, eleven miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 30th July, 1794. This morning the legion took up the line of march, and arrived here at three o'clock. The road was to cut, as will be the case on every new route we take in this country. The weather still warm—no water except in ponds, which nothing but excessive thirst would induce us to drink. The mosquitoes are very troublesome, and larger than I ever saw. The most of this country is covered with beech, the land of a wet soil intermixed with rich tracts, but no running water to be found. A bridge to be built over this swamp to morrow, which prevents the march of the legion till the day after. We are informed there is no water for twelve miles.

July 31st, 1794. Commenced building the bridge, being seventy yards in length, which will require infinite labor; it will be five feet deep, with loose mud and water. One hundred pioneers set out this morning, strongly escorted, to cut a road to the St.

Mary River, twelve miles. I expect the bridge will be completed so as to march early in the morning.

Camp St. Mary River, 1st August, 1794. Proceeded on our way before sunrise, and arrived at this place at three o'clock, being twelve miles aforesaid. Our encampment is on the largest and most beautiful prairie I ever beheld, the land rich and well timbered; the water plenty but very bad—the river is from forty-five to fifty yards wide, in which I bathed. I am told there is plenty of fish in it.

August 2nd, 1794. The legion detained here for the purpose of erecting a garrison (Fort Adams) which will take up three days. This day one of the deputy quartermasters was taken by the Indians (deserted). Our spies discovered where four of the enemy had retreated precipitately with a horse, and supposed to be the party the above person had been taken by. It is hoped he will not give accurate information of our strength.

August 3rd, 1794. An accident took place this day by a tree falling on the Commander-in-Chief (Wayne) and nearly putting an end to his existence; we expected to be detained here some time in consequence of it, but fortunately he is not so much hurt as to prevent him from riding at a slow pace. No appearance of the enemy to-day, and think they are preparing for a warm attack. The weather very hot and dry, without any appearance of rain.

Camp Thirty-one miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 4th August, 1794. The aforesaid garrison (Adams) being completed, Lieutenant Underhill with one hundred men left to protect it; departed at six o'clock and arrived here at three o'clock, being ten miles. The land we marched through is rich and well timbered, but the water scarce and bad; obliged to dig holes in boggy places and let it settle.

Camp Forty-four miles in advance of Fort Recovery, 5th August, 1794 (near Fort Jennings, Putnam County). We arrived at this place at four o'clock, nothing particular occurring. The land and water as above described—had some rain today.

Camp Fifty-six miles from Fort Recovery, 6th August, 1794. Encamped on this ground at two o'clock. In the course of our march perceived the track of twenty Indians. I am informed we are within six miles of one of their towns on the Oglaize River supposed to be the upper Delaware town (Carloe, Paulding County). If so, I expect to eat green corn tomorrow. Our march

this day has been through an exceeding fine country, but the water still bad; the day cooler than heretofore.

Camp Sixty-eight miles from Fort Recovery, 7th August, 1794. This day passed the upper town on the Oglaize (Auglaize) which the Indians evacuated some time ago. I expect to see one of their new towns, where I am told there are all sorts of vegetables, which will be very acceptable to the troops. We have had no appearance of Indians today.

Camp Grand Oglaize (Defiance) 8th August, 1794. Proceeded on our march to this place at five o'clock this morning, and arrived here at the confluence of the Miami (Maumee) and Oglaize rivers at half past ten, being seventy-seven miles from Fort Recovery. This place far excels in beauty any in the western country, and believed equalled by none in the Atlantic States. Here are vegetables of every kind in abundance, and we have marched four or five miles in corn fields down the Oglaize and there are not less than one thousand acres of corn round the town. The land in general of the fir nature. (Red Cedar). This country appears well adapted for the enjoyment of industrious people, who cannot avoid living in as great luxury as in any other place throughout the states. Nature having lent a most bountiful hand in the arrangement of the position, that a man can send the produce to market in his own boat. The land level and river navigable, not more than sixty miles from the lake (Erie). The British have built a large garrison (Fort Miami) about fifty miles from this place, and our spies inform us that the enemy are encamped about two miles above it by the river.

Grand Oglaize, 9th August, 1794. We remain here. The Commander-in-Chief has ordered a garrison (Fort Defiance) to be erected at the confluence of the Miami (Maumee) and Oglaize rivers, which was begun this morning, and will take up some time; by this means the troops will be much refreshed, as well as the horses and cattle, the latter being much wearied and in need of a recess of labor. No appearance of an enemy.

Grand Oglaize, 10th August, 1794. The troops in good spirits. No interruption from, or account of, the enemy. We have plenty of vegetables. One of our militia officers was wounded by his own sentinel by mistake.

Grand Oglaize, 11th August, 1794. Nothing occurs to prevent the completion of our work.

General Wayne had hoped to surprise the enemy at this junction of the Auglaize and Maumee rivers, but the deputy quarter-

master who had deserted to the British and Indians August 2nd, probably informed the latter of the size of Wayne's army and not an Indian was to be seen when the forces arrived. On account of the strength of the fortification, at the suggestion of General Scott, it was named Fort Defiance. The great central gathering point and agricultural fields of the savages was styled by Wayne "the Grand Emporium of the hostile Indians of the West."

Wayne was referred to by the savage foe as "the Chief who never sleeps" from the fact that he employed continuously a company of trained spies. From the information received through these scouts as well as from his own judgment of the situation, the commander believed that a conflict could not be avoided. However, he sent forward one more offer of peace but did not wait for a reply before he advanced. August 15th he took up the line of march from Fort Defiance and arrived at the site of Snaketown where is now the village of Florida, Henry County, without any special happening and where were plenty of vegetables. Continuing the log of Lieutenant Boyer, he says:

Camp Nineteen miles from Oglaize, 16th August, 1794. Our march this day was through a bushy ground, and the road generally bad. Miller (with flag of truce) returned this day from the enemy with information from the tribes, that if the Commander-in-Chief would remain at Grand Oglaize ten days they would let him know whether they would be for peace or war.

Camp Thirty-one miles from Camp Oglaize, 17th August, 1794. This day a small party of the enemy's spies fell in with ours; both parties being for discoveries, they retreated, at which time the enemy fired and wounded one of our horses. Our camp, head of the Rapids.—(where is now Providence).

Camp Forty-one miles from Grand Oglaize (at Roche de Boeuf) 18th August, 1794. The legion arrived on this ground, nothing particular taking place. Five of our spies were sent out at three o'clock—they fell in with an advanced body of the enemy, and obliged to retreat; but May, one of our spies, fell under the enemy's hold. What his fate may be must be left to future success. (May's fate has already been told; he was dispatched at where is now Maumee).

Camp Deposit, 19th August, 1794. The legion still continued in encampment, and are throwing up works to secure and deposit the heavy baggage of the troops, so that the men may be light for action, provided the enemy have presumption to favor us with an interview, which if they should think proper to do, the troops are

in such high spirits that we will make an easy victory of them. By this morning's order, the legion is to march at five o'clock.

Camp in sight of a British garrison on the Miamis of the Lake, (Fort Miami) August 20, 1794. One hundred and fifty miles from Greenville. This day the legion, after depositing every kind of baggage, took up the line of march at 7 o'clock and continued their route down the margin of the river without making any discovery until eleven o'clock, when the front guard, which was composed of mounted volunteers, were fired on by the enemy. The guard retreated in the utmost confusion through the front guard of the regulars, commanded by Captain Cook and Lieutenant Steele, who, in spite of their utmost exertion, made a retreat. These fell in with the left of Capt. Howell Lewis' company of light infantry, and threw that part of the men into confusion, which Captain Lewis observing, he ordered the left of his company to retreat about forty yards, where he formed them and joined the right which had stood their ground. They continued in this position until they were joined by part of Captain Springer's battalion of riflemen, which was nearly fifteen minutes after the firing commenced, who drove the enemy that had attempted to flank us on the right. Nearly at the same time, the right column came up, and the charge was sounded—the enemy gave way and fired scattering shots as they run off. About the time the right column came up, a heavy firing took place on the left, which lasted but a short time, the enemy giving way in all quarters, which left us in possession of their dead to the number of forty. Our loss was thirty killed and one hundred wounded. Among the former we have to lament the loss of Capt. Campbell of the dragoons, and Lieut. Henry B. Fowles of the 4th sub-legion; and of the latter, Captains Prior of the first, Slough of the fourth, and Van Rensselaer of the dragoons, also Lieut. Campbell Smith of the fourth sub-legion. The whole loss of the enemy cannot at present be ascertained, but it is more than probable it must have been considerable, for we pursued them with rapidity for nearly two miles.

As to the number of the enemy engaged in this action, opinions are so various that I am at a loss to know what to say; the most general opinion is one thousand five hundred, one-third of which are supposed to be Canadians; I am led to believe this number is not over the mark. After the troops had taken some refreshment, the legion continued their route down the river, and

ROCHE DE BOEUF

Opposite the site of General Wayne's council of war, August 19, 1794, preliminary to the victory at Fallen Timbers the next day. This picture was taken before the erection of the concrete railway bridge which passes over the rear (left in the above) of the rock. Some writers say that the right name of the rock is Roche de Bout, which is the way General Wayne spelled it. The name here used is generally given.

encamped in sight of the British garrison. One Canadian fell into our hands, whom we loaded with irons.

Camp Foot of the Rapids 21st August, 1794. We are now lying within half a mile of a British garrison (Fort Miami). A flag (of truce) came to the Commander-in-chief, the purport of which was that he, the commanding officer of the British fort, was surprised to see an American army so far advanced in this country; and why they had the assurance to encamp under the mouths of his Majesty's cannons! The Commander-in-chief answered, that the affair of yesterday might well inform him why this army was encamped in its present position, and had the fleeing savages taken shelter under the walls of the fort, his Majesty's cannons should not have protected them.

Camp Foot of the Rapids 22nd August, 1794. We have destroyed all the property within one hundred yards of the British garrison. The volunteers were sent down eight miles below the fort, and have destroyed and burnt all the possessions belonging to the Canadians and savages. The Commander-in-chief led his light infantry within pistol shot of the garrison to find out the strength and situation of the place, and in hopes of bringing a shot from our inveterate but silent enemies. They were too cowardly to come up to our expectations, and all we got by insulting the colors of Britain was a flag (of truce) the amount of which was, that the commanding officer of the fort felt himself as a soldier much injured by seeing His Majesty's colors insulted, and if such conduct was continued he would be under the necessity of making a proper resentment; upon which the Commander-in-chief demanded the post, it being the right of the United States, which was refused. A small party of dragoons were sent over the river to burn and destroy all the houses, corn &c., that were under cover of the fort, which was effected. [This included McKee's store].

General Wayne's own report of the battle contains the following:

"The legion was on the right, its flank covered by the Maumee; one brigade of mounted volunteers on the left, under Brig.-Gen. Todd, and the other in the rear, under Brig.-Gen. Barbee. A select battalion of mounted volunteers moved in front of the legion, commanded by Major Price, who was directed to keep sufficiently advanced so as to give timely notice for the troops to form in case of action, it being yet undetermined whether the Indians would decide for peace or war.

"After advancing about five miles, Major Price's corps received so severe a fire from the enemy, who were secreted in the wood and high grass, as to compel them to retreat. The legion was immediately formed in two lines, principally in a close thick wood, which extended for miles on our left, and for a very considerable distance in front; the ground being covered with old fallen timber, probably occasioned by a tornado, which rendered it impracticable for the cavalry to act with effect, and afforded the enemy the most favorable covert for their mode of warfare. The savages were formed in three lines, within supporting distance of each other, and extending for near two miles at right angles with the river. I soon discovered, from the weight of the fire and extent of their lines, that the enemy were in full force in front, in possession of their favorite ground and endeavoring to turn our left flank. I therefore gave orders for the second line to advance and support the first; and directed Major-General Scott to gain and turn the right flank of the savages with the whole force of the mounted volunteers by a circuitous route; at the same time I ordered the front line to advance and charge with trailed arms, and rouse the Indians from their coverts at the point of the bayonet, and when up, to deliver a close and well-directed fire on their backs, followed by a brisk charge, so as not to give them time to load again.

"I also ordered Captain Campbell, who commanded the legionary cavalry, to turn the left flank of the enemy next the river, and which afforded a favorable field for that corps to act in. All these orders were obeyed with spirit and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the charge by the first line of infantry, that the Indians and Canadian militia and volunteers were drove from all their coverts in so short a time that, although every possible exertion was used by the officers of the second line of the legion, and by Generals Scott, Todd and Barbee, of the mounted volunteers, to gain their proper positions, but part of each could get up in season to participate in the action; the enemy being drove, in the course of one hour, more than two miles through the thick woods already mentioned, by less than one-half their numbers. From every account the enemy amounted to two thousand combatants. The troops actually engaged against them were short of nine hundred. This horde of savages, with their allies, abandoned themselves to flight, and dispersed with terror and dismay, leaving our victorious army in full and quiet

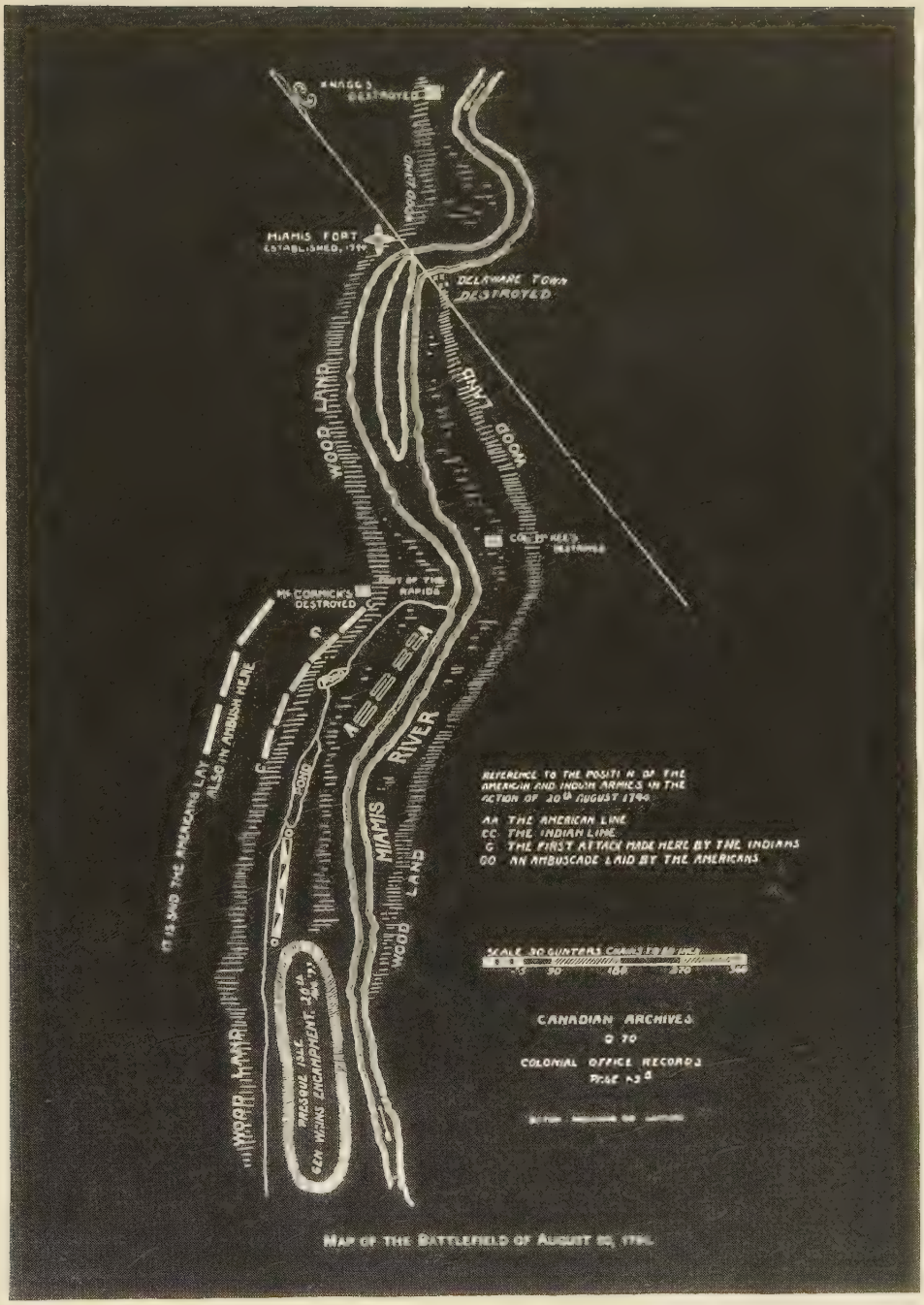
possession of the field of battle, which terminated under the influence of the guns of the British garrison. * * *

"The bravery and conduct of every officer belonging to the army, from the generals down to the ensigns, merit my highest approbation. There were, however, some whose rank and situation placed their conduct in a very conspicuous point of view, and which I observed with pleasure, and the most lively gratitude; among whom I must beg leave to mention Brigadier-General Wilkinson and Colonel Hamtramck, the commandants of the right and left wings of the legion, whose brave example inspired the troops. To those I must add the name of my faithful and gallant aides-de-camp, Captains De Butt and T. Lewis, and Lieutenant Harrison (General Harrison), who, with the Adjutant-General, Major Mills, rendered the most essential service by communicating my orders in every direction, and by their conduct and bravery exciting the troops to press for victory.

"The loss of the enemy was more than that of the federal army. The woods were strewed for a considerable distance with the dead bodied of Indians and their white Auxiliaries, the latter armed with British muskets and bayonets.

"We remained three days and nights on the banks of the Maumee, in front of the field of battle, during which time all the houses and corn-fields were consumed and destroyed for a considerable distance, both above and below Fort Miami, as well as within pistol-shot of the garrison, who were compelled to remain tacit spectators to this general devastation and conflagration, among which were the houses, stores and property of Colonel McKee, the British Indian agent and principal stimulator of the war now existing between the United States and the savages."

Still another account says: "The loss of the Americans in this battle was 33 killed and 100 wounded, including 5 officers among the killed, and 19 wounded. One of the Canadians taken in the action estimated the force of the Indians at about 1,400. He also stated that about seventy Canadians were with them, and that Col. McKee, Capt. Elliott and Simon Girty were in the field, but at a respectful distance, and near the river. When the broken remains of the Indian army were pursued under the British fort, the soldiers could scarcely be restrained from storming it. This independent of its results in bringing on a war with Great Britain, would have been a desperate measure, as the fort mounted ten pieces of artillery, and was garrisoned by four hundred and



BRITISH IDEA OF THE BATTLE OF FALLEN TIMBERS

fifty men, while Wayne had no armament proper to attack such a strongly fortified place. While the troops remained in the vicinity, there did not appear to be any communication between the garrison and the savages. The gates were shut against them, and their rout and slaughter witnessed with apparent unconcern by the British. That the Indians were astonished at the lukewarmness of their real allies, and regarded the fort, in case of defeat, as a place of refuge, is evident from various circumstances, not the least of which was the well-known reproach of Tecumseh, in his celebrated speech to Proctor, after Perry's victory. The near approach of the troops brought forth a letter of remonstrance from Major Campbell, the British commandant, to General Wayne. A sharp correspondence ensued, but without any especial results. The morning before the army left, General Wayne, after arranging his force in such a manner as to show they were all on the alert, advanced with his numerous staff and a small body of cavalry to the glacis of the British fort, reconnoitering it with great deliberation, while the garrison were seen with lighted matches, prepared for any emergency. It is said that Wayne's party overheard one of the British subordinate officers appeal to Major Campbell for permission to fire upon the cavalcade, and avenge such an insulting parade under his majesty's guns; but that officer chided him with the abrupt exclamation "Be a gentleman! be a gentleman!"

Two of the letters exchanged between the commanders read as follows:

"Miami (Maumee) River,
"August 21st, 1794.

"Sir:—An army of the United States of America, said to be under your command, having taken post on the banks of the Miami for upwards of the last twenty-four hours, almost within the reach of the guns of this fort, being a post belonging to His Majesty the King of Great Britain, occupied by His Majesty's troops, and which I have the honor to command, it becomes my duty to inform myself, as speedily as possible, in what light I am to view your making such near approaches to this garrison. I have no hesitation, on my part, to say, that I know of no war existing between Great Britain and America.

"I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"WILLIAM CAMPBELL,
"Major 24th Reg't Comd'g a British Post on the banks of the Miami.

"To Major General Wayne, etc."

"Camp, on the Banks of the Miami,
"August 21st, 1794.

"Sir:—I have received your letter of this date, requiring from me the motives which have moved the army under my command to the position they at present occupy, far within the acknowledged jurisdiction of the United States of America. Without questioning the authority, or the propriety, sir, of your interrogatory, I think I may without breach of decorum, observe to you, that were you entitled to an answer, the most full and satisfactory one was announced to you from the muzzles of my small arms, yesterday morning, in the action against the horde of savages in the vicinity of your post, which terminated gloriously to the American arms; but, had it continued until the Indians, etc., were driven under the influence of the post and guns you mention, they would not have much impeded the progress of the victorious army under my command, as no such post was established at the commencement of the present war, between the Indians and the United States.

"I have the honcr to be, sir, with great respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

"ANTHONY WAYNE,
"Major General, and Commander-in-Chief of the Federal Army.
"To Major William Campbell, etc."

Jonathan Alder, who was at this time living with the Indians, has given in his MS. autobiography the Indian account of the battle of Fallen Timbers. He says, after describing the attack on Fort Recovery and the retreat to Defiance:

We remained here (Defiance) about two weeks, until we heard of the approach of Wayne, when we packed up our goods and started for the old English fort at the Maumee rapids. Here we prepared ourselves for battle, and sent the women and children down about three miles below the fort; and as I did not wish to fight, they sent me to Sandusky, to inform some Wyandots there of the great battle that was about to take place. I remained at Sandusky until the battle was over. The Indians did not wait more than three or four days, before Wayne made his appearance at the head of a long prairie on the river, where he halted, and waited for an opportunity to suit himself. Now the Indians are very curious about fighting, for when they know they are going into a battle they will not eat anything just previous. They say that if a man is shot in the body when he is entirely empty, there

is not half as much danger of the ball passing through the bowels as when they are full. So they started the first morning without eating anything, and moving up to the end of the prairie, ranged themselves in order of battle at the edge of the timber. There they waited all day without any food, and at night returned and partook of their suppers. The second morning they again placed themselves in the same position, and again returned at night and supped. By this time they had begun to get weak from eating only once a day, and concluded they would eat breakfast before they again started. So the next morning they began to cook and eat. Some were eating and others, who had finished, had moved forward to their stations, when Wayne's army was seen approaching. Soon as they were within gunshot, the Indians began firing upon them; but Wayne, making no halt, rushed on upon them. Only a small part of the Indians being on the ground they were obliged to give back, and finding Wayne too strong for them, attempted to retreat. Those who were on the way heard the noise and sprang to their assistance. So some were running from and others to the battle, which created great confusion. In the meantime the light horse had gone entirely around, and came in upon their rear, blowing their horns and closing in upon them. The Indians now found that they were completely surrounded, and all that could made their escape, and the balance were all killed, which was no small number. Among these last, with one or two exceptions, were all the Wyandots that lived at Sandusky at the time I went to inform them of the expected battle. The main body of the Indians were back nearly two miles from the battle-ground, and Wayne had taken them by surprise, and made such a slaughter among them that they were entirely discouraged, and made the best of their way to their respective homes.

Lieutenant Boyer continues his log as follows:

Camp Deposit (Roche de Boeuf) 23d August, 1794. Having burned and destroyed everything contiguous to the fort (Fort Miami) without any opposition, the legion took up the line of march, and the evening encamped on this ground, being the same they marched from the 20th. It may be proper to remark that we have heard nothing from the savages, or their allies the Canadians, since the action. The honors of war have been paid to the remains of those brave fellows who fell on the 20th, by a discharge of three rounds from sixteen pieces of ordnance, charged with shells. The ceremony was performed with the greatest solemnity.

Camp Thirty-two Mile Tree 24th August, 1794 (just below Grand Rapids). The wounded being well provided for with carriages, &c., the legion took up the line of march, and halted in their old camp about two o'clock in the evening without any accident. In this day's march we destroyed all the corn and burnt all the houses we met with, which were very considerable.

Camp Fifteen Mile Tree 25th August, 1794 (within Napoleon limits). The legion continued their march, and encamped on this ground at three o'clock P. M. This morning a few of the volunteers remained in the rear of the army, and soon after the legion took up their line of march they saw eight Indians coming into our camp; they fell in with them, killed one and wounded two.

Camp Nine Mile Tree 26th August, 1794 (Above present Florida). The legion continued their march, and after burning and destroying all the houses and corn on their route, arrived on this ground at two o'clock, being one of our encamping places when on our advance.

All the wounded that were carried on litters and horseback were sent forward to Fort Defiance. Doctor Carmichael through neglect had the wounded men of the artillery and cavalry thrown into wagons, among spades, axes, picks, &c., in consequence of which the wounded are now lying in extreme pain, besides the frequent shocks of a wagon on the worst of roads. The wounded of the third sub-legion are under obligations to Doctor Haywood for his attention and humanity to them in their distress.

Camp Fort Defiance 27th August, 1794. The legion continued their route, and at three o'clock were encamped on the Miami. On this day's march we destroyed all the corn and burnt all the houses on our route. The wounded are happily fixed in the garrison, and the doctors say there is no great danger of any of them dying.

Fort Defiance 28th August, 1794. The Commander-in-Chief thinks proper to continue on this ground for some time to refresh the troops and send for supplies. There is corn, beans, pumpkin, &c., within four miles of this place to furnish the troops for three weeks.

August 28th was the first fair day the troops had since they began to return up the Maumee. The following day all the packhorses belonging to the quartermaster and contractors department moved to Fort Recovery under escort of Brigadier-General Todd's brigade of mounted volunteers for supplies. September 1st began the work of making the fort an even more formidable

work of defense, the blockhouses being made bomb-proof. There was complaint of much sickness in camp.

No enemy was met by the detachment of Wayne's army which marched to the head of the Maumee, junction of the St. Marys and St. Josephs, a little below which point Colonel Hamtramck built a fort which on its completion, October 22nd, he occupied and after a salute of fifteen guns named Wayne, in honor of the victorious commander-in-chief and which name is perpetuated by the city of Fort Wayne. The army began the march from Fort Wayne on October 25th and on the evening of November 2nd, 1794, by way of Fort Recovery and Girty's Town, reached Fort Greenville. Here it was saluted with thirty-five guns from a six-pounder from which place it had marched northward July 28th, and now took up winter quarters. "During the ninety-seven days it had marched and countermarched some three hundred miles through the enemy's country, cutting a wagon road the entire distance, besides building three fortifications."—Fort Adams at the St. Marys and Fort Defiance and Fort Wayne.

Before proceeding with the account of the diplomatic sparring between the Indians and Wayne leading up to a final treaty, the story of Capt. William Wells the leader of a division of Wayne's scouting parties during the campaign is here inserted as follows:

As has been noted, Wells when about eleven years old was captured by the Miami Indians and became the adopted son of Chief Little Turtle. In the defeat of Harmar and St. Clair he took a distinguished part, commanding in the latter action three hundred young Indian warriors, who were posted immediately in front of the artillery, and caused much carnage among those who served it. He arranged his party behind logs and trees, immediately under the knoll on which the guns were, and thence almost uninjured, picked off the artillerists, until, it is said, their bodies were heaped up almost to the height of their pieces. After this sanguinary affair, his forecast enabled him to anticipate the final ascendency of the whites, who would be aroused by their reverses to such exertions as must be successful with their preponderance of power, and he resolved to abandon the savages. His mode of announcing this determination was in accordance with the simple and sententious habits of a forest life. He was traversing the woods in the morning, with his adopted father, the Little Turtle, when, pointing to the heavens, he said, "When the sun reaches the meridian I leave you for the whites; and whenever you meet me in battle, you must kill me as I shall endeavor to do by you." The bonds of affection and respect which had bound

these two singular and highly-gifted men together were not severed or weakened by this abrupt dereliction. Captain Wells soon after joined Wayne's army, and by his intimacy with the wilderness, and his perfect knowledge of the Indian haunts, habits and modes of Indian warfare, became an invaluable auxiliary to the Americans. He served faithfully and fought bravely through the campaign, and at the close, when peace had restored amity between the Indians and the whites, rejoined his foster-father, the Little Turtle; and their friendship and connection was broken only by the death of the latter. When his body was found among the slain at Chicago, in August, 1812, the Indians are said to have drunk his blood, from a superstitious belief that they should thus imbibe his warlike endowments, which had been considered by them as pre-eminent.

The above paragraph respecting Wells is copied from the discourse of Henry Whiting, Esq., before the Historical Society of Michigan; that below, relating to his death, is from the MSS. of Col. John Johnston.

William Wells, interpreter for the Miamies, and whose wife was of that nation, himself uncle to Mrs. Heald, the lady of the commandant at Fort Dearborn, Chicago, went from Fort Wayne with a party of twelve or fifteen Miamies to that place, with a view of favoring the escape of the garrison to Fort Wayne. Nothing could have been more unfortunate than this, for Wells was peculiarly obnoxious to the Putawatimies, and especially to the chief, "the Black Bird," who was the leading warrior on the occasion. The Putawatimies were alone in arms against us at the time, in that part of the country. The presence of Wells was fatal to the safety of the troops; the chief Black Bird had often spoken to myself in very bitter terms against him. On the 14th of August, 1812, a council was held between the officers and the chiefs, at which it was agreed that the whole garrison with their arms, ammunition sufficient for the journey and clothing, should retire unmolested to Fort Wayne, and that the garrison, with all that it contained, should be delivered up to the Indians. In the night preceding the evacuation, all the powder and whiskey in the fort were thrown into a canal, communicating from the garrison to the Chicago River. The powder floated out and discovered the deception to the Indians; this greatly exasperated them and, no doubt, brought matters to a crisis. On the morning of the 15th of August the troops marched out to commence their journey, and had proceeded but a short distance when they were

attacked by the Indians. Wells seeing that all was lost, and not wishing to fall into their hands, as he well knew that in that case a cruel and lingering death awaited him, wetted powder and blacked his face, as a token of defiance, mounted his horse and commenced addressing the Indians with all the opprobrious and insulting language he could think of. His purpose evidently was to induce them to dispatch him forthwith. His object was accomplished. They became so enraged at last with his taunts and jeers that one of them shot him off his horse, and immediately pouncing upon him, cut his body open, took out his heart and ate it. The troops were massacred, the commanding officer and wife were saved. * * * Chicago means in Putawatimie, "the place of the polecat."

Among many of the daring exploits of Wells is related the following: "While Wayne's army lay at the Indian village at the confluence of the Auglaize and Maumee, building Fort Defiance, the general wishing to be informed of the intentions of the enemy, dispatched Captain Wells' party to bring in another prisoner. They consisted of Wells, McClellan, the Millers, May and Mahaffy. They proceeded cautiously down the Maumee until opposite the site of Fort Meigs, where was an Indian village. This was on the 11th of August, nine days before the battle. Wells and his party boldly rode into this town as if they had come from the British fort, and occasionally stopped and talked with the Indians in their language. The savages believed them to be Indians from a distance, who had come to take part in the expected battle. After passing through the village, they met some distance from it an Indian man and woman on horseback, who were returning to town from hunting. They made them captives without resistance, and set off for Defiance.

"A little after dark they came near a large encampment of Indians, merrily amusing themselves around their camp fires. Ordering their prisoners to be silent under pain of instant death, they went around the camp until they got about half a mile above it. They then held a consultation, tied and gagged their prisoners, and rode into the Indian camp with their rifles lying across the pummels of their saddles. They inquired when they had heard last of General Wayne and the movements of his army, and how soon and where the expected battle would be fought. The Indians standing about Wells and his party were very communicative, and answered the questions without any suspicions of deceit in their visitors. At length an Indian who was sitting at

some distance said in an undertone in another tongue to some who were near him that he suspected these strangers had some mischief in their heads. Wells overheard it, gave the preconcerted signal, and each fired his rifle into the body of an Indian at not more than six feet distance. The moment the Indian had made the remark, he and his companions rose up with their rifles in hand, but not before each of the others had shot their man. The moment after Wells and party had fired they put spurs to their horses, lying with their breasts on the animals' necks, so as to lessen the mark to fire at, and before they had got out of the light of the camp fires the Indians had fired upon them. As McClellan lay in this position, a ball entered beneath his shoulder-blade and came out at the top of his shoulder; Wells' arm was broken by a ball, and his rifle dropped to the ground; May was chased to the smooth rocks in the Maumee, where, his horse falling, he was taken prisoner.

"The rest of the party escaped without injury, and rode full speed to where their prisoners were confined, and mounting them upon horses, continued their route. Wells and McClellan being severely wounded, and their march slow and painful to Defiance, a distance of about thirty miles, ere they could receive surgical aid, a messenger was dispatched to hasten to the post for a surgeon and a guard. As soon as he arrived with the tidings of the wounds and perilous situation of these heroic and faithful spies, very great sympathy was manifested. Wayne's feeling for the suffering soldier was at all times quick and sensitive. We can then, imagine the intensity of his solicitude when informed of the sufferings and perils of his confidential and chosen band. He instantly dispatched a surgeon and a company of the swiftest dragoons to meet, assist and guard these brave fellows to headquarters, where they arrived safe, and the wounded in due time recovered.

"May, who was taken prisoner, having formerly lived with and ran away from the Indians, was recognized. They told him the second day before the battle: 'We know you; you speak Indian language; you not content to live with us; to-morrow we take you to that tree'—pointing to a very large burr oak at the edge of the clearing near the British fort—'we will tie you up and make a mark on your breast, and we will try what Indian can shoot nearest it.' Accordingly, the next day he was tied to that tree, a mark made on his breast, and his body riddled with at least fifty bullets. Thus ended poor May!"

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE GREENVILLE TREATY

GREAT ASSEMBLAGE OF INDIANS AT GREENVILLE—WAYNE'S DIPLOMACY —NATURE OF THE COMPACT—INCIDENTS OF WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN— FALLEN TIMBERS LAST BATTLE OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION—HISTORICAL COMMENTS OF GEN. W. H. HARRISON.

A study of the diplomatic movements of the chiefs and leaders of the various tribes leading up to the celebrated Treaty of Greenville signed on August 3rd, 1795, shows that they possessed the wisdom and statesmanship which would do credit to a present day civilized commission assembled to formulate the terms of a great national peace compact. A most able exposition of the council is set forth in an address delivered at Greenville on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial of the event, delivered by the Hon. Samuel F. Hunt, the main points of which are as follows:

It was reported to General Wayne that the chiefs and nations were much divided as to peace or war. The Shawanese, the Tawas, and Indians near Detroit were for war; the Wyandots, of Sandusky, were for peace; the Delawares and Miamies were about equally divided; while the Pottawatomies and the Chippewas were greatly disheartened over the battle. It soon became evident that the Indians desired peace. Intelligence came from the West that the Indians were crossing the Mississippi. A new treaty had been made with the Iroquois on the 11th of November; while but few Indians were seen lurking in the neighborhood of Fort Wayne and Fort Defiance. They were impressed with the force of General Wayne after the engagement at the Fallen Timbers. The Pottawatomies called him "The Wind," because, as they said, "he was exactly like the hurricane which drives and tears everything before it." He was known as "The Blacksnake" among the other tribes.

While the army was in winter quarters at Fort Greenville, General Wayne was constantly receiving communications from the chiefs of the tribes—some being of a friendly and others of a hostile character. As early as the 28th and 29th of December,

1794, the chiefs of the Chippewas, Ottawas, Sacs, Pottawatomies and Miamies, came with messages of peace to Fort Wayne; while on January 24th following, these tribes, together with the Delawares Wyandots and Shawanese entered into a preliminary article with General Wayne at Greenville, looking to a permanent and lasting peace. Tarhe, or the Crane, chief Sachem of the Wyandots, entreated the Americans to listen to the chiefs and warriors of his tribe, and referred to the Council and treaty made with General St. Clair at Muskingum in 1789. The Wyandots wrote that they wished for peace, and had determined to bury the hatchet and scalping knife deep in the ground.

General Wayne at once responded to these appeals, and sent word to Tarhe, or Crane, and to all the chiefs and warriors of the Wyandots, and to all other tribes and nations of the Indians in the Northwest, that they should no longer suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the bad advice of unscrupulous men who had often betrayed them by fair and plausible, but false promises of assistance in fighting the fifteen fires of the United States. He said to them, that it was nearly six years since the Sachems and warriors of the Wyandots, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawatomies and Sacs concluded a treaty at the mouth of the Muskingum with General St. Clair for removing all causes of controversy, and for determining the questions of boundary between the Indian tribes and the United States. He contended that that treaty was founded upon the principles of equity and justice, and proposed it as a basis upon which a lasting and permanent peace could be established. They were all invited to come to Fort Greenville, and were assured of a cordial welcome and a safe conduct for all the chiefs and warriors who might attend. An ardent desire was expressed that the Great Spirit would incline their hearts and words to peace, and that they soon might all meet in council.

It was the policy of General Wayne to create a division of opinion and thus prevent unity of action among the tribes, at least until his garrison could be strengthened. It was said that many of the Indians, true to the instincts of pride and ambition, had determined to remove their families far beyond the Mississippi, rather than submit to the humiliation of suing for peace from the white man. Rumor had already reached General Wayne that more than one hundred of the warriors of the Shawanese were then hunting on the head-waters of the Miamies of the Ohio, and of the Scioto, who intended to steal as many horses as would

be necessary to carry them and their families to the Mississippi, where several of their nation and many of the Delawares had already settled, rather than make peace.

In the beginning of June, 1795, the Indians began to collect at Greenville apparently without any concert of action, and gave notice as they arrived that they had come to negotiate a peace. (A great council-house was built to receive them). On the 16th of June, 1795, a number of the Delawares, Ottawas, Pottawatomies, and Eel River Indians having arrived, General Wayne caused them to be assembled on that day, and for the first time met them in general council. After they had received and smoked the calumet of peace, he said that he took them by the hands as brothers assembled for peace; that he had that day kindled the council fire of the United States, and then delivered to each tribe a string of white wampum as an evidence of the friendship thus commenced.

General Wayne said: "The Heavens are high, the woods are open, we will rest in peace. In the meantime we will have a little refreshment to wash the dust from our throats. We will, on this happy occasion be merry, but without passing the bounds of temperance and sobriety. We will now cover up the council fire and keep it alive till the remainder of the different tribes assemble and form a full meeting and representation."

The next day New Corn, one of the old chiefs of the Pottawatomies, with several warriors arrived. He said that they had come from Lake Michigan, and that after the treaty was over they would exchange their old medals for those of General Washington. They wanted peace.

Buck-on-ge-he-las, with a party of Delawares came soon afterward, and also As-i-me-the, with a party of Pottawatomies. They were received at the council-house. The Delaware king told Wayne that his forefathers used soft cloth to dry up their tears, but that they used wampum, and hoped by its influence to do away with all past misfortunes. The Pottawatomie chief said that they were all there—the remainder were dead—and as a proof of their good wishes they had brought with them two prisoners—all in their possession.

General Wayne welcomed them to Greenville; told them that the great council fire had been kindled and the pipe of peace had been smoked. When the Wyandots from Sandusky and Detroit, and the tribes in that quarter would arrive, fresh wood would be added to the fire, and business would be postponed until then. In

the meantime, he would give them something which would make their hearts glad, and also distributed some wampum.

The celebrated Little Turtle, chief of the Miamies, came on the 23rd of June. Little Turtle was the noblest Roman of them all. He commanded at the defeat of Harmar and St. Clair. He, like Pontiac, thirty years before him, was the soul of fire, and every one who reads of the treaty of Greenville will be impressed with his high courage and the manly stand which he took for his race and the hunting grounds of his fathers. It has been said that the sun of Indian glory set with him, and when Little Turtle and Tecumseh passed away the clouds and shadows which for two hundred years had gathered around their race closed in the starless night of death.

The Indian chiefs and warriors who had gathered at Fort Greenville were all present on the 25th of June, when General Wayne addressed them as to the arrangements he had made for their comfort during the council. The exterior redoubts were given up to accommodate the different nations with council houses. He desired them to retire to their quarters like his own men at the firing of the evening gun. If any of his foolish young men were found troubling their quarters he wished the Indians to tie them and send them to him, to be dealt with according to circumstances of the case.

It seems that there had been an accident the day before, in the explosion of some fireworks prepared for the 4th of July, and that the soldiers immediately rushed to their posts, to the astonishment of the Indians, who feared an attack. The General assured them, that this was the order of the camp. They were present at his invitation and were not more secure in their own villages. He humored the Indians by telling them that General Washington and his great council had sent them large presents which he soon expected;—their friends, the Quakers, had also sent them messages and some small presents. Bad Bird, a Chippewa chief, thought that was all very right and very good.

Little Turtle made a short speech on the 30th of June to the Chippewas, and said that when brothers meet they always experienced pleasure; and as it was a little cool, he hoped they would get some drink; and that they expected to be treated as warriors. He wanted some fire-water, and would like to have some mutton and pork occasionally. New Corn was most happy to be in accord with the sentiments of Little Turtle; but their hearts were sorry,

and it grieved them to have seen the graves of their brothers who fell there last winter.

The Sum, chief of the Pottawatomies, complained of the allowance of food. They ate in the morning and became hungry at night. The days were long and they had nothing to do. They became weary and wished for home.

General Wayne was the real diplomat. He was prudent in council as well as brave in war. Warriors from all the Indian tribes of the Northwest had gathered in council, and while those were present who had defied and even defeated the whole armed power of the United Stats, yet they were as little children. He explained that they had no pork, and but few sheep, which were intended for the use of the sick, and occasionally for the officers. He promised that the sick should share with his own sick in the comforts of the camp, and that he would divide with the officers. The graves of which New Corn spoke could not be remedied and grief was unmanly. He gave each of the chiefs a sheep for their own use, and some drink for themselves and their people, to make their hearts glad and to dry up their tears; and then suggested, by way of parenthesis, that they all take a glass together.

General Wayne having now waited as long as was deemed expedient called the council together July 15, 1795, and uncovered the council fire, and had the interpreter sworn. He presented the Calumet of Peace of the fifteen fires (fifteen states) of the United States of America. He showed the Indians present the commission he held from General Washington and the Council of the fifteen fires, appointing him Commander-in-chief of the American Legion, and then the commission which he had received from the same authority on the 4th day of April, 1794, for settling a peace with all the Indians northwest of the Ohio.

He impressed the chiefs and warriors assembled with the great importance of the interests at stake, and that they were now called upon to determine questions which involved the happiness of the United States and the Indian nations. He invoked the blessing of the Great Spirit upon their deliberations.

General Wayne then referred to the treaty which had been concluded by Governor St. Clair at Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum, which had removed all controversy for the time, and had clearly defined the boundaries between them and the United States. He urged them to think coolly of these matters, and having raked up the council fire, invited them all to have some drink.

Little Turtle several days afterward replied with much warmth to General Wayne. "We have heard," said he, "and considered what you have said to us. You have shown, and we have seen, your powers to treat with us. I came here for the purpose of hearing you. I suppose it to be your wish that peace shall take place throughout the world. When we hear you say so we will be prepared to answer you. You have told me that the present treaty should be founded upon that of Muskingum. I beg leave to observe to you that that treaty was effected altogether by the Six Nations, who seduced some of our young men to attend it, together with a few of the Chippewas, Wyandots, Ottawas, Delawares and Pottawatomies. I beg leave to tell you that I am entirely ignorant of what was done at that treaty. I hope those who held it may give you their opinion whether or not it was agreeable to them."

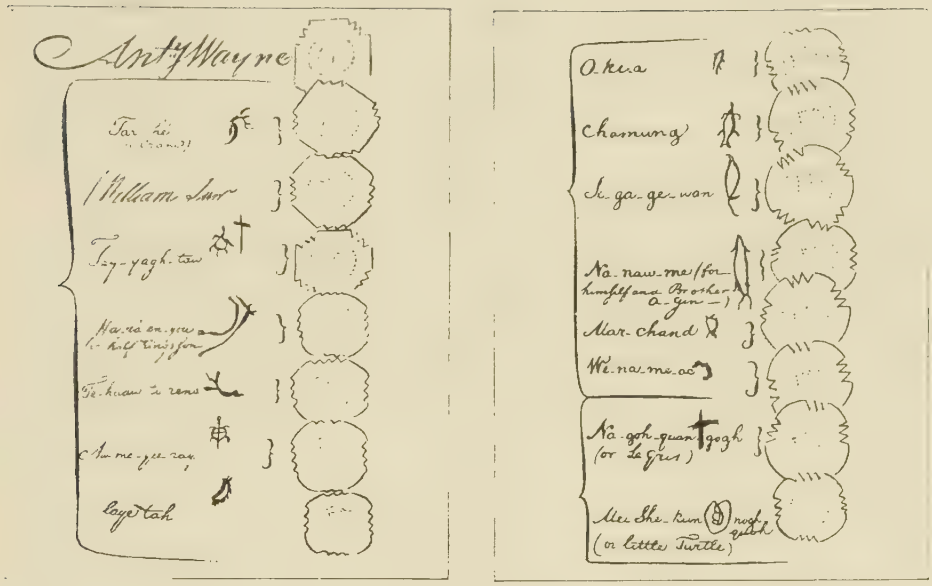
Massas, a celebrated Chippewa chief, arrived on the 18th with Blue Jacket of the Shawanese and participated in the Council. The speech of Massas is interesting in that it gives an account of the celebrated Muskingum Treaty from the Indian standpoint. He was at the Treaty of Muskingum and held a copy in his hand. He admitted that the treaty had not been faithfully followed, but said in extenuation that the waters in their woods were not deep, and that some foolish young men with long arms had reached into the bottom and taken their tomahawks.

Little Turtle demanded to know what lands had been ceded by the Treaty of Muskingum. "I expect," said he, "that the lands on the Wabash and in this country belong to me and my people. I now take the opportunity to inform my brethren of the United States and others present that there are men of sense and understanding among my people as well as among theirs, and that these lands were disposed of without our knowledge and consent. * * * You have pointed out," he continued, "the boundary line between the Indians and the United States, but I now take the liberty to inform you that that line cuts off from the Indians a large portion of country which has been enjoyed by my forefathers from time immemorial without molestation or dispute. The prints of my ancestor's houses are everywhere to be seen in this portion. I was a little astonished at hearing you and my brethren who are present telling each other what business you had transacted together at Muskingum concerning this country. It is well known by all my brothers present that my

forefather kindled the first fire at Detroit; from thence he extended his lines to the head-waters of the Scioto; from thence to its mouth; from thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Wabash, and from thence to Lake Michigan. At this place I first saw my elder brothers, the Shawanese. I have now informed you of the boundaries of the Miami Nation, where the Great Spirit placed my forefather a long time ago, and charged him not to sell or part with his lands, but to preserve them for his posterity. This charge has been handed down to me. I was much surprised that my brothers differed so much from me on this subject; for their conduct would lead me to suppose that the Great Spirit and their forefathers had not given them the same charge that was given to me, but, on the contrary, had directed them to sell their lands to any who wore a hat as soon as he should ask it of them."

On the 17th day of July, 1795, General Wayne fixed the general boundary line that should divide the United States, or the fifteen great fires of America, from the lands belonging to the Indian nations. He explained to them the several articles of a treaty upon which a permanent peace could be established between the United States and the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio. The third article, which should define the boundary, reads that "The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the land of the said Indian tribes shall begin at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place near Fort Laurens; thence westwardly to a fork of that branch of the great Miami River running into the Ohio River, at or near which stood Loramie's Store, and where commenced the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Marys River, which is a branch of the Miami (Maumee) which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on the bank of the Wabash; thence southerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of the Kentucky or Cuttawa River."

There were certain reservations granted to the Indians in this treaty. The treaty provided for a lasting peace, and stipulated that all the prisoners then held should be restored. Little Turtle insisted that the line should run from Fort Recovery to Fort Hamilton, on the Great Miami, and assured the whites of the free navigation of that river from thence to its mouth forever.



THE TREATY OF GREENVILLE

Most important of all Indian treaties, settling the boundary between the United States and Indian lands north of the Ohio by a line zigzagging southwestward from the mouth of the Cuyahoga to near Cincinnati, was signed August 3, 1795, after two months of negotiation between General Wayne and Indian chiefs. Twelve tribes were represented and the total number of aborigines present was 1,130. Eighty-eight chiefs signed the treaty, together with General Wayne's staff and his interpreters and spies, including the well-known Capt. William Wells. Above are some of the signatures which are fairly characteristic of all. Two of the most celebrated are represented in the above illustrations: Tarhe, a Wyandot, and Little Turtle, the Miami, who commanded the Indians at St. Clair's defeat. Little Turtle was also the foster father of Captain Wells. These two Indians impressed the whites with their statesmanlike qualities and were men of real character. General Wayne owed a great deal to the diplomacy and moderation of Tarhe, who was one of the first to recognize the necessity of yielding to the United States and abandoning English alliances. Little Turtle was chief spokesman for the Indians and in gaining his allegiance to the treaty General Wayne's contest was won.

The treaty was signed by the various nations, and dated August the 3d, 1795. It was laid before the Senate December 9th, 1795, and was ratified December 22d, 1795. This closed the old Indian wars of the West.

General Wayne in declaring the Council at an end, said: "I now fervently pray to the Great Spirit that the peace now established may be permanent; and that it may hold us together in the bonds of friendship until time shall be no more. I also pray that the Great Spirit above may enlighten your minds and open your eyes to your true happiness, that your children may learn to cultivate the earth and enjoy the fruits of peace and industry."

By the treaty the Indians ceded about 25,000 square miles of territory to the United States, besides sixteen separate tracts including lands and forts. The Indians received in consideration of these cessions goods of the value of twenty thousand dollars as presents, and were promised an annual allowance of ninety-five hundred dollars to be equally distributed to the parties to the treaty.

A second treaty was concluded at Greenville, July 22, 1814, with the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawanese, Senecas, and Miamies, by Gen. William Henry Harrison and Governor Lewis Cass, commissioners on the part of the United States, by which the tribes engaged to aid the United States in the war with Great Britain and her savage allies.

General Wayne sent a proclamation to the Cherokees, then settled on the head-waters of the Scioto, of the treaty, and invited them to come forward and enter into similar articles of peace. Most of them promised to hunt peaceably on the Scioto until their corn was ripe, and then they would quit this side of the Ohio forever and return to their own country.

Burnet in his Notes, speaks of a party of Shawanese warriors, some sixty or seventy in number, who had been hostile, bringing four prisoners to Greenville, three of whom they had captured on the 13th of July, 1795, in Randolph County, Virginia. Puck-se-saw, or Jumper, one of their chiefs, said that as soon as he received the belt which General Wayne had sent by Blue Jacket, he concluded to surrender the prisoners and promised to do no more mischief.

The blessings of liberty, law and order crown the century which has passed since the signing of the Treaty of Greenville. The harvests are peacefully gathered to their garners, the val-

leys rustle with standing corn and the songs of our homes are uninvaded by the cries and terrors of battle. The soil itself was dedicated to human freedom, and has never been cursed by the unrequited toil of the bondman. The institutions and laws of five great Republics are founded on the imperishable principles of the Ordinance of 1787. It established a code of law for an imperial territory. That great instrument enjoined the utmost good faith toward the Indians in their liberty, their lands and their property, and in the enactment of laws founded on justice and humanity. The treaty of Greenville, following the spirit of its imperishable principles, extended the hand of friendship toward the Indian, respected his liberty, paid full compensation for his lands and protected his property. It established a code of morals for a free people. When some future historian shall write the history of this people he will speak of the great Ordinance as the first attempt to establish civic government in the Northwestern States, and then of the Treaty here proclaimed, which supplants the harsher tones of military strife with the softer syllables of charity and love. If, too, the victories of peace are not less renowned than those of war, then the day will surely come when a grateful people, revering their traditions, and conscious of the maxims imperial of their glory, will erect on this historic ground a majestic monument, having an outstretched hand rather than a fixed bayonet, and with the simple yet immortal inscription, "The Treaty of Greenville." So concluded the address of Mr. Hunt.

It was the greatest assembly of Indian statesmen ever known that gathered and peaceably dispersed after the ceremony. Of 1,130 chiefs present there were: Delawares, 381; Pottawatomies, 240; Wyandots, 180; Shawnees, 143; Miamis and Eel River, 73; Chippewas, 46; Ottawas, 45; Weas and Piankeshaws, 12; Kickapoos and Kaskaskias, 10. William Wells and Isaac Zane were the most prominent interpreters. The conclave lasted fifty days.

The Battle of Point Pleasant twenty years before (1774) has with propriety been referred to as the "first battle of the American Revolution." Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers may well be referred to as the "last battle of the Revolution," although American Independence did not come until the War of 1812. Regarding this view of western writers substantiated by Benjamin Franklin, Gen. William Henry Harrison, also from the viewpoint of a historian, in a letter dated at North Bend, February 17, 1834, wrote the Hon. Thomas Chilton as follows:

"That the Northwestern and Indian war was a continuation of the Revolutionary contest is susceptible of proof. The Indians in that quarter had been engaged in the first seven years of the war as the allies of Great Britain, and they had no inclination to continue it after the peace of 1783. It is to British influence that their subsequent hostilities are to be attributed. The agents of that government never ceased to stimulate their enmity against the government of the United States, and to represent the peace which had been made as a temporary truce, at the expiration of which 'their great fathers would unite with them in the war, and drive the long knives from the lands which they had so unjustly usurped from his red children.' This was the cause of the detention of the posts of Detroit, Mackinaw and Niagara so long after the treaty of 1783. The reasons assigned for so doing deceived nobody after the failure of the negotiations attempted by General Lincoln, Governor Randolph and Colonel Pickering, under British mediation voluntarily tendered.

"The bare suggestion of a wish by the British authorities would have been sufficient to induce the Indians to accept the terms proposed by the American Commissioners. But at any rate the withholding of the supplies with which the Indians had been previously furnished would have left no other alternative but to make peace. From that period, however, the war was no longer carried on 'in disguise.' Acts of open hostility were committed. In June, 1794, the Indians assembled at the Miami of the Lake, (Maumee) and were completely equipped out of the King's store, (McKees) from the fort (a large and regularly fortified work) which had been built there in the preceding spring, for the purpose of supporting the operations of the Indians against the army of General Wayne. Nor was the assistance limited to the supply of provisions and munitions of war. On the advance of the Indians they were attended by a captain of the British army, a sergeant, and six matrosses, provided with fixed ammunition, suited to the calibre of two field-pieces which had been taken from General St. Clair and deposited in a creek near the scene of his defeat in 1791. Thus attended, they appeared before Fort Recovery (the advanced post of our army), on the 4th of July, 1794, and having defeated a large detachment of our troops, encamped under its walls, and would probably have succeeded in taking the fort if the guns which they expected to find had not been previously discovered and removed. In this action Captain Hartshorn, of the First Sub-legion, was wounded

by the Indians, and afterwards killed in a struggle with Captain McKee, of the British army. [It is proper to state that Captain McKee asserted that he interfered to save Hartshorn, but that he refused quarter and attempted to kill him (McKee), and would have succeeded if he had not been anticipated by his (McKee's) servant.]

"Upon the advance of the American army in the following month, the British fort at the Rapids was again a point of rendezvous for the Indians. There the deficiencies in arms, ammunition and equipments were again supplied; and there they were fed with regular rations from the king's stores, consisting of flour and Irish beef, until the arrival of General Wayne with his army on the 20th of August. In the general action of that day there were two militia companies from Amherstburg and Detroit. The captain of the cutter (who was also the clerk of the court at that place) was found among the killed, and one of his privates taken prisoner. These unequivocal acts of hostility on the part of Great Britain did not pass unnoticed by our government, and although anxious to avoid a general war, the President determined that the aggression on our territory by the erection of a fortress so far within our acknowledged limits required some decisive measure.

"Authority was therefore given to General Wayne to dispossess the intruders, if, in his opinion, it was necessary to the success of his operations against the Indians.

"Although the qualification of this order, in its literal sense, might be opposed to its execution after the entire defeat of the Indians—the daring violation of neutrality which was professed, by the supply of food, arms and ammunition to the enemy on the very morning of the action, afforded, in the opinion of General Wayne, a sufficient justification for its being carried into effect. An accurate examination, however, of the defences of the fort, made by the general at great personal hazard, showed but too clearly that our small howitzers—which had been transported on the backs of horses—our only artillery, could make no impression upon its massive earthen parapet, while the deep fosse and frasing by which it was surrounded afforded no prospect of the success of an escalade, but at an expense of valuable lives, which the occasion did not seem to call for.

"*From my situation as aide-de-camp to the general-in-chief I mention these things from personal knowledge. If, then, the relation I have given is correct, it must be admitted that the war*

of the Revolution continued in the western country until the peace of Greenville in 1795."

And as hereinbefore stated, Harrison might justly have said eighteen years after the Greenville Treaty, when he "cleaned up" Proctor's British forces at the Canadian Thames River, "Actual American Independence has never been achieved until this day"—October 5, 1813.

GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE MONUMENT

Overlooking site of Battle Ground of Fallen Timbers (1794) on the Maumee River, above present Maumee.

CHAPTER XXXV

OFFICIAL REVIEW CONCERNING THE NORTHWEST

THE BOUQUET AND HALDIMAND PAPERS—ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY REGION—BRITISH LETTERS AND CORRESPONDENCE FROM 1761 TO 1795—THE TRUTH ABOUT FORT MIAMI AND FORT INDUSTRY—BRITISH EVIDENTLY BUILT FORT INDUSTRY—CORRESPONDENCE OF EARLY SANDUSKY AND MAUMEE RIVER TRADERS—MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY EARLY ROUTES OF TRAVEL.

The military dispatches, papers and letters following, are set forth in the nature of an official review of the period indicated by the dates of the various documents and letters. They assist in emphasizing certain points in the regular story and bring the reader in closer touch with numerous worthwhile events:

In the "Bouquet Papers" is found the following order to Lieut. Elias Meyer, Fort Pitt, of the date of August 12, 1761, to build a fort on Sandusky Bay: Sir—You are hereby directed to take under your command and march tomorrow thirteen August a Detachment of 1 Sub. two Serjits, one Dr Two Corp: and thirty Private of the first Battn R. A. R. & proceed with convenient Dispatch to Sandusky Lake; on the south side of which; and at the most convenient Place, you are to build a small Block House with a Pallissade round it, to serve as a Haltin Place for our Party going & coming from Detroit.

As soon as you are arrived at Sandusky you are to inform Capt Campbell (Detroit) of it, and of the number of cattle you have with you, which being destined for His Garrison, He will send a Party from Detroit to receive them from you & send you salt Pork if you want any, as well as the Ship Carpenters & some necessary Tools, Sawyers, & Masons—you will also correspond occasionally with Capt. Cochran at Presqu' Isle. [Erie, Pa.]

On your march and during your stay at Sandusky you will carefully prevent any difference wh Indians & not permit that they get any strong Liquor on any Pretence whatever.

You will inform me by all opportunities of your proceedings & be as expeditious as possible in order to compleat your work

before the bad weather sets in. You will receive further orders respecting the Garrison of that Post before you leave it.

You are to give Certificates to the Horse Drivers specifying the number of days they have been on their march and allow them the time which will appear to you just for the return of their Horses.

The compleat Ration is nine pounds of bread, eight pounds of Beef or Mutton per week & as seven pounds of flour make nine pounds of Bread where you can not get Bread baked that amount of flour is to be issued in lieu of the nine lbs of Bread and five pounds of Pork is equal to eight Pounds of fresh or Salt Beef.

You will allow your men a gill of Rum a day when they work in lieu of pay.

Given under my Hand at Fort Pitt this 12th day of August 1761.

To Lieut. Elias Meyer of the R. A. R.

The above order is for the third construction of old Fort Sandoski where Ensign Pauli was left in command until the attack made during Pontiac's Conspiracy, as has been related. A letter regarding the same post, from General Robert Monckton at New York, dated July 5, 1761, for Lieutenant Bassett and others has this:

New York July ye 5th 1761

Sir

The Day before yesterday I was favoured with your Letters of the 12th June. I am sorry to find that the Provincials move up so slow, as we are loosing a great deal of work. Croghan who will deliver you this is going to Detroit, to meet Sir Wm Johnston —and as Sir William is to have a great meeting there the Genl has desired me to send him some Cattle to treat the chiefs with. I have spoke to Croghan about it who says there need only be a few Drivers and he will send some Indians. You will therefore send off immediately what you think will be necessary or can conveniently be done, I write to Plumstead to send up others.

In regard to the men Intitled to their Discharge, I think you ought discharge as many as will bring you down to your complement.

I hope before you receive this you will have repaired for the Block House at Sanduski, George Croghan will have a good opportunity of speaking about it to the Indians, as he goes to Detroit.

A letter from Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt, to General Monckton and dated Sept. 10, 1761, among other things says that "Lieutenant Meyer and Ensign Pauli left this the 13th August, (for Sandusky) having 30 oxen and 40 sheep all the cattle we had at that time."

On his arrival at the Sandusky, Lieutenant Meyer wrote Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt as follows:

Sept the 1st 1761

Sir

I have great need of various things from Detroit which I have thought that one & the other would be stopped in the work for want of. I am resolved to go myself to morrow morning to hasten the things as much as possible. I hope to return in 6 or 8 days. Mr. Pauli is perfectly acquainted with all which has to be done in my absence.

I have the honour to be
Sir, Your very humble and
very obedient servant
ELIAS MEYER Lieut.

Another communication from Lieutenant Meyer, Sandusky Bay to Colonel Bouquet at Fort Pitt reads:

Sept 24th 1761

Sir

I returned here from Detroit on the 17th having been obliged to wait four days for want of a batteau. Mr. Campbell has assisted me with a carpenter and a master and eight barrels of salt pork, as for flour he had none himself for he had to furnish four other posts besides he had orders from General Amherst that he was to have nothing to do with my post. Judge then Sir, in what position I will be soon if you do not help me very quickly. The inclosed papers will show you what I have received and what remains with me. We have lost five sheep by the dogs of the village chasing them into the woods, and after two days search by all the detachment (off guard) we recovered none from the wolves (which are in large numbers here) they have been devoured I believe.

A man came here to day who has worked as a carpenter for the Beaver King at Tuscarawa, I have kept him here for the King's service, having great need of him. I have at present three

carpenters and the promise of two others from Detroit in 15 days but I cannot count much on the latter.

If I only had one or two masons and their provisions I do not doubt to be able to finish the Block house in one or two months from now.

I pray you very earnestly my colonel to help me in my needs the more so as the General regards this post (as he expressed in one of his letters to Chevallier Johnson) : as a post to keep the Canadians in check.

The King's horse which I believe to be stolen by the Indians was brought back here by Mr. Phillips Boyle.

All the detachment is in perfect health we have had no sickness yet. It is not the same at Detroit Sir Major Gladwin and Ensign Holmes were at my departure at the point (of death) and they have 17 R. A. sick of the fever.

If I had any ammunition, or any other trifles to give to the Indians for venison. I promise to subsist the detachment partly when the hunting begins which will be in fifteen days and the King would profit considerably.

Sir Wm. Johnson, (Indian Agent) his son and Lt. Johnson arrived here at mid day from Detroit. They did us the honour of dining with us and left this evening for the Grand Lake.

If you send any flour here, I pray you Sir to be good enough to give the order that they be good and that the bags are not like the last I received. They had for the most part a crust inside of two fingers in depth, and by the flour of which we could absolutely make no use we found ourselves 809 lbs too short.

The drummer has by accident broken his drum which is irrepairable, this is a great loss for by the works on which the workmen (are engaged) all day they are extremely scattered in the woods & it is extremely hard to assemble them without a drum.

I have the honor to be with much respect Sir

Your very humble and very obedient servant

ELIAS MEYER Lt.

Another letter from Lieutenant Meyer to Colonel Bouquet—

Fort Sandusky, the 29th Nov. 1761

Sir

The lowest price for an egg at Detroit is three ecus' & a bushel of wheat twenty shillings.

I sent on the 17th three barrels of powder to Capt Campbell and I am obliged to send the Grenadier Cant to Detroit with Mr.

Spear to be cured of the small pox. There are besides the grenadier the drummer and another sick.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Your very humble &
Very obedient servant
ELIAS MEYER Lt.

The dispatch following is from Lieutenant Christie, sent from Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.) to Lieutenant Gordon at Venango, between Presque Isle and Fort Pitt. It concerns Pontiac's Conspiracy and an attack upon the British by the Indians at the mouth of Detroit River; also tells of the ruins of old Fort Sandoski after its destruction in Pontiac's campaign:

Presqu' Isle 3rd June 1763.

Sir,

This morning Lieut. Cuyler of Queen's Compy of Rangers came here and gave me the following melancholy account, of his whole Party Being cut off by a large Body of Indians at the mouth of Detroit River the 28th of May about eleven o'clock at night.

He tells me he left Niagara the 13th May with 97 men, Ten Batteaux & 139 Barrels of Provisions. He had Serjt Cope & seventeen men of the Royal A. Regiment, the Rest Rangers.

Killed: Serjt Cope & 15 Privates of Rl. American Regt, Serjt Fislinger & 42 of the Rangers, one woman & child.

Lieut Cuyler & 3 Privates wounded—Two died of their wounds since. He has lost all the Provisions except five Barrels of Pork, Lost also eight Batteaux. He is to return to Niagara to morrow with the two Batteaux he has saved and the Remainder of his command.

After the Affair he made the best of his way to Sanduskie, But found it Burnt to the Ground, and every thing destroyed about it.

God only knows what became of poor Mr. Pelly (Pauli) & his Party.

He also tells me Mr. Schlosser at his Post has met with the same fate.

I have sent to Niagara a letter to the Major desiring some more Ammunition & Provisions and have kept six men of Lieut Cuylers as I expect a visit from the Hell-Hounds.

I have ordered every body here to move into the Block House and shall be ready for them come when they will.

I am Sir
Your very humble Servant
J_____ C_____

To
Lieut Gordon

From the Bouquet documents is a considerable interim until the "Haldimand Papers" are reached. Showing the character of some of the traders in the lake region and Sandusky and Maumee, the following is taken from a letter written to the British General Haldimand by Maj. Henry Bassett dated at Detroit April 29, 1773:

Detroit 29th April 1773.

Sir,

I have just received an account by a Trader from St. Dusky, that a Chawanese Savage has killed Mr. McDowel, a Trader from Pensylvania without any provocation except refusing to sell him Rum. The Indian put his Gun through a small hole in a window & shot him as he was sitting at his fire. untill some effectual method is fallen on to prevent such Quantities of Rum coming up from Albany & Canada, we shall never have a safe Trade, the Chiefs complain much of the intention of the English to kill all their young men, it prevents their hunting, by letting such quantities of spirits go out amongst them, and hurts the trade very much, for instead of that Poison when they return from their winter, they would purchase Blankets, shrowdings &ca which are the manufactures of England, and there would be three times the quantity of Peltry sent home. The Chiefs declare they loose more of their young men by Rum than they used to do by war, & I imagine from what I can learn, are discontented. Believe me Sir, its not in the power of a Commanding officer at this post, to prevent their going among them, for the Traders land it down the River & have a thousand other tricks to deceive the Commanding officer & cheat the poor Savages. The Traders in general that are on these Posts, are the outcasts of all Nations, and the refuse of Mankind, I sincerely wish there was a Police form'd for these upper Country's, to make these Vagabonds tremble, a commanding officer here has not authority to punish these Villains & if he takes any steps to recover debts, or any other civil affair, they think together & raise a power to torment him,

when he goes down there, these fellows call English Liberty, I should imagine if your Excellency would pleace to speak to Governor Tryon, he may possibly have some alterations made in these papers, & oblige them when they come to these Posts, to be subject to the orders of the commanding officer this would contribute much to keep the Savages quiet for notwithstanding repeated orders these Traders and their Batteau men, watch the skirts of the wood within 3 miles of the Fort & make Bargains with the Indians, cheat them of their Peltry, Venison &ca. lodge it safe in a French house or hide it untill they have an opportunity to convey it privately into the Fort, your Excellency may imagine this may be easily prevented but it is impossible without a commanding officer risking a persecution at Law, until its fully in his power to put these fellows in the guard House, and send them by the first opportunity down to New York, or Canada, till then you'll have frequent murders committed, for they first made the Indians drunk & cheat them, this cant be easily proved in a Court of Justice, for they are all of the same way of thinking & there is no person to prosecute, the poor savage murmors & says it was an English Trader & the particular person is not found out.

Of course the Bouquet Papers were of the times before the opening of the American Revolution. Therefore the Quotations now from the Haldimand documents are from a point well along in the latter period.

In September 1778, Alexander McKee who had joined the British as their agent, passed up the Maumee River with belts, wampum and presents, as a war messenger from the British Governor Hamilton at Detroit to the Shawnees. When Hamilton in the first days of October that year passed up the Maumee River from Detroit on his campaign against Vincennes, he was evidently met by McKee. For the latter wrote the following letter to Captain Lernoult, Hamilton's successor at Detroit. The "Upper Shawnee town" where McKee dates his letter, was probably Piqua or the one within now Allen County, Ohio. The communication to Captain Lernoult reads—

Upper Shawanese Town
Oct 25th 1778.

Sir,

Since my arrival amongst these Indians various reports has been propogated of a considerable Army of Virginians being up on their way against Detroit &c. This day several Chiefs have

declared to me that they have received certain Information, which may be depended upon, of the Truth of this intelligence, therefore I must look upon it as a duty incumbent upon me to give you the earliest advice thereof, & I have requested these Indians to make you acquainted constantly of their Progress. Tomorrow I set out to Join Govr. Hamilton at the Miamis. If anything further of importance comes to my knowledge shall not fail to acquaint you.

I am Sir
With great respect
Your most obedt. hum. Servt.
(Signed) A. McKEE

To
Capt Lernoult.

P. S. Since writing the above am informed by an Indian from the Rebel Army that they have three pieces of cannon with them —and that they will take Post the 26th of this month at Tuscarawas where they propose building a Fort.

The above letter written in the forest wilds, refers also to the proposed advance of General McIntosh against Detroit, and shows the remarkable co-ordination of operations between the various detachments and expeditions of the British and Indians in their movements, and how at long distances in a wild country, they kept in touch with one another. The same of course was true of the Americans. "The Miamis" McKee refers to meant the Indians on the upper Maumee.

The following letter is interesting from the fact that it concerns the George Rogers Clark-Hamilton contest for Vincennes and also the preparations at Detroit by the British for the expected attack by the Americans under General McIntosh from Fort Pitt.

Niagara Feby 12h 1779.

I was determined not to wait longer than next Monday for the Express from Detroit however an Indian arrived with letters from Governor Hamilton & Captain Lernoult with the agreeable news that Post Vincent was in our possession, but as I forward these letters from the Governor to Your Excellency they will inform you of the particulars.

Captain Lernoult writes me word that having no hopes of any reinforcement he resolved with the advice of his officers to throw up a strong work on the high ground which entirely com-

mands his weak Fort, (Detroit) large enough to secure the stores & Provisions belonging to the Crown and to enable him to make such a defence as every officer zealous for the service and his own honor would wish. The behaviour of the Canadians during these troubles gives him very small hopes of those at Detroit. The greater part of the Merchants have assisted him cheerfully, and he has promised them a Corner to secure their most valuable effects, at least as much as will help to defend them. All those employed on the works receive Rum & Provisions, but no pay except the Artificer The Timber for a Bomb Proof and the Platforms are all ready cut, and they are bringing them in as expeditiously as the deep roads will permit, the quantity of rain lately has retarded him much, yet the work is far advanced, as the mild season has prevented the Enemy from advancing thro' the swamps & he hopes to have time to compleat the work to receive them properly, by the last intelligence he can learn there is a large body of them encamped near the Concerite River within three days march of the Upper St. Duske Village, (Half King) their encampment extends near a mile & a half, having four Redoubts at some distance from each other in their front with Cannon in each and are commanded by a Colonel McIntosh. They are trying every method to draw the Indians from the Government, have sent Belts and Strings to invite them to Council but if Indians are to be credited, most of the nations have refused listening to them, he informs me that every encouragement has been given to the Indians to oppose them and hold fast the chain of Friendship with us, and has sent them cloathing, ammunition &c. &c. to engage them to continue firm.

The Hurons lately arrived from thence inform him the Enemy are very much upon their guard and both day and night send large Detachments of horse & foot for some miles round their encampment which prevents the people he has sent out to get Intelligence of their numbers he also acquaints me of having received a Belt lately from the Southern Indians sent to Captain Pipes (Chief of the Delawares) in our interest informing him of their being on their march to the Cherokee Creek, and that a body of Royalists are coming up the Mississippi to Join them in order to clear the Ohio of the Rebels. this he says corresponds with the intelligence Govr. Hamilton mentions in his letter to have received, he intends soon sending another express with the returns & accts of the expenses incur'd on the Governor's expedition, which he is under the necessity of drawing for during his absence,

which cou'd not be sent at this time, as Mr. Hamilton desired his Dispatches should be forwarded with speed.

I have desired Major Buttler to do all he can to employ the Indians about Fort Pitt in cutting off their supplies & to exert themselves as much as possible to make a Diversion in favour of our friends at Detroit—a strong party was sent that way before this news arrived. Captain Lernoult you may be assured Sir, will do all that is possible with the weak Garrison under his command to disappoint the Enemy's views.

I am your Excellency's
most obliged & obedt. Servant
MASON BOLTON

His Excellency
General Haldimand

A letter dated at Niagara, May 8, 1779, from Capt. Dederick Brehm to General Haldimand, shows that matters for the British at all quarters and at most all their posts had been at a low ebb and that Col. George Rogers Clark was right when he said that with a small force he could have captured Detroit from Vincennes.

A letter written at Upper Sandusky by Henry Bird, engineer, who built Fort Lernoult at Detroit in the winter of 1778-1779 and who in 1780 led the British and Indian expedition up the Maumee from Detroit to Bryant's and Ruddell's stations, Kentucky, among other things says: "Our Enemies will meet with little or no opposition in their progress to Detroit. The Fort (Pitt) full of Delawares the Rebels (Americans) offered 800 Dollars for Girty's Scalp—five Delawares thinking he marched with me way laid us on the road Girty was a day forward, they did not attack us, this information we got by credible informers. Girty and his Senecas gone in quest. Girty I assure you Sir, is one of the most useful disinterested friends in his Department Government has. * * * Nothing can be done with these wretches (Indians) who talk of moving off their grounds."

Here is the report of Capt. Henry Bird, British, to Major De Peyster at Detroit, of his expedition up the Maumee River to Kentucky and his attacks on Bryant's and Ruddell's Stations.

Ohio opposite
Licking Creek
July 1st 1780.

Sir,

After fatigues that only those present can entertain a proper Idea of we arrived before Fort Liberty (Ruddell's Station) the

24th of June. I had before that day entreated every Indian officer that appeared to have Influence among the Savages, to pursuade them not to engage with the Fort, untill the guns were up—fearing if any were killed it might exasperate the Indians & make them commit cruelties when the Rebels surrender.

Poor McCarty in every other respect an extreme, attentive, serviceable fellow, perished by disobeying orders. An Indian was shot through the arm. The three Pounder was not sufficient, our People raised a Battery of Rails & Earth within 80 rods of the fort—taking some advantage of a very violent storm of rain which prevented them being seen clearly—They stood two discharges of the little gun, which only cut down a Spar & stuck the shot in the side of a House—When they saw the Six Pounder moving across the Field, they immediately surrendered, they thought the three Pounder a Swivel the Indians and their Department had got with them—The conditions granted That their Lives should be saved, and themselves taken to Detroit, I forewarn'd them that the Savages would adopt some of their children. The Indians gave in Council the Cattle for Food for our People & the Prisoners and were not to enter till the next day—But whilst Capt. McKee and myself were in the Fort settling these matters with the poor People, they rush'd in, tore the poor children from their mothers Breasts, killed a wounded man and every one of the cattle, leaving the whole to stink. We had brought no Pork with us & were now reduced to great distress, & the poor Prisoners in danger of being starved.

I talked hardly to them of their breach of Promise—But however we marched to the next Fort, which surrendered without firing a gun. The same Promises were made & broke in the same manner, not one pound of meat & near 300 Prisoners—Indians breaking into the Forts after the Treaties were concluded. The Rebels ran from the next Fort and the Indians burn'd it—They then heard the news of Col. Clark's coming against them & proposed returning—which indeed had they not proposed I must have insisted on, as I had then fasted some time & the Prisoners in danger of starving—incessant rains rotted our People's feet the Indians almost all left us within a days march of the Enemy. It was with difficulty I procured a guide thro' the woods—I marched the poor women & children 20 miles in one day over very high mountains, frightening them with frequent alarms to push them forward, in short, Sir, by water & land we came with all our cannon &c 90 miles in 4 days, one day out of which we lay by

entirely, rowing 50 miles the last day—we have no meat & must subsist on Flour if there is nothing for us at Lorimiers. (Head of Great Miami River on their return journey to Detroit). I am out of hope of getting any Indians to hunt, or accompany us, however George Girty I detain to assist me—I could Sir, by all acounts have gone through the whole country without any opposition, had the Indians preserved the cattle. Everything is safe so far, but we are not yet out of reach of pursuit. As a very smart fellow escaped from me within 26 miles of the Enemy—Provisions and Peraugues [boats] we shall want at the glaize (Auglaize) & the vessel at the mouth of the Miamis. (Maumee).

I refer you to the Bearer for particulars.

I am Sir
with respect
Your most obedt. Servant
(signed) HENRY BIRD

Major
De Peyster

The above report shows that the British exercised little control over the Indians—in fact scarcely attempted it. McKee in a letter dated July 8, 1780, at the "Shawnee Village," gives De Peyster an account of the same attacks.

On his return journey to Detroit from his Kentucky expedition Capt. Henry Bird at an Ottawa Indian village on the Auglaize River south of now Defiance, on July 24, 1780, wrote De Peyster at Detroit that—

"Gray arrived here this day, we have made out so far very well, having left the Forks within a day's march of the Fort we took the first of July, and with fourteen days hard working arrived at the Standing Stone, which is an hundred and twenty miles against a very bad and rappid River. All the other delays were occasioned, by the Transportation of the Artillery Stores &c. which we have got to Monsr Lorimiers (head of Loramie's Creek, a Great Miami tributary) by going and returning with the few horses Capt. Hare brought us.

"The Provisions we had were of infinite service—three days after we arrived at the Standing Stone our Provisions were out. His stock will serve us to the entrance of the Miamis, (Maumee) where your goodness, Sir, has provided for us.

"The Waters are so low they will not furnish sufficient for a Bark Canoe within 50 miles of Monsr Lorimiers.

"I have left the Bombardiers Robinson, Crow & Gallougher, who stay Volunteers with the guns—until rains make the waters sufficient for their transportation, there are two paragues [pirogues] here for them. Col. Clarke arrived within a day or so of the time I marked for his certain arrival. Capt. Hinxon who made his escape from us, had candour sufficient to tell Col. Clarke, he and the Prisoners were treated in so different a manner from what they expected, that had not his Family been at the Falls, he would have preferred going with us to Detroit.

"I have much news from the private conversation with the Prisoners, and other means, respecting the situation of the country, their Force and manner of making Levies &c. &c many of the Prisoners would not take the oath to Congress, I don't believe we have more than two Families really Rebels, their names McGuire and Mahon—the rest are composed of good Farmers with extreme industrious Families who are desirous of being settled in Detroit with some Land. They fled, they say, from persecution, & declare if Government will assist them to get them on foot as Farmers, they will, as Militia, faithfully defend the country that affords them protection."

During the closing years of the eastern activities of the American Revolution, the British continually expected and feared an attack upon Detroit either by way of the Maumee River by George Rogers Clark or some other commander, or from the direction of Fort Pitt. This fact crops out at this time all through their official correspondence. And they had reason for their expectations, as the American military authorities many times planned and started such an expedition, which from one cause or another failed of realization.

Investigation anew of the situation between the British at Detroit and the Americans in the Maumee and Sandusky region at this time has brought to light important discoveries theretofore passed over concerning the British Fort Miami on the lower Maumee River and Fort Industry, mouth of Swan Creek, within the now limits of Toledo.

Captain Alexander Grant in 1764 was appointed commodore of the British vessels and military fleet on Lake Erie and had charge of the naval operations there until after 1800. When Detroit was threatened by American attack, Captain Grant was ordered to station armed boats at the mouth of or on lower Maumee River as a defense measure. This is shown by an important

dispatch or letter from Commodore Grant to Brigadier-General Powell at Niagara as follows:

Detroit March 18h 1781.

Sir

I acknowledge your favor of the 12h last month by the express, at the same time I received a Letter from Captain Schanks dated at Quebec the 7h January, desiring to send some ship Carpenters from this Department to that of Carleton Island could they be spared, which the master builder at this place informs me is impossible from the absolute necessary repairs and work that is to be carried on here, exclusive of Building a new vessel, and its evident to me that none can be spared without endangering the service here.

Major De Peyster informed me that he had accounts of the Enemy intending our advancing towards this Post, and directs two of the vessels that would be best spared from the Transportation to be well armed so that they might be stationed in the River Miamis (Maumee) or where most necessary. I have accordingly fitted out the Schooner Faith and Sloop Adventure for that purpose. The Major says he cannot spare Troops as Marines to be put on board these vessels, in that case its out of my power to man them properly for defence, being as much as I can do, with the number of men we have in the Department to man the vessels for the Transportation. This will prevent our having it in our power to give any assistance in the Transportation between Little Niagara and Fort Erie, as the two vessels usually allotted for that Business were the Faith and Adventure.

By the Express the day before yesterday from Michilimackinac, the senior officer of the Department there, informs me that he thinks the *Welcome* is not repairable, and that they cannot ascertain the damage done the *Angelica* till the ice breaks up. He further tells me there is neither White Oak or Pine on that Island, or near hand it, so as to have good Plank Sawn for the Repair of them and also no artificers to give the least assistance.

I am Sir
Your most obedient and
most humble Servant
(Signed) ALEX GRANT

Brigadier-General Powell

April 23, 1781, General Haldimand from Quebec wrote to General Powell at Niagara that by "many local circumstances for

(from) the motions of the enemy (Americans) may render it expedient to have more vessels at the Miamis (Maumee) * * * besides it may require more time than is supposed to arm the *Wiandott* in which case the *Faith* may take that station (Maumee) for a part or for the whole summer."

Major De Peyster wrote from Detroit under date of August 17, 1782, to General Haldimand that "According to the Report of an Ottawa Chief, Capt. Caldwell is encamped on the banks of the Ohio, where he proposes to remain until he gets certain accounts of the Enemy. *Capt. Grant arrived here with the Faith and Gunboat yesterday.*"

A communication dated at Detroit August 7, 1782, written by General Powell to General Haldimand says: "I found the works here (Detroit) in a very ruinous state, from the depradations occasioned by the continual heavy rains, but from the indefatiguable zeal with which the garrison continue to repair them, I do not doubt they will be in a very defensible state before the Enemy can appear before them. As Captain Caldwell is now supposed to have two thousand Indians with him, *which with the two armed vessels that will be stationed at the mouth of the Miamis* (*Maumee*) *River*, must retard their progress very much, if not totally defeat them."

On August 17, 1782, General Powell from Niagara wrote to General Haldimand that the *Adventurer* had left the Maumee River on the 12th (August) and "a Letter from *Capt. Grant who is in the Faith upon that station*, mentions that no accounts had been received either from Captain Caldwell or from the motion of the Rebels."—(Americans)

However, here is the most important letter of all that have been set forth. It is written by Capt. J. Burnet to Brigadier-General Powell from Detroit, on September 5, 1782 and is as follows:

Sir

Capt. Grant being ill, desires me to acquaint you, that not doubting Major De Peyster gave you every information from the Indian Country, he declined troubling you on his return from the Miami (Maumee) River; *that finding the Provisions at the mercy of the weather and Indians, he built a rough Block-house for its lodgement, which may be defended by ten men against a hundred.*

Favorable accounts coming in from the Indian Country, and the appearance of a press of Transport induces Capt. Grant to let the *Gage* slip down for a load or two, under the Command of

Lieut. & Commander Harrow, and I am detained here for the *Faith*, or whatever service may become immediately necessary; he hopes this will meet with your approbation, as no alteration is made in the *Gage* to prevent her being ready for actual service in two days if necessary. Lieut Duhamel goes down by this opportunity being discharged the service, agreeable to the Commander in Chief's orders. Volunteer Leansiere also goes down, having leave of absence by Capt. Shank (Schank).

I have the honor to be &c &c
(Signed) J. BURNET

B. Genl. Powell

The above statement shows that the British sometime during the summer of 1782 "built a rough Blockhouse (for the lodgment of supplies) which may be defended by ten men against a hundred" somewhere on the lower Maumee River. This statement would indicate that the structure was built not only as a place to house supplies, but also for a defense—a fort. It also must have been garrisoned, as the supplies would not have been left unguarded. The facts are that this blockhouse was built as a work of defense against the long expected "Rebels," (Americans) coming from the Kentucky region to attack Detroit.

The important question is, the location of this blockhouse. Unfortunately it is not definitely stated and therefore where would be its most probably site? Commodore Grant it is shown by one statement above, had his *armed boats stationed "at the mouth of the Miamis (Maumee) River."*

While this is indefinite, a very likely point would be near the mouth of Swan Creek. For, all during the American-British contests in this territory, Swan Creek is mentioned. The Indians congregated upon that stream and supplies were deposited for them there. Alexander McKee wrote later from the Maumee Rapids that "I have been employed several days in endeavoring to fix the Indians (who have been driven from their villages and cornfields) between the fort (Miami) and the bay. *Swan Creek is generally agreed upon;* and will be a very convenient place for the delivery of provisions, ect." This was after the battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794, when the Indians took refuge on Swan Creek.

Therefore, until better evidence is brought forth, isn't it probable that this blockhouse was located at the mouth of Swan Creek and that it later took the name of Fort Industry. No one knows definitely who built Fort Industry, when it was constructed, nor

for what purpose, and this seemingly is the best theory yet advanced regarding it.

It has been suggested that the British blockhouse was upon the site later chosen for the construction by the British Governor Simcoe, for Fort Miami built in 1794. But that theory is hardly as tenable as the Fort Industry idea, another fact being that a map of the Maumee River and environs shows a prominent Indian camp on the north side of Swan Creek at its mouth, where Fort Industry was located.

Capt. William Caldwell thus reports the defeat and capture of Colonel Crawford:

Sandusky June 11h 1782.

Sir

No doubt but you must ere this have received Lieut Turney's letter from upper Sandusky—at the time it was wrote we were not able to ascertain properly the Enemy's loss as the pursuers were not all returned. I now have the pleasure of transmitting to you as true an account as possible, which is killed and wounded 250—amongst the Prisoners Colonel Crawford and some of the officers—amongst the killed is Major McClellan. Their officers I believe suffered much. Our loss is very inconsiderable, one Ranger kill'd, myself and two wounded—Levillier killed, four Indians killed & eight wounded. The white men that are wounded are in a good way and I hope will be fit for service in a fortnight.—The Delawares are still in pursuit, and I hope we will account for most of the six hundred. The Lake Indians are very tardy, we had but Forty-four of them in the action—I should be glad they should hasten as I expect we will have occasion for them—I hope something will be done this summer—Clark I believe will soon be on his way for the Shawanese country; if so we will have occasion for as many as can possibly be gathered. The Indian Demands are great and I have not a single thing to suffice them with. I hope you'll send us a fresh supply of ammunition, Tobacco and such other things as are necessary for warriors, are requisite if you please to send them. The Chief with one Eye and Dewantate with their Bands are going to Detroit, as it is their custom after striking a blow to return & see their Families; but whatever you may tell them they will do with pleasure. They behaved very well whilst with me. Sindewattone your friend the little old chief remains with me, I find him very useful as he seems willing to do everything in his power for the

good of the service, and of great service to me and a better soldier never went into the field. I received a Ball through both my legs which obliged me to leave the field. If I had not been so unlucky I am induced to think, from the influence I have with the Indians the Enemy would not have left the place we surrounded them in. The young man who goes in with letters is a deserving young man, and I hope you will reward him well * * * please send us some pack ropes and stuff for bags, as they will be very requisite. Capt. McKee sets out today for the Shawanese Towns.

(Signed) Wm. CALDWELL
Capt
Commandg at Sandusky.

Major De Peyster

P. S. I must beg leave to recommend Abraham Coon as I found him very useful. (An interpreter).

Captain Alexander McKee wrote to Detroit from Upper Sandusky July 22nd 1782 that he had joined Captain Caldwell at that place on the 12th and that they had set off towards Wheeling, but on account of the Americans reported advancing on the Shawnee towns, they turned back. On August 28, McKee wrote a long letter to De Peyster dated from the "Shawnee Country," then on October 25th an extended communication to that general from "Pipe's Town" southeast of Upper Sandusky, the home of the Indian Chief Captain Pipe. He was certainly busy in the interests of the British.

The foregoing ends the Haldimand papers of local interest, and there is a long interval of official correspondence pertinent to the local situation. Anticipating the general narrative somewhat, the trading post of Alexander McKee was located on the right bank of the Maumee River not far from the later site of Fort Meigs. McKee and others carried on an extensive correspondence with the British authorities from there in the spring of 1794, before the arrival of General Wayne. A letter dated at the "Rapids" May 30 the above year written by McKee to Joseph Chew, British Superintendent of Indian Affairs, is as follows:

Rapids 30 May 1794.

Dear Sir,

Since my Letter of the 8th Instant I have the pleasure to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of the 14th 16th & 20th of April —The Stores at Montreal having neither Gun Riffle or Vermillion is extremely unfortunate at this very critical period: Vermillion

and Tobacco are not yet made good for the last years Requisition and I have been under the necessity of borrowing on that account all these things are Indespensible and I hope you will be able to make such representations as may authorise the purchase of them at Montreal—where they may be had on moderate Terms.—I feel it my duty also to mention to you the badness of the guns sent to this post—tis true the Indians take them but 'tis only for the sake of the Lock the barrels are worth nothing and are extremely dangerous from their constant bursting—The Short Rifles which have been sent up for some time are now refused when offered them;

I sincerely hope the Superintendant General will have arrived by the Time this reaches you and that he will endeavour to manage these matters so that in case of a war we may not be in want of the means of carrying it on.

You have inclosed a speech I received a few days ago from the Glaize (Auglaize) that containing the latest Intelligence I have of General Wayne's reinforcements and I believe the truth of it may be relied on; The Lake Indians are at length collecting themselves and several small parties have already gone up—The Wyandots I have reason to believe will be here in two or three days should these nations all join at the Glaize before any General Movement of the American Army—I shall hope His Majesty's Posts in this Quarter may remain in tolerable security. His Excellency Lieut. Governor Simcoe has transmitted to me a copy of the Speech lately made by the Six Nations at Buffaloe Creek to the American Agent General Cahpin; and the Six Nations have also sent Messenger to the Chippawas, Ottawas, Potiwatimies and some other nations, and have returned to them a Belt which was intrusted to the Six Nations last Fall in order to accomplish a Peace on the Terms proposed by them; at the same time these Nations are told that Peace could not be obtained and they are now desired to be strong and act as they think proper for their own Interest.

I am with great regard
Dear Sir
Your most obedient
humble Servant
(Signed) A. McKEE

From this time on McKee's letters are again numerous until after the battle of Fallen Timbers; one being dated at the

"Rapids" evidently written at his store, July 7, 1794, in which he reports the Indian attack at Fort Recovery June 30, before quoted.

August 27, 1794, one week after the battle of Fallen Timbers, McKee at the Indian "Camp Near Fort Miamis" reported that engagement to Joseph Chew, the Indian agent, as follows:

27h Augt. 1794

Dear Sir

It was not possible for me sooner to communicate the events which have lately happened in this Country—General Wayne with an Army of near 4000 men (according to the report of deserters) made gradual approaches towards us until his arrival at Roche De Bout on the 17h Inst where he fixed his Head Quarters, on the 18h the Spy May was taken who informed the Indians it was intended to attack them the next day, unless the General should determine to build a Fort in which case he would not advance until the day following, on the 19h the Indians to the number of 1,300 marched early to the most advantageous ground, but a strong detachment of Cavalry only made their appearance and retired as soon as the Indians shewed themselves.

On the 20h the American Army advanced and were first attacked by the left of the center of the Indian which extended near three Quarters of a mile obliquely upwards, the Americans soon gave way & a rapid pursuit took place for about a mile where the Indians discovered the whole of the American Army Posted to whom they gave Battle retiring slowly before them, during this period, the Wyandots and Ottawas who were on the Right were warmly engaged by the Americans left consisting of both Cavalry and infantry who outflanked and infiladed the Indians untill they retreated, the whole line of the Indians then retired below the Fort imagining their loss to be much greater than it since appears to have been having seen several of their principal Chiefs fall; the greatest loss they have sustained is in their leaders, they halted that night At Swan Creek, about six miles below & were not pursued, there were never more than 400 Indians engaged during the whole day, and these stood the shock of a great part of their army for upwards of two hours and lost in the whole but 19 men among whom are to be much lamented 8 principal Chiefs of the Wyandots & two of the Ottawas besides two more wounded.

By the reports of several deserters and a survey of the field

of action (for they did not even bury but few of their dead) it appears the Americans lost between 3 & 400 killed & wounded and a great many horses—The opperations of the garrison I must leave to be detailed by those whose duty it is, but I must observe to you that all the store houses, my own House with many things that could not be removed were burnt by a Party of General Wayne's army within sight of the garrison. I hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you—At present I am waiting untill the Indians whose Corn fields & Villages are totally destroyed shall determine where they and their families will set themselves down it being a matter of the highest importance to the Interest of Great Britain to prevent if possible their Emigrating to the Southern & Western parts of the Continent they seemingly now have lost all hopes of the interferance of government.

Some Letters passed between Major Campbell Commanding Fort Miamis & General Wayne after the Action, and on the 22nd the American Army quitted the position they had taken within a mile of the Fort, and retreated the same way they came, but whether on account of the want of Provisions or of an order from Philadelphia cannot be certainly known. The American Army have left Evident marks of their boasted Humanity behind them, besides scalping & mutilating the Indians who were killed in action they have opened the peaceful graves in different parts of the Country, Exposed the Bones of the consumed & consuming Bodies, and horrid to relate they have with unparallelled barbarity driven stakes through them and left them objects calling for more than human vengeance.

I am with great Regard &
Esteem
Dear Sir
Joseph Chew Esqr. (signed) A. McKEE
Yours very sincerely

Like all British reports, McKee most extravagantly exaggerated the number of Wayne's troops, also his losses, and minimized the Indian losses. As to the "spy May," on August 11, Wayne sent out a scouting party consisting of Captain Wells, McClellan, the Millers, May and Mahaffy. They rode into an Indian village where now stands the business section of Maumee, Ohio, where they passed as Indians. After gaining the information they desired, they turned back towards Wayne's army. They came upon another Indian band and were recognized. Of the

party, May was captured, and August 19, the day before the battle, he was tied to a tree then within the limits of now Maumee and killed.

Among other official British documents in the Michigan Historical Collection is found a letter written by Lieutenant-Governor J. G. Simcoe of Canada to Lord Dorchester, dated at Navy Hall, Upper Canada, April 29, 1794. Simcoe was the builder of Fort Miami on the left bank of the Maumee River within the present limits of Maumee City, above Toledo. The fort was constructed as a defense against the advance of Gen. Anthony Wayne, in his campaign against the Indians, led by the British, and the extract from Simcoe's letter to Lord Dorchester concerning the building of the same is as follows:

"I do myself the honor of informing Your Lordship that on the 10th of April I established a detachment of His Majesty's Troops on the Miamis (Maumee) River agreeably to Your Lordship's directions and in the position which will be explained to you by the enclosed sketch of Lieutenant Pilkington's, the Engineer.

"The Principle which I have adopted as the best means of preventing Mr. Wayne from forcing the passage of the Miamis is by placing a Fort in such a position that it may be easy of access from the river, be readily supplied by water Carriage with provisions, and should it be invested, that the Islands in the river and the distance of the opposite bank might afford opportunities of every assistance being given to the post by such a force as could be collected, and which might operate to advantage on some separate points which so wide an extent of ground may probably be supposed to render assailable.

"Should Mr. Wayne have the post in his rear and move to Detroit, It is apparent that he must give a fair opening to striking at his communications from sixty miles in extent: Under the circumstances I should immediately endeavor to occupy a camp at Turkey Point [at the mouth of the Maumee River on the right bank and at the entrance to Maumee Bay—Editor] with all the force I should collect and unite, combining the advantages of the command of the water and our superiority in Artillery I have directed a Log House defensible against musquetry to be built at Turtle Island and another at the River aux Raisins and morlons of Logs in the Hog pen manner to be provided at those posts which being filled as occasion shall require, will give the means of speedily erecting adequate Batteries, and in the

meantime these houses will become intermediate deposits, absolutely necessary to the security of the navigation. I have also desired Colonel England to pay particular attention to the instructions of as many soldiers as possible in the Artillery exercise, and on the approach of Mr. Wayne I should not hesitate to withdraw from Detroit all the Troops but those sufficient to defend Fort Lernoult, and most certainly to drive away or consume all the cattle in the vicinity. I do not find My Lord, that the Sandusky or any other river affords by its collateral branches, any means of striking into Wayne's rear should he descend the Miamis (Maumee).

"It seems probably that should he penetrate as far as Roche de bout, he would there change his direction, at least if the possession of Detroit be his aim, and passing by the heads of the small rivers which run between the Detroit and the Miamis without the intervention of any difficult ground, from Swamps or thick woods he would have an easy march of no more than sixty miles to the Detroit.

"If therefore sufficient time shall be allowed for the properly fortifying of the Miamis Fort and that its guns shall be of a larger calibre than that Mr. Wayne can bring against it I should hope that Your Lordship views in the establishment of a post in the Miamis would be as successful as they are decisive and provident."

Thus, it is shown that while the Revolution was over east of the Alleghenies, and the British by the Treaty of Paris more than ten years before had agreed to surrender the western and lake posts, the war was still on in the West. And not only did the British still hold posts they had agreed to turn over to the Americans, but were building more—Fort Miami being one of the strongest works of defense on the lakes.

Alexander McKee, ever present and resourceful, from his store or trading house on the opposite bank of the Maumee and "a mile and a half above" Fort Miami, comes to the defense and justification of the British in building the fort, and if his statements are tenable he furnishes some valuable historical data concerning the much discussed Fort Miami. In a letter dated at the Maumee Rapids July 26, 1794, while Wayne was advancing towards the head of Maumee with his army, and addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, McKee says:

"With regard to Great Britain having occupied a Post on this river (Maumee) it has been uniform ever since 1781 and was always considered as a dependency of Detroit—Captain Pots of

the 8th Regiment built a Fort at this place in that year and the British flag has been flying every year since that period, during the Summer months while I was waiting the arrival of the different nations of Indians to deliver to them the presents directed by his Majesty.

"This post was again reoccupied in 1786 by a Party of the 53rd Regiment. But the Dependencies of Detroit on the River, existed from a much earlier date: ever since the Peace of 63 Great Britain has occupied a post at the Miamis towns, often as a garrison and sometimes as a Trading Post until General Harmar invasion in 1790 when the Indians moved to the Glaize; (Auglaize at Defiance) it then lost its consequence as a Trading Post and the Traders followed the Indians thither. The possession of these Posts have never been given up, and at this day are considered as the dependencies of Detroit."

McKee simply reflected in this statement the attitude of the British. Of course, as he says, after the French and Indian war, 1763, the Maumee and Sandusky region was British territory. But at the close of the Revolution under the American-British treaty it became American territory. But at that the British refused to recognize the American rights, and took the attitude that this territory was "a dependency of Detroit."

The reader, however, must not be confused by McKee's statement. When he says that "ever since the peace of 1763 Great Britain has occupied a post at the Miami Towns," he refers to and means the Fort Miami at Fort Wayne. The Captain (William) Potts McKee speaks of, was Ensign Royal Americans, 1756, Lieutenant of the 8th Regiment 1765, and Major 1783. These statements bring the conclusion that there was some sort of trading post or British storehouse at the site of the lower Maumee Fort Miami a few years before Simcoe built the stronghold of 1794.

Again McKee evidently believed the arrival of General Wayne on the Lower Maumee might be a serious affair for the British at Fort Miami, for in the Sandwich (Ontario) records of the Surrogate Court is found the recital of his will made at Fort Miami, the day before the battle of Fallen Timbers, and which reads as follows:

Fort Miami, August 19, 1794.

I bequeath to Thomas McKee the balance of an account due me by Messrs. Phyn & Ellice in London with all the real and per-

sonal estates I have about Detroit and also the balance of an account due me by Messrs. Forsyth, Richardson & Co. in Montreal expecting the following legacies. Five Hundred pounds Halifax to James Francis McKee and One Hundred pounds Halifax to Catherine McKee, the interest of the above monies to educate the above children.

Given under my hand and seal the above date, being the nineteenth day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety four.

Signed, sealed and A. McKee (Seal)
delivered in the presence of:
George Ironside
William Shepherd
R. Macdonell

The above will was sent from Fort Miami under the following direction: "Lieut. Selby, 5th Regiment, To be opened on Colonel McKee's arrival in Detroit or sooner if necessary." The Colonel must have been Thomas McKee.

Most of Alexander McKee's lands set off to him by the British Crown on the Canadian side of the Detroit River were later taken for British defense works, and after McKee's death, his heirs presented a memorial for remuneration for the lands thus appropriated.

So far as history shows there were glimpses of French explorers and missionaries along the Maumee River many years before trading posts were established there. Some writers claim that the early maps of this region evidence the fact that French missionaries or explorers visited the Maumee some time between 1650 and 1660, and from that time on there are statements of the visits to this section by explorers and adventurers. In 1686, Nicholas Perrot, with twenty Frenchmen, marched into the Miami country and established a post, evidently at the head of the Maumee River, now Fort Wayne. In 1693, this Captain Perrot is said to have built another post somewhere on the west end of Lake Erie.

Father Gravier wrote in 1700 that he found grapes along the Riviere des Miamis (Maumee) in great quantities.

It is not until the middle of the eighteenth century, however, that there are definite developments. The John Askin papers in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, has a letter written by James Cochran dated at the "Foot of Rappids, 6 Octr 1785" and addressed to Mr. Montague Tremble, Merchant, Detroit. The

language used is such that at points it is hard to interpret its meaning. But a "translation" somewhat makes the communication read as follows:

"Foot of Rappids 6 Octr 1785

"Sir I am sorry to hear of So many Disputes about the peltry but it is not my fault. You have as Good a Right to what is gone in as the rest of the Gentlemen aCording to the amount of your acct. which is very near as Big as Both of theirs. I Expected you would Get the Last Packs that went in, as they Got them that was Sent in this Spring. If you have Not Got your part of them, there is ten horse Loads Coming in that I left on the Road as we were obliged to Send Back for our goods that was at the Shawnee towns. (Around the head of the Great Miami River).

"It seems Droll to me of Mr. McCormick taking so much upon himself of paying one person & not the other. Neither has he any trouble of making any of them only what fur he Made in the winter. He has Been Trading another way for himself and does not mend here. He has Been Saying here that it was all his own Goods he had out with him, which is truE. But there was a Good Deal more with them. Likewise all the men is paid here By me Except old Mcglaughlin. This man I Paid here with Skins, as I thought you would not answer a Draft.

"I think Mr. Castedy is to Come out for these Packs that is Coming, but he will not Get them without you Got your part of the others.

"Sir your Humbl Sert.
"Jas. Cochran"

Addressed: "Mr. Montegue Tremble
Merct. Detroit"

According to the Burton Collection, Alexander McCormick, mentioned in this letter, prior to the American Revolution was engaged in trade in the Ohio country. In 1777 he had a store near Upper Sandusky, and in 1780 was a member of Captain Bird's expedition into Kentucky. He married Elizabeth Turner, a Wyandot captive, and settled at the foot of the Maumee Rapids, where he was living in the summer of 1794. When Wayne invaded the Lower Maumee, McCormick's place was burned near Fallen Timbers. His heirs, in 1808, preferred a claim to 640 acres of land there, before the Board of Land Commissioners at Detroit. James Cochran was located at Roche de Boeuf, on the Maumee, as a trader in 1789, and was a resident of Detroit ten

years before that date. Montague Tremble, or Tremblay, was a trader at Detroit.

A project for the purpose of carrying on the fur trade and dealing with the trappers and Indians of the Maumee and Sandusky regions and the Wabash section, known as the Miami Company, was organized in 1786. It was composed of six leading Detroit merchants, with John Askin at the head. Among the individual traders was Joseph Guibault on the Sandusky, Adhemar St. Martin at Miamitown (Fort Wayne), and Paul Gamelin at Vincennes. One of the sub-agents was Louis "Lorimier," evidently of Loramies Station on Loramies Creek, head of the Great Miami River.

It appears that there were many irresponsible traders and that the losses of the merchants were heavy. This is shown by a letter written by John Askin, the leading Detroit merchant at the time, to John Anderson, a trader on the Maumee River at Fort Miami. The communication is as follows:

"Detroit Novr 4 1795

"Dear Sir This is to let you know that I hear Latour is going out again to Work at the Miamis, I never got a penny from him nor ever will if you do not find the means of stopping it, he owes me here besides. Grant of the Artillery is gone & did not Endorse Shoutes & Stanford's note so they will not pay it, they say they paid him—All notes to order must be Indorsed or the Holder of them will Loose his Money. I must Insist on it that not one penny of trust is given to any man unless the money is as sure as if You had it in Your Pockett I will do the same here. Goods are scarce & Dear therefore I'm sure I can sell all mine for ready Money before others comes If you cannot do the same or for Peltries I beg you will keep them, and I can dispose of them here. I do not know yet if I will Stay in this Country or not therefore must get in my Old Debts and make no more (new) ones. You must try & get payment from Mr. Clark at Swan Creek in money or something. Charge him Interest as every one does Who dont get Paid Yearly it is in Vain to say he will Pay me here I'm sure he never Will. Please let me know what You Propose doing when your time is out, its proper for me to know before. Im well pleased with your Conduct & will Either furnish on your own a/c or take a share with you.

"I'm Dear Sir Yours

(To) "Mr. John Anderson Ft. Miamis

"John Askin"

The reply of Anderson at the lower Maumee River to the above letter by Askin and showing trade conditions in the Fort Miami section is dated November 14, the same year. As the composition and spelling is of the usual character of frontier traders, it is edited for the convenience of the reader:

"Fort Miami Novbr 14, 1795

"Dear Sir—I received Your Letters by 'The Shawnee Fly' dated 4th & 10th inst. I am very sorry Latour has not paid you his note of hand. If he comes out here you May be assured I will try My best to get payment From him. I thought Grant of the Artillery was in Detroit A long time before he was Sent away, but you did Not present His Note to the Drawers before he was gone. As for trusting Any More than you Desire it is a thing I will Not Do, but I Have your order to trust the work Man at this Fort or I would not a have Done it. I thought you Have got pay from Mr. Clark long ago as you did not Send Back his Acct. He has Now gone out to the woods and will Not be in till the Spring. When he Comes in I will try & Get payment as Much as possible I can. But he Says Like the Rest I will Settle with Mr. Askin at Detroit As I have No Money Here. Sir, as you Request of Me what I mean to Do in the Spring when My Time is out it is hard for Me to tell as yet. The time Is So uncertain, and you do Not Know whether you will Stay in this Country or Not your-Self, but as for Making long bargain with any other person before Informing you It is What I will Not Do. I think I would be very Much in the Wrong if I did after your good behavior to Me and the good Character you have given Me which I Return a great Deal of thanks for. Mr Frasser (Frazier) is Gone to Sandusky last Spring which I hear he has Got a great deal of Peltries at present. He would never Look at his Acct. you Sent out but Said he would Make it out himSelf and Send it in. As to Mr Parkers Bills, I know The amount But was in Such a hurry as the Gun Boat was Just going to Sail, I loaded them & sealed them up. Please let Me Know whether I will trust him any More or Not. He is always boring Me for it. Please Send out the goods as Soon as possible as I expect Indians in Every Day. I am afraid the Season will be So far advanced that I Can Not go to Detroit, and Another thing the Indians have got a great Deal of pledges hear which will be Coming In when I am Not here which the other will know Nothing About. If I Cant go in I will do as well as I Can for Clothes Till the Spring. I will Do with the old Man as

well as I can. Mr. Ruland wrote me long ago he Delivered My Watch To one of your Clerks which I never heard of Since. that is about two Months ago I Enclose two orders, one on Lieut. Colonel Blake & one on Mr. Sharp for _____ N. Y. Cr. which you will Receive. I will have a few Skins to Send in *The Weasel* when She Comes out. I Beg you will not Forget to tell the Man that Comes out with the Goods for to Stop at the River au Raisin For the flour I wrote you about. Nothing More to add.

"I Remain Dear Sir your Most Dutiful & Most obedt. and Humble Servt.

"John Anderson

"P. S. Things forgot in the Memorandum—Silk thread, Mohair, Black Hair Ribbon, one acct. Book, a few white fish, a few Pounds of Cheese, a little Narrow Binding.

"To John Askin Detroit"

After this came a letter to John Askin dated at "Gross Point 17th Decr. 1795," written by Commodore Alex Grant, in which he expresses great anxiety for himself and Mrs. Grant over the impending evacuation of Detroit and where they would be located across the river in Canada.

Turning to the Sandusky region more particularly, there were also traders along the Sandusky River from a very early date. They received most of their goods from Detroit, where they bartered their peltries and furs, secured from the Indians in exchange for goods, trinkets and rum.

In the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, is found much of the original correspondence between the British traders on the Sandusky River and the Detroit merchants, some of which is here set forth, mostly dated during the times of the American Revolution.

One of the first mentioned letters is from William Arundel, a British trader on the Sandusky, written to Thomas Williams & Company, Detroit. Williams, a Detroit merchant, located there from Albany, N. Y., in 1765 and soon became a man of prominence. The communication is as follows:

Sandusky 27th April 1782

Sir

You'l please receive the Packs as Mentioned I could not send the two Boats in at Prest as we are under the Necessity keeping

one here in case of danger from the enemy to cut & run upon the first notice of their Approach, the Peltry is not yet come from the Shawaney Country nor will not be all here till the Latter end next Month the thought there will a quantity the reason it is not here is the roads was impractible this Winter and the woods all Burnt in the fall so there was no food for the Horses, the Blankts you sent out were mostly Damg'd therefore must be sold per first opportunity them that are not Merchantable.

You'l please send us about 30 lbs Good Smoaking Tobacco of that raised in the Settlemt & two Casses of Tobacco, Whitaker beggs you'l be so good as Send him 8 Galls of Rum & Charge it to him as he expects to be in he'll pay you then You'll please send the two Hd. flour—and two pound Bohea tea—

Be so good as send the Boat off immediately as Soon as them things, and if Mr Baby has any thing to send *S Gerty* please let him know they can be sent by the Boat as well as LeVellie who I believe will come out in the Boat—

The news of the Place is per the Prisoner Brot in this Spring & from Difft parts is that great preparations are makg to come to Agt the Indian Country but not against *Dt.* as it must (as they say) fall of Course, the Defeat of Lord Cornwallis to the Southwd by the F & A (Fleet and Army) has given them a Notion & its Resolve on the French Fleet to come round to Quebec & the A by the way of Lake Champlain, their Committee Man Just left the Congress when this was Resolved'd on & their orders was when this was Resolve'd on & their orders was Accordingly Issued out for that purpose, they are now Recruiting & filling up the Vacancies & sending forces over the X X Mountain, and the People are Settling thicker along the Big River than Usual & are in great Spirits, I have got this out of the Prisoners they seem to be Stauch Americans and cannot Bear to hear any thing said by any of the rest here but in their favr, a Sundy last they Adopted two of them Brot in by Coone & party one was Reed & the other was to be in the place of 1/2 Kings Son killed last fall, who was Refus'd & ordd by the half King to be given over to the Muncey's to be Burnt or killed to be revenged for his Son, but was prevented by a Belt I gave & is now with the People that Brot him in Coone Acted very well in this Affair & laid it down as a Great Afft on them that gave the Prisoner in I suppos'd he & another will Soon be Sent in to the Command Offr the Indian are daily expecting the Vessel with the Assistance requested Saome time

ago so as to be able to goe out & Meet these people before they come to their Town & try to Defend them on the Road—

I am Sir with Compt to Mrs Wms
Your Very Hble Servt
Wm Arundel

You'll please Send us a Good Clotk for if we have to run we'll want it—

The above letter shows that the merchants were expecting an attack upon Detroit by the Americans, by way of Sandusky. The X X mountains were the Alleghenies, Coone was a British interpreter, and the Half King was a Huron chief of the Upper Sandusky section. The Whitaker mentioned is the James Whitaker captured by the Indians and adopted into the Wyandot tribe, and who married Elizabeth Foulks, another Indian captive, and later became a trader and merchant on their reservation on the Sandusky. A full account of the Whitakers is given elsewhere.

Other Sandusky-Detroit letters in the Burton series are as follows:

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 15th Nov. 1779.

Sir,

I have shipped per the *Adventure* the Peltry as per Inventory inclosed.

Mr. Edgar has wrote me concerning the augmenting our concern here You'll please to observe that I am now capable of doing the business here, if we only have permission to trade here why should we take so many in the Concern, we would then be Seven Concerned. Small would be the share to each, after all would be settled. If Mr. Edgar or you have made any Agreement with them, you'll please send me a Copy. I think it would be to our disadvantage to be concerned with these people except that the Goods imported by them would be thrown in at first Cost and Charges, and that they R. & T. Furnish the Concern at a fixed rate for a certain time.

However I leave that to your and Mr. Edgar's better Judgment and what you conclude upon will satisfy Your Humble Servant,

W. Arundel

Mr. Dawson has no Goods here now nor when he went away. The goods sometime before he went away he disposed to a prisoner at the Upper Town. However Mr. Caldwell will look into these

matters, disposing of Goods to prisoners in War time is not the Orders we had from the Commandant.

I send you the Case, Excuse haste, the Vessel just going away.

Since inventory 39 Racoons in a Bundle.

The Boat just arrived, but its very hard you'll send me not Invoices, tis not Inventorys but the Invoices I am most in need of. Not one since June last. How can I regulate the price of goods without knowing what they cost.

Very considerate Mr. Edgar is I think. Some things I wrote for might have been sent me. I shall have a good Winter—no Flour, Sugar, Rum, Nor Shoes, etc

William Arundel was at Lower Sandusky in July, 1779, and assisted at the council held between the Wyandots and the Delawares. He sent a copy of the council proceedings to Captain Lernoult at Detroit. In 1781-2 Mr. Arundel was still at Sandusky and aided the Moravian Missionaries when on their journey to Detroit. In 1782 he was instrumental in saving the life of Thomas Edgerton, who had been captured by the Indians and was about to be burned at the stake.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Lower Sandusky, 14th April 1782

Sir,

I was favoured with yours per the Sergeant and with regard to the Horses, will make it known to Mr. Dawson per the first opportunity altho' I have heard they are not to be purchased from S Gerty whose Comrade is the proprietor.

The Robideau's has been here the 9th Inst., the Chief Rontondie being then here L. R. sent for him, to spake to him concerning a Bargain made with the Indians of this Village per A Coone and Long House, Alias Shonnonshishe when they came first to the Island.

The Bargain as L. R. says they were to plow for the people here a Six per Acre and take in what the Indians had, such as Peltry, Goods, etc., in payment, and that they were to be on the Island and not to be interrupted by any other either with merchandize or Cattle belonging to others, however the People he said did not trouble them, but the Goods we had there was the only objection he had, so that if they would be removed he would plow for them as usual.

The Chief made for Answer that no person then in the Village

had any knowledge of any such Agreement, nor neither could he approve of any such Agreement, as they were paid for their work twas sufficient and whoever made the Bargain done very wrong, and to prevent all dispute (he told them) or jealousy that all who had any property should take it off the Island and go to where they came from.

LeVellie the Bearer was Interpreter, who will deliver you the Gold as there's no possibility of getting this Negro Wench or cattle from Mr. Coone.

To prevent Gevan's trading here some time we amicably agreed to throw in and he is gone down on the Lake to trade Sugar & Graise from the Gibcois, etc., not out of the Limits of Sandusky.

The inclosed is an account of Sundrys as you'll see per— You'll please put the prices to these articles in the account according to their value with you or should the Major Otherwise chose to return Flour and Pork for it out of the Store, you'll lay the Pork by and send the Flour here per first opportunity

I shall send one or maybe both Boats soon loaded for you, when I shall write you more fully, as I have an Answer of a letter to the Major to write.

I am Sir Your Humble Servant,
W. Arundel.

Francis LeVillier was appointed by Girty to take the Moravians to Detroit in 1782. They started March 15, 1782, but spent four weeks at Lower Sandusky, and embarked for Detroit April 14, 1782. A scene in connection with Girty at Lower Sandusky is described in the story of the Girtys. LeVillier was killed in the Crawford expedition on the Upper Sandusky.

The foregoing letter is followed by one from William Dawson, as follows:

William Dawson to Thomas Williams—
Shawney Town, 1st May 1782.

Sir,

I take this opportunity per Captain McKee of inclosing you Government and Sundry other bills as undermentioned which I hope will meet with due acceptance This day I leave this place for Sanduskey where I shall be glad you may write me the first opportunity if the bills are paid I draw on you for a trifle which is a part belonging to Robins & McCormick which we laid in

together in partnership in this place and Upper Sanduskey we have no news here at present.

I am Sir,
Your Very Humble Servant,
WILLIAM DAWSON.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 23rd May 1782.

Sir,

Please receive the boat load of Packs and be so good as let the men have ½ gallon Rum. You'll please discharge Allen, deducting four Dollars from his wages. The other two are to have 5 each for the trip. Young Abm said he'd come out in the boat. However you'll please dispatch her immediately if the Commanding Officer should have anything to send out please made the offer, and Le Vellie requests you'll be so good as send him an 8 gallon kegg of Rum.

I am Sir,
Yours etc.,
W. ARUNDEL.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 24th May 1782.

Sir,

We have received yours and marked the contents and have drawn on you in favor of Mr. Dawson for 150£. Mr. Dawson arrived here yesterday, he intends to go in with the cattle as soon as he gets all the peltry down here. We have only to Congratulate you on the birth of your Son.

Wishing Mrs. Williams a speedy recovery, we are with Compliments,

Your Very Humble Servants,
A. & DAWSON.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 17th June 1782.

Sir,

Inclosed you have the late Frans. LeVellie's private accounts, amounting to 1877 . . 8 livres and like wise an account of sundries for the use of Indians as stated in the Account 244 livres, and a small account against Govt. of 19 . . 10 . . 6 furnished as per Do. the wampum was for to save the life of the boy sent in our boat.

There is here a cow and three horses belonging to the late

Le Vellie which I cannot get from the woman he kept, Capt. Caldwell seems to decline having anything to do in regard of getting them from her for reason as he does not chuse to affront any of them, the present times will not admitt of it—Therefore hope you'll be so good as to try and get what pay is coming to him deposited in your hands until such time as these matters can be settled,

Inclosed is a small account Mr. LaBute desired I'd send you.

In the meantime I shall do all in my power to get the horses and cow from the Indian woman. There's a few things of his I had in the House, was apprized 6 . . 14 . . —but do not send you the bill as it may be I may get the things from her so will send you altogether if possible soon.

The account against Govt., he said if the Major would not pay it, he would.

I am, Sir, Your Humble Servant,
W. ARUNDEL.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 24th June 1782.

Sir,

I was favored with yours yesterday and as Corbin is here will have that draft settled. I send you the remainder of the damaged Bbls and the ps. of silk as it would not answer for cravattes, there's 18½ pr. Blankets that can be made nothing of here, so you'll please place them to our Credit. I had a notion of sending a Bark Canoe for goods we want and have wrote for per Dr. Harfey but as the vessel has to come out immediately with supplies etc., without which the campaign cannot be carried on Captain McQuarry has promised to Store away for us to the bulk of ten barrels, so you'll be so good as to be as expeditious as possible in completing the order and sending them on board, we want every article with an addition of a barrel of Indian sugar. When the vessel sailed from here there went in her a man of ours P Johnston, he was bought from the Munceys last Fall by Mr. Dawson for 40 and was found in cloaths since to the amount of about 15, so as he was to serve us two years for the getting him away from the Indians, and was sent on board the Vessel by the Commandant here its to be hoped the Major will be so good as to reimburse us the sum expended Whats done in this matter please let us know. Otherwise that the man as he is a Taylor by trade and a good workman be

_____ and allowed to work till the sum is paid. If you could send me a few news papers, would be much obliged to you, and as you intimated having had some books in the communication, should the History of the Present War from the Commandant be among them, please send it to me and charge to my account.

I have nothing more to add only we have no flour, and am with Compliments to Mrs. Williams,

Yours sincerely,

WM. ARUNDEL.

Please chuse me two pr. good shoes for myself and send them per Capt. McQuarry.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams.—

Sandusky, 26th June 1782.

Sir,

The Bearer Mr. Dawson having some matters of consequence of his own to settle which calls to Detroit, The Compy was under the necessity of drawing on you in his favor for 130 N. Y. Cy., which is a balance due him for goods taken in the Partnership when he joined it, and as Govt. by Capt. Caldwell has not allowed cattle and sundry other accounts which will be settled for Before they set off for the Campaign there will be a good sum sent you soon.

I together with the Interpreters here have done all in our power to get the horses and cow from the Woman formerly kept by LaVelie but out of our power and there's no quarreling with them, if they were in Dt. they may be taken from them. I nothing more to add for the rest refer to Mr. Dawson and I am, with compliments to Mrs. Williams,

Yours,

Wm. ARUNDEL.

William Dawson to Thomas Williams—

Sanduskey, 7th July 1782.

Sir,

Some small articles omitted in the letter you'll please to send by the same opportunity as the others—1500 gun flints the best for rifles, ½ dozen Forks—Please to excuse haste the hurry at present of Capt. Bradt to join Caldwell at the Upper Town of Sandusky is the reason the boats just now going from the Vessel.

I am Sir

Your Very Humble Servant,

WILLIAM DAWSON.

Obediah Robins to Thomas Williams—

Sanduskey, 23rd July 1782.

Sir,

I suppose you have the affair of Mr. Kays to transact. I send you in care of James Howdon twenty-six packs of peltrys, the quality you will see by the inclosed invoice and I think they are of a tolerable good kind for Sanduskey.

We should be glad to know whether you will have up a large quantity of Indian goods this summer, and if agreeable to you, I believe we would take our outfits from you this Fall, as you have some connections here and we are connected at the Upper Town and the Shawanoes Town, so that all the Trade from this place would come into your hands. This makes 130 packs we have sent in this summer. Mr. McCormick is on the Campaign with Captain Caldwell. I have no more to trouble you with at present from this Quarter.

I remain Sir,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant,

OBEDIAH ROBINS.

Obediah Robins was a merchant at Detroit in company with George McBeath. He had a house at Lower Sandusky and sheltered the unmarried Moravian men on their journey to Detroit.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 14th Aug. 1782.

Sir,

Since my last to you of the 10th inst., have nothing to refer only that Lorty is gone round by the Roche de bault and therefore inclosed you the draft so as that he may be obliged to pay it, as he certainly told me that Mr. Askin would certainly answer it.

As Mr. Robins is gone and will be soon on his return, must request you to send by him if possible the ribband, ferretting, Silver Works, a pr. scarlet some coarse thread and the shirts with a pr stroud good colour as these articles are really wanting.

Please return the inclosed account to Mr. Dufresne and let him know I could not get the man to settle it, as for any other things there is to settle of the old Company with him, that can be done when I go in this fall.

Should there be anything else that Mr. Robins can take besides the above mentioned light articles, please send them, but the above preferable to all others.

Since I began this letter I find Lorty is on his way for this place so keep the draft till his arrival.

No news from the Shawaney Country since my last only Indian reports that no army is coming against the Indian Country.

I am Sir yours etc., etc., in haste,

W. ARUNDEL.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Lower Sandusky, 20th Aug. 1782.

Sir,

I received from Mr. Dawson the other day a small Horse load Peltry with an order for goods and Silver Works, Sugar, etc. He says there's a great deal of trade at the Chawney Towns; he has not seen the Captains McKee, Caldwell or Elliott since his arrival there as they with 20 rifle men Indian Officers and 100 Indians were gone to Cantuc.

Capt. Braat with the rest of the Rangers are at the Chawney Towns, and the others from Cantuc are expected daily, they are in there I suppose by this time he says likewise Capt. Braat told him that Elliott said he'd stand to his bargain.

I shall send in a boat as soon as I have got her load of Peltry in the meantime must recommend to you to try and send these things wrote for in a former order if any Vessel for this place as they are wanting together with 100 plain shirts of Linen at 12 or 13d sterling first cost pr. yard—and 1 barrel Powder Double F, as for the news of this place I really think the enemy will come, but if the Commandant gives any assistance, together with the troops and indians in the Chawney Country, they will certainly be beat; another thing we can soon get out of their way if its thought they are too numerous. I suppose by this time, that our Governor is come up. Now you'll have it in your power to settle everything regarding this Country, which I hope may be done according to your expectation I assure you its worth your while.

I am Sir with Compliments to Mrs. Williams,

Your Very Humble Servant,

W. ARUNDEL.

William Dawson to Thomas Williams—

Wakatomakey, 27th Aug. 1782.

(On the Miami)

Sir,

Inclosed I send you Captain Bradt's draft on Mr. Askins for Two Hundred and Sixty Six Pounds Nineteen Shillings and a

Penny N. Y. C. which I hope will meet with due acceptance; I received from Mr. Arundel, Turney's & Lorty's Draft but they are not as yet returned from Ware. Please to send the goods as soon as possible that was ordered last Mr. Arundel & Elliott's bargain is void and of no effect. My Compliments to Mrs. Williams and believe me to be

Your very Humble Servant,
WILLIAM DAWSON.

N. B. Three days ago Capt. Caldwell arrived here from Cantucky, has made a capital stroke killed five field officers, several captains and other officers and privates; killed and taken prisoner 150—on our side only one man killed which is Mr. Labute Eight Indians killed and fourteen wounded. Colonel Clark is expected in this Country in a few days; in 6 days we go to Sanduskey to defend that Post.

W. DAWSON.

Lieut. John Turney was of the British Rangers and in command at Upper Sandusky in the Crawford campaign.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 31st Aug. 1782.

Sir,

I have just received a letter from Mr. Dawson mentioning his having wrote you some time ago, and as Elliott does not stand to his agreement beggs you'd send everything formerly ordered by us, to which please add 4 ps. Good Stroud, extraordinary, 4 doz. Scalping knives, 2 doz. pr. Scissors—The Rangers by Capt. Caldwell's letter will be here in 6 or 7 days, as this party of Indians are arrived from them at whose request I lend the boat and send Jno. Dumford in her, that better care may be taken, and as there is now at Detroit one Hitchcock & Franks from here they will do to man the boat out with the things you have to send us the current price paid here by the trip to Detroit is 5 per man and 2 Gals. Rum for the whole—please send us 4 Ct Flour for which I send Baggs—and give the Charge of the boat to Jno. Dumford, he's a good lad and can be depended on.

Jose begged I would inclose you his Pass so as that you'd be kind enough to grant him another.

They have four oars, a sail and paddle marked T W. Poor LeBute was killed in the Battle at Cantuc—very much regretted by all his acquaintances.

Should there be no Swan Skin or Pinnaston in our former order please send 4 ps and 1 Duck Shott)
1 Goose Shott)
And be so good as let none of the Articles be lacking that has been wrote for either in the present or former orders as now is the time for our business and its to be hoped we may meet with no interruption from others.

I am Sir in haste, yours,
W. ARUNDEL.

There is here about 700 red (fox) skins which you'll receive as soon as we get a boat load. Be so good as be as expeditious as possible in sending off the boat giving them charge to make no delay—and please send me some wine.

Arundel & Dawson to Thomas Williams—

Sanduskey, 6th Sept. 1782.

Sir,

Mr. Dawson arrived here about 12 o'clock today, and we have nothing further to mention only to request you'd be so good as complete order left by him with you, with all dispatch possible and send off the Compy's boat load with the first of the articles that may come to hand, and as the vessel its thought may make another trip the rest can be sent in her, for fear of a mistake or disappointment if we can get hands we will send in a boat load of Peltry soon, so that what may require (torn) the assortmt. (after yr. sending the boat you have there, out) can come in the boat we send in, it may be W. A. may go in the (torn) but that's not certain, therefore must (torn) you'll be so good as send off as soon as possible the boat you have there and (torn) men as went (torn) last fall a la Chasse d'autumn.

As for news there's none here, all well and quiet, no signs of an enemy approaching the Indian Country, But however its not my business to say so, therefore you'd best not let my oppinion be made known to any.—This I can say that if Capt. Caldwell was here, things would go better and more regular than they do.

We are, Sir,

Your Very Humble Servts,
ARUNDEL & DAWSON.

Per the first opportunity I'll send you a dozen of fine fowl—hens that will lay almost the winter.

And what W. A. wrote for in particular for himself begs you'll send him.

To Thos. Williams.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams—

Lower Sanduskey, 4 Oct. (1782)

Sir,

I received a letter from Mr. Dawson the other day; he mentioned nothing particular only that he'd be on by return of the *Faith* and that he advised me to make ready for a decampment as its thought the enemy will be here this Fall, it may be but I don't think so. However that need not hinder his preparations for setting off with the things from Detroit as we can always get out of their way.

Robins & McCormick goes in, in a few days for their winter assortment. McCormick with ten or twelve pack horses and Mr. Robins by water, so that the more expeditious Mr. Dawson is the better, we'll want particularly the No. of shirts mented, or linen and trimmings sent instead, and Calicoe, 2 pr. embost flannel handsome pattern for Capt. Elliott. Please send me per the first opportunity should Mr. Dawson be gone before this reaches you, 4 boxes Duck & Goose shot, 2 ps. Russia Sheeting, 1 lb. Brimstone, ½ lb. Alum—our salt is almost out. And if the Calico and Linen mentioned in Mr. Dawson's order, shirts should be sent out unmade you'll please to augment the thread in proportion and send cambric for the fine linen.

We have here 11 Packs peltry made up and more on the way from the Chawney and U. Town. I cannot get a man to go to the Chawney Towns with Pierre for more Peltry we have there, so that Mr. Dawson will please to observe what losses we are at, at times here for want of hands. Dyon commands (torn) three following; Makien, Ste. Aubeh (torn) oulouse fils.

Be so good as send old Joseph Beaudoin a pass to live on the Island.

I long to hear from you to know whether our Governor is coming up or no, he has a great many talks against him here.

I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

Wm. ARUNDEL.

Compliments to Mrs. Williams.
Hope she and child well.

Please send me my Watch if mended.

William Dawson to William Arundel or Thomas Williams—

Sandusky, 6th Nov. 1782.

Dear Sir,

On the arrival of the *Windott* I received your favour of the 27th of Oct., and sent by Capt. Gibson letters to you and T. W. Esq., which I hope you received safe with 6 Packs Peltry. I came to the Island to take an account of the goods there as I wrote you I should do the first opportunity, which account I inclose you as it was Mr. Williams' desire altho it gave me no little uneasiness, being from home 4 days, to augment my sorrow Capt. Elliott came here in my absence and took every horse I had mustered to go to the Shawney Towns with, as it was to serve his Majesty in taking up the ammunition to that place I shall make free with the King's horses to that place and deliver them to C. Elliott at the same time I can perhaps receive our own. I have sent Indians out of hunting His Majesty's horses to gather them together if possible as I had orders from C. Bradt when he left this I expect to set off in 4 days to build a cabin at the Shawney Towns as I find there is no danger of the Rebles approaching here this season. Taymish Chesne came from Capt. McKee yesterday morning and says there is no account of any further trouble this Fall, every person is gone to their respective homes, Capt. McKee and the Indians that was assembled at the Town of Sanduskey. I have Whittacre here at present to assist me and shall leave him in care of the shop if in case you don't arrive before I leave this, I am very busy in packing up for the Shawney Towns. The big Frenchman is sick, Pere Barrabee is sick, your Humble Servant and Dyon is the only People that are healthy in this house, thank God I have good health.

If the other boat is not set off from Detroit before you leave it get McCulping to make my clothes that he said he would not fail to send by the first opportunity you will please to remember to have no connection in Partnership at Upper Sandusky and the Shawney Towns as I have all that I can get that or the most part of it this winter in our own hands. It is expected there will be 2 French traders at or near the Little Island or the Portash River. Please to inquire before you leave the Fort what goods Drullard has is sufficient for the trade there this winter. I have taken Powder and Ball there the time the *Windott* left this pass (?) it is near 12 o'clock this evening I am almost sleepy

don't forget to send me 4 Galls. Pints and 2 of Wine which is to go to the Shawney Town unopened.

W. D. (AWSON)

N. B. Please don't forget 2 Pair of Shoes for me, I am barefooted.

Wm. Arundle, Merchant at Detroit
or Thomas Williams Esq.

The "Portash River" above mentioned is evidently the Portage River, which shows that there were traders on that stream also.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams & Co.—

Sandusky 3rd December 1782

Gentlemen:

Mr. Elliott in the absence of Dawson has taken our two barrels of Salt and four of our Horses with him, which has done us no small damage disorted our goods and we have no salt, so we request of you to send us a barrel out either by Swzore or Baron will bring it as they will come this way this winter if the ice is good or to the Island and Sanduskey. We don't want for neighbour traders now; Uno and Rivet at the Carrying Creek, Gevan has 6 small bales here and is now building a shop, goods he got from Mr. Abbott Baron's brother is here with 100£ worth of goods, said bought from you. All these traders is doing us a great deal of damage.

Mr. Dawson is gone for the Shawney Towns, he would have been there some time ago, but the enemy coming to their Frontier towns, hindered him. We would be glad to know if Gov't. would choose to buy any Corn here, we have about 200 bushels corn to spare now and can buy more if we have timely notices, so please enquire of the Major and the highest price he will give per bushel, we buy it at the rate of 2 Bucks per bushel therefore if we can sell it 24/ twill do pretty well. If Gov't may want all our goods here dispose of them, as the Indians has sent a petition for that purpose, they are almost naked.

I send in a red cow per the Rangers, they are to have a gallon of rum on delivering her, she has a blaze in her face, please dispose of her, she's a good cow, will calf soon. We send her in now to avoid trouble in the Spring, intending to leave this place, as early in the Spring as possible.

Wishing you a pleasant winter, I am Gentlemen,

Yours in haste,

Wm. ARUNDEL.

To Thos. Williams & Co.

William Arundel to Thomas Williams & Co.—

Sanduskey, 11th Jany. 1783.

Gentlemen,

The Bearer Mr. Revett is going in with a load of meat from his place, and I have agreed with him to bring out the things wrote for, the pack horses were here yesterday from the Chawney Towns, and I was obliged to borrow a ps. Stroud from Gevan to send Mr. Dawson, so that if its possible to send 2 or 3 ps more than mentioned in the last memo., twill be so much the better. We shall want likewise 1 ps. Swan Skin, 12 pr. Com 2½ pt. Blankets 7 pr. fine do., 400 needles, 2 of No. 1—1 of No. 2 & 1 of No. 5 & 3 ps. Calico which will be all that will be wanting to assort what we have on hand, otherwise we wont be able to do as well as our neighbours. Please send 4 Gals. Rum and let me know the price as its for Dyon.

Whitaker would be obliged to you if you'd please send him the same quantity and charge it to his account, directing the keg for him. He has married a prisoner girl lately, and with the above intends to get her entirely clear from the Indians—Mr. Robins married them.

I am. with Compliments to Mrs. Williams, Gentlemen,

Your Humble Servant,

Wm. ARUNDEL.

James Whitaker to Thomas Williams—

Sanduskey, 20 May 1783.

Sir,

I shall be glad you will send me 1 Kegg of Rum 4 gallons, and one of 2 gallons

One white Beaver Hat for my Wife, and 2 black beaver hats.

1 lb. Bohea Tea, the tea you sent Mr. Dawson to the Shawney Town received ¼ lb. only. The tea please charge Mr. Dawson. I am, Sir,

Your Humble Servant,

J. WHITAKER.

Thomas Williams, Esq.,
Detroit.

Whitaker was a prosperous trader on the Sandusky until his sudden death, it was said by poisoning, in 1804.

In the reports of the London Lord's Commissioners for Trade to the American Colonies in 1721, is described the routes used by

the French in going from the St. Lawrence region to the Mississippi. Arriving at Lake Erie, the report says, in reaching the Mississippi "the (the French) have three different routes. The shortest way by water is up the river Miamis, or Ouamis (Maumee) on the south west of Lake Erie, on which they sail about 150 leagues without interruption, when they find themselves stopped by another landing of about three leagues, which they call a carrying place, because they are generally obliged to carry their canoes over land, in those places to the next river; and where they next embark in a very shallow one called La Riviere de Portage (Wabash tributary); hence they row about 40 leagues to the Oubache (Wabash) and from thence about 120 leagues to the river Ohio, into which the Oabache falls as the river Ohio does about 80 leagues lower into the Mississippi, which continues its course about 350 leagues directly to the Bay of Mexico."

The second route "pricked down on Hennissens (Hennepins) map" is described as from Lake Erie to the straits of 'Mackinack and Lake Illinois (Michigan) "thence 150 leagues on the lake to fort Miamis, situated on the mouth of the river Chigagoe; from hence came those Indians of the same name, viz: Miamis, who are settled (2,000 strong) on the forementioned river that runs into Erie"—the Maumee. This Lake Michigan Fort Miami appears on Franquelin's map of 1688; and on Popple's map, also an old French map in the British Museum 1718.

According to Parkman, the explorer La Salle, in November, 1669, built a fort named Miami "by the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan on rising ground near its mouth."

The Miami Indians in the Maumee River were originally from the Lake Michigan section, and by reason of the association of other events, it may be seen how some historians have made the erroneous statement that Fort Miami on the Maumee was "first established as a post in 1680" whereas it was built by the British, not the French, over one hundred years later.

The Lords of Trade further report that "It is likewise much to be lamented that our zeal for propagating of the Christian faith in parts beyond the seas hath not hitherto enlarged the pall of the British Church amongst those poor infidels (Indians) or in any sort contributed to promote the interest of the state in America; but as it is not so immediately our province to propose anything particular upon this head, we can only wish, that the same may be hereafter put upon better foot." * * * As "they

(the French) have by means of their missionaries, debauched several of the Indian nations to their interests, your Majesty's subjects along the continent have the utmost danger to apprehend from this new settlement unless timely care be taken to prevent its increase."

Referring to Father Hennepin's and La Salle's explorations the report says "It must be allowed that they have a great advantage over us (the English) in this particular, to which even the nature of their religion and government do greatly contribute: for their missionaries in blind obedience to their superiors, spend whole years in exploring new countries."

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE ROYAL NAVY OF THE UPPER LAKES

History of British Sea Power On Erie and Sister Lakes From 1763 Until 1796.

By M. M. Quaife

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Sea power and land power go hand in hand, a fact never more convincingly demonstrated than in the recent World war. Although Great Britain has ruled the sea for considerably more than 300 years, it remained for a brilliant American scholar, the late Admiral Mahan, to point out to her statesmen the real source and character of their country's power. In recent decades historical workers have devoted much attention to the history of the West and its supposed influence upon our national development. For half a century following the downfall of New France, Great Britain maintained at first an exclusive, later a divided rule over the vast region tributary to the Upper Lakes and the Upper Mississippi. During all this time her naval establishment on the lakes was an important, if not, indeed, an essential, factor in the maintenance of this control, whose death knell was definitely sounded on that autumn day of 1813 when Commodore Perry destroyed the British fleet in the battle of Lake Erie. Despite this importance, no comprehensive study of the subject, so far as I am aware, has ever been made; that such a study would prove both interesting and valuable seems obvious; the present essay pretends to be nothing more than a preliminary sketch, which barely suggests some of the more interesting aspects of the subject. By reason of space limitations it is confined to the period between the French war and the evacuation by the British of their northwestern posts in the year 1796.

Back of the British advent upon the Upper Lakes stretches a full century of French activity and domination, but the French, for reasons which may be briefly suggested, never developed a naval establishment here. Despite their long rule over the western country, their sole economic interest was the exploitation of

the fur trade, and the home government, always hard pressed for funds, was exceedingly chary about authorizing expenditures in America. Even the military posts were often "farmed" out to some officer, who bore the burden of maintaining them in return for some trade monopoly which was awarded him. Throughout the entire French regime, moreover, the hostile Iroquois blocked their entrance to the Upper Lakes by way of Lake Ontario and the Niagara portage, and the Ottawa River route to Lake Huron was the great trade route between Montreal and the interior. The vessels employed by them in the conduct of the fur trade were bark canoes and traders' bateaux, and since they were never menaced by a civilized power on the Upper Lakes, they built no larger boats. The only exceptions to this statement, apparently, have to do with La Salle's tiny sailing vessel, the *Griffin*, built and lost in a single season, and a forty-ton vessel on Lake Superior built in the eighteenth century by the Sieur de la Ronde.

The British, however, came into the Northwest as military conquerors, who were under urgent need, from the moment of their advent, of an adequate naval establishment. Montreal and Canada were surrendered in September, 1760, and Robert Rogers, the renowned ranger, was immediately dispatched to the West to receive the surrender of Detroit, Mackinac, and the other French posts in this region. His command was the first English military force ever seen on the Upper Lakes. It took possession of Detroit in November, 1760, but not until the following season were the British detachments able to make their way to Mackinac, St. Joseph, and other of the interior posts. Their new-won control of the country was promptly challenged by Pontiac in the Indian war of 1763, and more seriously by the rebellious colonists a dozen years later in the war of 1775-83. Although a naval establishment was always necessary to the maintenance of British control in the Northwest, its need was particularly urgent during the years of the Revolution, and the navy of the Upper Lakes, consequently, attained an importance during these years which it was not again to enjoy until the War of 1812.

Even before the appearance of Rogers in the West, the preliminary steps had been taken looking to the beginning of a naval establishment on Lake Erie. In July, 1760, Col. Henry Bouquet of the Royal American Regiment was building a blockhouse at Presqu' Isle (modern Erie). Here he built a "flatt," which was

probably an open scow fitted with sails, and four bateaux. On September 15 he wrote to General Monckton at Fort Pitt pointing out the need that would be felt the following year for a vessel on Lake Erie, and proposing that the timbers and other materials for its construction be placed in process of preparation at Niagara, so that the ship might be in readiness by early spring. Evidently Bouquet was more alert to apprehend the situation than were some of his superiors, for on June 20, 1761, we find him again urging upon Monckton's attention the utility of a vessel on Lake Erie to serve as a support for the advanced posts. Monckton answered that General Amherst had not yet decided upon the advisability of the measure, since it had been reported that the navigation on Lake Erie was "very dangerous." Unknown to Monckton, however, General Amherst had already dispatched a force of ship carpenters with materials to construct two vessels at Niagara. Navy Island was chosen as the site of the shipyard, and throughout the period covered by our study it remained a principal center of the naval establishment on the Upper Lakes. Some years later a second shipyard was established at Detroit, which became, by reason of the military importance of that place, the chief center of the British naval establishment.

The Navy Island shipyard was established several years earlier than the one at Detroit, and at this place were built all of the ships placed upon the Upper Lakes during the first few years of the British régime. To the first two of these vessels a particular interest attaches by reason of the rôle played by them in the eventful year 1763. Since their story illustrates as well as any the vital part played by the navy in the maintenance of military control over the western country during the British period, we may profitably pause to take account of it. Sir William Johnson, who visited Detroit in the autumn of 1761 to hold a great powwow with the disaffected tribesmen of this region, describes in his diary for July 26 a visit paid by him to Navy Island "whereon the vessel is building for exploring the Lakes Huron and Michigan." The ship, a schooner, was then "in such forwardness as to be ready to launch in about ten days," but work upon it had been stopped in order to construct a boat, pinnance fashion, for Major Gladwin's service. A few weeks later, returning from his Detroit expedition, Johnson found the schooner, which in the meantime had been launched, engaged under Captain Robertson's command in sounding the Niagara near the entrance to

Lake Erie. Johnson dined on board, and reports that the schooner had ninety barrels of provisions, besides twenty-four barrels for Gage's sutler. From other sources we learn that the ship had been named the *Huron*, that it was armed with six guns, and when loaded drew seven feet of water.

Such was the first British naval vessel, and the first decked vessel of any sort, with the exception of La Salle's *Griffin;* on the Upper Lakes. The second, a sloop, was already under construction. "Called to see Jno. Dies on the island where he is building a sloop," records Johnson on October 5, 1761, "which will not be finished this season he says, as he goes down in a fortnight, his men being sickly." Some time during the season of 1762 the sloop was put into service, and both vessels were at Detroit in May, 1763, when Pontiac opened the famous siege of that year. Almost all readers derive their knowledge of that affair from the magic pages of Parkman. To this circumstance is due the fact that the two ships which bore so essential a part in the defense of Detroit against the savage hordes led by Pontiac have come down in history as the *Gladwin* and the *Beaver*. How the great historian was led into this error I do not know. Attention was first called to it by Mr. Howland, two decades ago, who correctly observes that the schooner, misnamed by Parkman the *Gladwin*, was in fact the *Huron*. The real name of the sloop, Parkman's so-called *Beaver*, has remained hidden from the world until the present moment. In John Porteous' manuscript journal of the siege of Detroit, recently added to the Burton Historical Collection, the name stands disclosed, the *Michigan*. Its charming appropriateness will be instantly apparent, at least to all Detroit readers.

From beginning to end of the siege of Detroit the *Huron* and the *Michigan* performed so valiant a part as to render it highly probably that but for their aid Detroit would have repeated the general tale of massacre enacted at Mackinac, St. Joseph, Sandusky, and the other western Posts. Upon the tiny navy fell the first blow struck by the followers of Pontiac in all the far-flung struggle. The Upper Lakes were in the beginning unknown seas to the British, and one of the first important tasks to be performed was to explore and chart them for purposes of navigation. Sir William Johnson, it will be recalled, had found Captain Robertson charting the entrance to Niagara in October, 1761. Early in May, 1763, the same officer left Detroit in an open boat, accompanied by a small party, to chart Lake St. Clair and River.

Four days later, while thus engaged, the party was set upon by the Indians and all its members either killed or captured. Included among the slain were Captain Robertson and Sir Robert Davers, and the body of the former was devoured by the savages. Three days after their destruction, Pontiac began his attack upon the fort at Detroit and therewith the war was on.

The number of defenders of Detroit at this time has commonly been overstated. John Porteous, a highly intelligent eyewitness, records that there were about seventy officers and soldiers in the little garrison, and twenty "merchants and servants." In preparation for the attack which was known to be impending, Major Gladwin caused the *Huron* and the *Michigan* to be anchored immediately in front of the fort in such position that the guns of one vessel could sweep its eastern, and those of the other its western flank. What the Indians thought of the effectiveness of these allies is best revealed by their action in the opening attack. At dawn of May 10 from behind houses and fences they opened an "incessant" fire on the two vessels, which was maintained for several hours, paying, meanwhile, but slight attention to the fort; "they thought every hour to sink the Vessels," records Porteous, "& then they could easily get the Fort." Each vessel had a crew of six or seven men, the *Huron* being commanded at this time by Sergeant Miller of the Royal American Regiment, and the *Michigan* by Nicolas Newman.

From this time until the end of the siege, the naval arm was a constant source of annoyance to the red men and a tower of strength to the English. The detailed story may be read in the pages of Parkman and it is our purpose here merely to direct attention to the vital part played by the navy in the conflict. Repeatedly, by night attacks and the construction of fire-rafts the Indians endeavored to destroy the two vessels, but all their efforts proved vain; repeatedly the *Huron* and the *Michigan* journeyed from Detroit to Niagara and back, keeping the beleagured garrison in touch with the outside world and bringing needed reenforcements of men and supplies. For lack of such transportation, it is significant to note, the detachment of Lieutenant Cuyler, nearly 100 strong, which was making its way to Detroit in open boats along the north shore of Lake Erie, was cut to pieces by the Indians near the mouth of Detroit River late in May.

With the termination of the siege the *Huron* disappears from recorded history. The tiny vessels of this early period, hastily

constructed of unseasoned timber, and exposed to the hazards of a navigation on seas largely uncharted, commonly endured but a brief span of existence. La Salle's *Griffin*, it will be recalled, was lost on her maiden voyage. The *Michigan*, whose useful career we have been tracing, met her doom on the north shore of Lake Erie, August 28, 1763, while returning from Niagara to Detroit with soldiers and supplies. We have a vivid account of her foundering, written by one of the passengers. For lack of such a record the end to which the *Huron* came remains unknown.

It still remained to conquer the Indian country and reoccupy the posts that had fallen, and the work of building additional ships for the Upper Lakes was promptly undertaken. October 29, 1763, General Amherst wrote to Colonel Bradstreet from New York: "I arrived here on Thursday Morning and gave immediate orders for getting ready the Iron Work for the Schooners that are intended to be built for the Service of Lake Erie, etc. A Sufficiency for one of 60 Tons, with the Rigging will be sent on Saturday next, & Preparation shall be made for two more & sent up as fast as possible. I need not desire you to forward the whole in the best Manner you can." On November 4 a sloop left for Albany carrying the ironwork, cables, anchors, sails, and other necessary materials for the vessels to be built. No narrative remains to tell us how the work of construction was carried out at the Navy Island shipyard, but it must have been prosecuted with vigor for the summer of 1764 saw no less than four vessels in service, the sloop *Royal Charlotte*, and the schooners *Boston*, *Victory*, and *Gladwin*. It was the busiest period the Navy Island yard ever knew, for no more vessels were constructed by the government until 1772, by which time a shipyard was in operation at Detroit, and all the later ships were turned out there. Jonathan Carver, who sailed on the *Gladwin* in 1768, described her as a vessel of eighty tons; similar details for her sister vessels are wanting, but they probably did not vary greatly in size. We have an official "Return" of all the vessels upon the lakes, from 1759 to 1778. It contains numerous errors, but from it we learn that the armament of the *Gladwin* was 8 swivels, and of the *Boston*, *Victory* and *Royal Charlotte*, 6, 8 and 10, respectively. Upon these vessels devolved during the next few years the task of maintaining communications and transporting military supplies throughout a region a thousand miles in extent, stretching from Niagara by way of Mackinac to Chicago and St. Joseph at the southern extreme of Lake Michigan. The

official "Return" of 1778 records that two of the four vessels which comprised the naval establishment from 1764 onward were "laid up and burned by accident." This fate is known to have befallen the *Boston*, which was burned some time prior to November 13, 1768, but there seems to be no record of the burning of the other. The *Gladwin* and the *Royal Charlotte*, according to the "Return" continued in service until they decayed. Carver, on the contrary, states that the *Gladwin* was lost on Lake Erie by reason of her master putting to sea with insufficient ballast. Both ships are known to have been in service as late as the summer of 1770, when General Gage was considering breaking them up and using the materials in the construction of a new vessel.

Nothing seems to have been done in the matter this season, but by April, 1771, Gage had arranged with Alexander Grant to build two vessels at Detroit for the King's service, and the commandant here was directed to afford him all possible assistance. "As for the merchants," continues Gage, "they may build what vessels they please, but you will not suffer either Mr. Grant's Artificers or Sailors to be taken from him. * * * I understand there is very good Cedar to be had which Mr. Grant will now use for the King's Vessels, and if you find it necessary you will reserve the cedar and suffer no persons to cut it, but when it is used in the King's Service.

"I hope you have received the orders about fitting out the old Vessels for this year's Service."

From the official "Return" we learn the identity of the two new vessels, the first ever constructed at Detroit. One was the *Hope*, the other the *Angelica;* both were small schooners, carrying an armament of four swivels, and both continued in service many years. From 1771, therefore, dates the establishment of the King's shipyard, which for nearly forty years occupied the waterfront immediately west of what is now Woodward Avenue. From it were turned out all the ships, with but one or two exceptions, added to the King's navy on the Upper Lakes down to the evacuation of Detroit in 1796. In 1772 the *Gage* and the *Dunmore*, schooners of much larger size and heavier armament, were added to the fleet. The sloop *Felicity*, a small boat, was built in 1773, and the schooner *Faith* and sloop *Archangel* in 1774. All of these vessels were in service in 1778, at which time two more, the *Wyandot* and the *Ottawa*, were under construction at Detroit.

The importance in peace of this naval force was always great, for it provided practically the only means of communication and transport of supplies between the several western posts. In time of war, however, the importance of a navy becomes accentuated, and to this fact the Revolution afforded no exception. That struggle began on the Atlantic seaboard, and not until George Rogers Clark invaded the Illinois towns in 1778 was the British authority in the Northwest seriously challenged. Thereafter for several years Detroit, as the chief seat of British power in the West, was the center from which the British operations were directed, and the goal of the American desires. The story of these operations has more than once been told, but no writer has perceived the significance of the navy's contribution to them, or accorded to it its due measure of importance. As a matter of fact, the naval force was a constant factor in the British scheme of defense, and without it the royal authority in the West must have collapsed utterly, long before the close of the war. Thus in 1779 Colonel De Peyster at Mackinac urges upon General Haldimand the utility of keeping a vessel in constant service between that post and Detroit. "In the situation we are in at present," he writes, "the Indians are in constant alarm, and are often (so) much persuaded that Detroit is taken that they are ready to leave their habitations. * * * The commanding officer at Detroit gives me all the intelligence he receives. But to hear often that all is well would be most essential service in the management of Indians." During the summer De Peyster sent Lieutenant Bennett with a combined force of soldiers, traders, and Indians to St. Joseph to ward off a threatened attack from St. Louis, and the *Welcome* went to the head of the lake to coöperate in the movement. The Indians proved disaffected and Bennett was compelled to withdraw. In October, therefore, Sinclair, who had succeeded to the command at Mackinac, dispatched the *Felicity* on a cruise around Lake Michigan to gather in all the corn and other provisions to prevent them falling into the hands of the "rebels" (Americans).

The autumn before this, Governor Hamilton of Detroit had led an expedition against Clark's force at Vincennes. It proceeded with extreme difficulty, and but for the naval cöoperation afforded by Captain Grant it could not have proceeded at all. As far as the Maumee Rapids, above the modern city of Toledo, the army and its supplies were conveyed in vessels, chiefly open boats, under the direction of Captain Grant. The *Archangel*

conveyed fourteen tons of supplies to the Rapids, and in addition fifteen large pirogues, each capable of carrying 2,000 to 3,000 pounds, were employed. When, some time later, Hamilton, a prisoner, was on his way to a Virginia dungeon, and Clark in his turn was threatening to march on Detroit, the alarmed British authorities exerted every energy to prepare a warm reception for him, and in this connection Grant ordered all the vessels on the Upper Lakes to return to Detroit as soon as possible, to bear their part in the defense.

In 1780 a formidable attack was launched by the British against St. Louis and the Illinois towns. From far and wide the traders and warriors were assembled in several divisions to advance upon St. Louis by as many routes; one party was to cross Wisconsin by the ancient river highway from Green Bay to Prairie du Chien, and thence descend the Mississippi; another was to ascend Lake Michigan to Chicago and descend the Illinois River to its destination; another was to "watch the plains" between the Wabash and the Mississippi; while a covering expedition from Detroit was to descend the Wabash and engage the attention of Clark and the Kentuckians. In the execution this comprehensive program failed dismally, but it is significant to note that the naval force bore an integral part in the operations. Ships were sent to Milwaukee with provisions, and others to Chicago to carry back from thence the prisoners who, it was anticipated, would be taken in the Illinois country. When the assault made on St. Louis was beaten off, one party of the invaders retreated up the Illinois River, hotly pursued, as they thought, by the Americans. At Chicago they found safety aboard the vessels, which carried them, instead of the anticipated cargo of prisoners, back to Mackinac.

Again in 1781 Clark was threatening Detroit, and the *Faith* and *Adventure* were withdrawn from the transport service between Little Niagara and Fort Erie to be stationed in the Maumee as an outpost of defense against the impending attack. It did not materialize, but the following season came repeated reports of an American advance, and again Grant was sent to the Maumee with all the boats that could be assembled to meet the American attack. Here he fell ill, *but before returning to Detroit he built a blockhouse which, he reported, could be defended by ten men against a hundred.*

The constant dependence of the detached posts upon the naval establishment is conveniently illustrated in the case of Mackinac.

De Peyster's representation of the need of a vessel to ply constantly between that place and Detroit has already been noted. Upon another occasion, urging the need of a vessel to be placed at his command for service on Lake Michigan, he stated that with a ship he could send to St. Joseph and receive a return in eight days' time; by canoe such a circuit required a month to perform. "If I had armed vessels," he observes in another report, "I could make them constantly coast Lake Michigan to arm the Indians and prevent the Rebels building boats." With the reverses suffered by Governor Hamilton at Vincennes in 1779 the British began to entertain unpleasant anticipations of the appearance of a "rebel" force before Mackinac, and in November, Sinclair, who had succeeded De Peyster in command of that place, began the work of erecting a new fortification on the island of Michilamackinac. A year and a half later the new fort, portions of which may still be seen, was ready for occupancy, and the entire military and trading establishment was transferred from its mainland site (where now is Mackinaw City) to the island in the straits. The reasons for this removal are obvious. If the Americans should ever reach Mackinac the mainland fort would fall an easy prey into their hands; but the British, ensconced on the island, could laugh to scorn the utmost efforts of their opponents, who had no shipping on the lakes. To the command of the Upper Lakes by the royal navy during the Revolution, therefore, is due the origin of the present fort and community on Mackinac Island. Both in the erection of the new fort and in the maintenance of its garrison the coöperation of the king's ships was indispensable, and the *Welcome*, *Angelica* and *Archangel* were busily employed between the mainland and the island during the months when the work of construction was progressing. In the Burton Historical Collection is preserved the log book kept by Alexander Harrow, master of the *Welcome* during this period, which contains many interesting details concerning the work.

The naval establishment on the Lakes had developed in response to current needs, rather than in accordance with any preconceived program, and the exigencies of war compelled its thorough reorganization. As late as the autnmn of 1777 we find Governor Carleton of Canada, who had been informed that the vessels on the Upper Lakes were not manned and armed, directing Colonel Bolton at Detroit "that nothing be suffered to navigate the Lakes which is not compleatly mann'd and armed, and

in the King's Service." "I depend upon your exerting your utmost diligence," he adds, "in seeing that these directions, so important to the Safety of the Upper Posts and the security of the Trade, be strictly and expeditiously carried into execution, in every instance where they have not already been complied with." In consequence of this order, which was evidently intended to convey, in part, a rebuke, the several naval officers at Detroit, together with Governor Hamilton, in conference prepared a report upon the existing establishment, accompanied by recommendations for its improvement. The latter have to do with such matters as establishing rates of pay for officers and crews of the vessels and for carpenters, store keepers, and other members of the naval establishment ashore, filling up the complement and improving the discipline of crews of the several vessels, developing the two existing shipyards at Navy Island and Detroit, etc.

With respect to shipyards, the enlargement of the one at Navy Island was recommended, "there being too little Water at the present Wharf to Careen large Vessels at, and it being too small for three Vessels to Winter at." At Detroit the shipyard was to be inclosed, and barracks for officers and men, and a store house and rigging loft were to be built. Among other things, the employment of a naval surgeon was urged, with a "sallary" of 100 pounds sterling per year, besides allowances for lodging, provisions, medicine chest, etc. In this connection we incidentally learn that during the Pontiac war no provision was made for those injured in the service, wounded seamen being "left to shift for themselves." On the general subject of the rates of pay recommended, an interesting observation occurs. Evidently it was feared that these would be regarded as unduly high. In their justification was urged the remoteness of situation and the excessive prices of commodities. A pair of shoes, we are told, cost at Detroit in 1777 twelve shillings sterling; coarse stockings six shillings sterling a pair, check linen three shillings six pence sterling per yard, and "other things proportionately dear."

In what light the higher authorities of Canada viewed these recommendations from Detroit is not a matter of record, but on July 1, 1778, two lengthy sets of general orders and regulations governing the naval establishment on the lakes, were issued. By them Samuel Graves was appointed commodore over all the lakes, which were divided into three districts, each of which was to be commanded by a naval officer subject to Graves' general direc-

tions. Besides the office of commodore, those of controller, paymaster, and commissioner were created, each to supervise, in its particular sphere of authority, the naval establishment on all the lakes. Thus it will be seen that the administration of the naval force on the Upper Lakes (which comprised the third naval district) was intimately related to that on the remaining lakes; for the purposes of the present study, however, the attention is confined to the Upper Lakes alone, with Detroit as the center of the naval establishment. A peculiarity of this inland naval service was its dependence upon the army establishment. Although in 1778 the commander-in-chief of the army in Canada announced as an "invariable rule" that no officer would be commissioned to naval establishment. A peculiarity of this inland naval service upon the ocean, the senior naval officer on each lake was subordinate not merely to his commander-in-chief, but also to the senior army officer serving in the same district. At the same time it was enjoined that land officers should not interfere with the "minutia" of the naval department, and naval officers were prohibited from concerning themselves with the "interior regulations" of the land service. Despite these precautions, friction and clashes of authority between the land and naval officers were of somewhat frequent occurrence. An illustration of such friction occurred in the summer of 1780 when Governor Sinclair arrested Alexander Harrow, captain of the *Welcome*, at Mackinac for supposed insubordination, keeping him in confinement at the fort for several weeks. This same summer Norman McKay, master of the *Felicity*, which was then at Mackinac subject to Sinclair's orders, complained to his naval superior that he had nothing to do but ply between the mainland fort and the island "sometimes with one letter, and at other times (carrying) one man from the one post to the other, and other times loading hay." Such employment did not suit the valiant skipper, and he asked to be ordered down to Detroit or relieved of his command. Yet Sinclair was obsessed with the idea that he needed a still larger naval force at Mackinac, and his representations on the subject to General Haldimand induced the latter to order Captain Grant, the immediate commander of the naval vessels of the Upper Lakes, to place two of them, the *Hope* and the *Welcome*, at Sinclair's disposal. Against this order Grant submitted a spirited protest, setting forth its interference with the transport service on the lakes and the inutility of stationing the vessels at Mackinac. "I can stake my veracity and twenty-one years'

knowledge of the Lakes to His Excellency," added the naval commander, "that the sloop *Welcome* answers all the end (need) of a vessel of War at Mackinac as the Great Fleet of England would —particularly as the Channel is open for all our Vessels to run there, whenever there is occasion."

It was the peculiar fortune of the navy of the Upper Lakes that until the War of 1812 it never faced a civilized opponent. Aside from the attacks made by Pontiac on the Detroit River in the summer of 1763, therefore, its historian can record no tale of combats waged or victories won. Possibly for this reason historical writers have overlooked its importance and ignored its story. That importance, in the years prior to 1796, it is the purpose of the present article to suggest.

THE IRON SHIP

Mr. Quaife has also written the story of "The Iron Ship," a second craft named the *Michigan*, from which is taken the following, in connection with his foregoing article on "The Royal Navy of The Upper Lakes":

In the harbor of Erie, Pennsylvania, rides a small side-wheel steamer. By comparison the modern freighter, or even the modern passenger ship of the Upper Lakes, appears a veritable giant. Yet to the obsolete hulk of the ancient "Iron Ship" clings a wealth of historic associations. * * *

Although the Iron Ship was launched in 1844, her story properly begins with the War of 1812. In that war the decisive factor, so far as the western country was concerned (as has been said), was the naval control of the Upper Lakes. At first this rested with Great Britain, and as a consequence Detroit and all the western country passed under British control. In the autumn of 1813, however, Commodore Perry annihilated the British naval power on the lakes, and Michigan and the adjoining region once more passed under American control. In this posture of affairs, the Treaty of Ghent was concluded late in 1814, restoring peace between the two countries on the basis of a return to the status which had existed prior to the war.

Before the war, Great Britain had maintained a small naval force on the Upper Lakes and the United States a still smaller one. The war had afforded a demonstration of the vital importance to each government of naval control of the lakes, and the return of peace brought with it the prospect that both nations would engage in a race for naval and military supremacy on the Great Lakes. In fact, Great Britain was already concert-

ing measures for the restoration of the power which had vanished before the gunfire of Commodore Perry's fleet, when in 1815 James Monroe, a sincere lover of peace, initiated the movement for an international agreement which has now endured for well over a century, and has proved one of the happiest ever consummated by rival nations. He instructed John Quincy Adams, then our ambassador to Great Britain, to propose to that government a mutual limitation of naval forces to be maintained on the lakes; President Madison, he stated, was willing to confine this force on each side to a certain moderate number of armed vessels, "the smaller the number the more agreeable to him." He was even willing to abstain altogether from an armed force on the lakes, save what might be necessitated by the needs of the revenue service.

The distinction here noted between vessels armed for the revenue service, and vessels belonging to the naval establishment is important, for it has been maintained in all further discussions of the subject down to the present time. Thus it is no violation of the spirit of the ancient convention that in recent years the United States has placed armed boats on the lakes to repress illegal violations of her liquor laws; rather, the exertion of such force as might be necessary to this end was expressly contemplated by the officials who negotiated the original agreement. As to this, the British government was at first distinctly cool toward the American proposal; but at length, in 1817, a diplomatic convention was agreed upon to the effect that in future each nation should limit its naval force on Lake Ontario, on Lake Champlain, and on the Upper Lakes, respectively, to one vessel of 100 tons burden or less, armed with one eighteen-pound cannon. Either government might terminate the agreement on giving six months' notice of its intention; save such notice, it was of indefinite tenure.

Therewith was begun, along our Canadian border, the policy of substituting honor and good faith for forts and warships as a means of national defense and protection. Although not without periods of stress, the new policy has persisted until the present time, and our 3,000-odd-mile Canadian border affords the world's most conspicuous example of international disarmament and good will. The creation of the Iron Ship, as well as the more interesting incidents in her long history, arose from certain of the strains upon the disarmament to which we have alluded.

The first of these assumed threatening significance approxi-

mately two decades after the signing of the Convention of 1817. In the later '30s there was profound dissatisfaction on the part of certain elements in Canada with the existing government—a dissatisfaction which supplied the groundwork for overt rebellion. This situation need not have concerned the United States had it not been for the fact that certain sympathizers with the discontented element, from the safe vantage point of American border cities launched armed invasions of Canada with the intent of fostering rebellion and overthrowing the established government. Such an invasion, for example, was launched from Detroit in 1837 and came to its unhappy end in the disastrous battle of Windsor. Undoubtedly it was the duty of the American government to prevent the use of our soil for such purposes as the invaders made of it, but the authorities lacked either the power or the zeal to fulfill this duty. It followed as a consequence that the British government proceeded to equip itself for defense, and in this connection placed on the lakes a number of armed vessels.

This was in plain contravention of the Convention of 1817 between the two countries, but the right of self-defense is paramount and the American government for a long time seemed willing to acquiesce in the British contention that the armament was justified by existing conditions, accompanied as it was by the direct assurance that as soon as these conditions were improved the British armed force would be reduced. But 1838 and 1839 witnessed the sending of large bodies of fresh troops to Canada, and American public opinion at length took alarm over the evidences of superior British military preparedness along the international border. Congress which for a quarter of a century had been content to leave the matter of border defense to the discretion of the Executive, now began to manifest a new and lively interest in the subject. The upshot was the passage of the fortification bill of 1841 authorizing the President to construct such armed vessels on the northwestern lakes as he might think proper. In pursuance of this authority the Secretary of the Navy initiated steps for the construction of an iron steamer for service on the Upper Lakes, and the side-wheel bark *Michigan* was the resultant answer to the British armament of the late '30s.

The *Michigan* was built in sections at Pittsburgh in the years 1842-44. The sections were then transported overland to Erie (the Presque Isle of the French period), where they were assem-

bled and the vessel formally launched in the summer of 1844. The new ship was of 498-tons burden, with an armament of two 8-inch guns and four 32-pound carronades. Obviously her existence was in plain defiance of the Convention of 1817, the only excuse for which was succinctly given by Senator Allen of Ohio on August 3, 1841, when he stated in debate that he understood the British had two armed steamers on Lake Erie and "he thought armed steamers were necessary to watch armed steamers." Although the Executive branch of the government never permitted itself to indulge in like plain speaking, it seems apparent that it was willing to give the British government visible demonstration of the American determination not to be outclassed in the matter of naval armament on the lakes. The latter, in turn, kept a watchful eye upon the situation, and before the vessel was completed the British ambassador at Washington, noticing recent advertisements for armament far in excess of the restrictions of the Convention of 1817, asked of Secretary of State Calhoun an explanation of the intentions of the American government respecting the fulfillment of that agreement. By way of reply, Calhoun transmitted a report from the Secretary of the Navy affirming that at the time the building of the *Michigan* was undertaken the British armament on the lakes far exceeded the existing agreement, and that this condition still continued.

Thus diplomatic exchanges and disputes attended the birth of the *Michigan* as they were to attend her subsequent active career. She is further distinguished as being the first iron ship ever built for the American navy, and as the first iron vessel of any kind on the Upper Lakes. Hence for a generation (until iron had superseded wood in the construction of vessels generally) her unique and sufficient designation in common parlance was simply "the Iron Ship", or "the Iron Steamer."

Happily our disputes with Great Britain were confined to the realm of diplomacy, and until the Civil war (presently to be noted) the *Michigan's* chief activities were of a peaceful and beneficent nature. Year after year she cruised the lakes, her home station being much of the time at Detroit, frequently bringing relief to vessels in distress, and serving at all times as a recruiting ship for the naval service (at Toledo and elsewhere). On the roll of her officers are the names of many men who subsequently distinguished themselves by daring deeds in distant corners of the earth. * * *

Perhaps the most interesting activity of the *Michigan* prior to the Civil war was that connected with the Kingdom of God on Earth which James J. Strang established in 1850 on the Beaver Islands of Lake Michigan. We have space only briefly to advert to the fact that Strang, claiming to be the divinely appointed successor to Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, who was slain by an Illinois mob in 1844, succeeded in attracting several thousand followers to the Beaver Islands, which God was supposed to have set aside for their inheritance, and there established a kingdom, based on divine revelation, whose limits were eventually to embrace the entire earth. The whole story of Strang's Kingdom of God on Earth is as bizarre as any in American annals. Here it must suffice to note that for several years the unregenerate gentiles of the surrounding region maintained a state of virtual civil war with the Saints of the Islands, ending in their overthrow and banishment in 1856. As always under such circumstances, rumor and hatred combined to magnify many fold the misdeeds of the Saints, who even yet in this section of Michigan are firmly believed to have been a crew of industrious pirates and cut-throats. In the early summer of 1851 President Fillmore, having listened to the dreadful stories of the regime King Strang had set up within the borders of his own governmental domain, placed the *Michigan* at the disposal of the U. S. District Attorney in Detroit to strengthen his hand in bringing the arch criminals to justice and reestablishing the sovereignty of the United States over the islands of Lake Michigan.

A presidential election was approaching, and the existing mass of conflicting religious and economic interests was further complicated by the injection into it of partisan political motives. Equipped for desperate battle, District Attorney Bates was conveyed by the Iron Ship to the Beavers, where the King and his rebellious cohorts meekly surrendered themselves into official custody and were carried to Detroit for trial on numerous grave charges of misconduct. "I have just returned from the Kingdom of God with the Prophet of the Lord and the Saints in limbo," triumphantly reported Attorney Bates on the arrival of the *Michigan* at Detroit with her cargo. The unique character of the accused combined with the widspread advertising which had been accorded their supposed saintly misdeeds to make the case a cause celebre in local annals, and the public interest in the trial was heightened by the deplorable fact that it was prostituted to serve the partisan ends of the presidential campaign which was

then being waged. The outcome proved a sickening fiasco to the District Attorney, and a corresponding triumph to the accused. The only thing proved against them was the fact that they were Mormons, and the jury, all but two of whose members were their political enemies, promptly acquitted them.

But legal acquittal brought no cessation of trouble for the kingdom, and the civil warfare went on until in the summer of 1856 the *Michigan* played a regrettable part in its downfall. By this time the King had estranged some of his supporters, and certain of these concocted a plot to murder him. It is not to be supposed that the commander of a United States naval vessel was cognizant of the plot, yet the conduct of the captain of the *Michigan* still awaits satisfactory explanation. The Iron Ship came into the harbor of Saint James and cast anchor immediately in front of the store of the principal plotter. The pilot of the ship was sent ashore with a message summoning the King on board. As he stepped upon the dock to comply, two of the conspirators who had been lying in concealment behind a pile of cordwood came up behind him and opened fire at arm's length. He fell to the ground, fatally wounded, after which the murderers again shot him and, raining blows upon him with their clubbed pistols, ran on board the ship and demanded protection from the followers of the fallen monarch. Although Saint James was a county seat, and the sheriff of the county demanded the custody of the murderers, the captain of the *Michigan* carried them away to Mackinac, where they were promptly set at liberty and lionized by the populace for the murder they had committed. The gathering of the gentile mob and the expulsion of the Saints from the Beavers followed in due course upon this assassination of their king.

Less questionable and more interesting by far was the role played by the *Michigan* during the years of the Civil war. Along our unguarded lake frontier lay many prosperous cities, which might be harassed by Confederate agents operating from the safe vantage ground of nearby Canada. Canadian officials were lukewarm or indifferent about enforcing the neutrality laws, and certain enterprising Confederates sensed a golden opportunity for setting a back-fire along the Great Lakes frontier which would bring home to the northern people the horrors of warfare and divert their obnoxious energies from the task of southern invasion to that of home defense.

To checkmate such designs, on all the Upper Lakes was but a

single armed vessel, the Iron Ship. In Chicago, Indianapolis, Columbus, and on Johnson's Island in Lake Erie were thousands of Confederate prisoners, and the plotters contemplated procuring the soldiery needed to raze the lake cities by procuring their release. It was the Johnson's Island Plot which more directly concerned the *Michigan*, and to this we will confine our attention.

The island, almost a mile long, lies in the mouth of Sandusky Bay. In 1861 the government leased it, appropriate buildings were erected, and it was utilized as a prison for Confederate officers. The number in confinement varied from time to time, but in September, 1864, when the plot came to a head, there were some 2,700. They were guarded by an Ohio infantry regiment many of whose members had been withdrawn from active service by reason of wounds or physical disability. More important to our story than these guards, off the island lay the *Michigan*. Her armament had been heavily increased since the war began, and her battery of fifteen guns included one sixty-eight, six thirty, six twenty-five and two twelve-pounders. It was the hope of the plotters to gain possession of the *Michigan*, and capture the island with her; then having burned Sandusky and Cleveland the prisoners would liberate in turn the thousands of Confederate soldiers confined in Columbus and therewith be equipped with an army for such further activities as circumstances might render feasible.

Evidently the success of the whole enterprise hinged upon the capture of the Iron Ship. The Confederate government had sent Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior under President Buchanan, to Canada charged with a commission to make what trouble he could for the United States in that quarter. Thompson engaged in this service Capt. Charles H. Cole, who professed to be a Confederate naval officer but who seems rather to have been a professional adventurer. Equipped with money supplied by Thompson, Cole came to Sandusky in the summer of 1864 in the guise of a Pennsylvania oil man, opened a bank account, and dispensed a somewhat generous hospitality, with a view to ingratiating himself with the military authorities. In after years he related a lurid tale of his achievements; in particular he claimed he had corrupted certain members of the *Michigan's* crew. All his efforts came to naught, however, with his arrest, and it seems probable he actually accomplished much less than he afterward pretended to have done.

The really important actor in the entire plot was another

man whom Thompson had engaged, John Yates Beall. Beall was a Virginian who had served under Stonewall Jackson, but being wounded early in the war had made his way first to Iowa and later to Canada. There he had asked Thompson for the command of a privateer on Lake Huron, but had received instead an assignment to coöperate with Cole in the taking of the *Michigan.* Another adventurer who engaged in the plot was a young Scotchman who later won widespread fame as a war correspondent, Bennett G. Burley.

A small steamer, the *Philo Parsons*, then plied between Detroit and Sandusky. On Monday morning, September 19, 1864, Burley went aboard this boat, then about to depart for Sandusky. At Sandwich three more men, one of them Beall, came aboard; while at Amherstburg sixteen roughly dressed men, equipped with one old trunk, took passage. The newcomers had no ostensible relations with Burley and Beall, and were assumed to be returning Americans who had run away from the draft. About four o'clock in the afternoon, when the steamer was within a dozen miles of Sandusky, Beall and Burley and their two companions suddenly covered the officers with revolvers and, announcing that they were Confederates, took possession of the ship. The Amherstburg passengers now disclosed themselves as their associates, and their trunk proved to be filled with hatchets and revolvers with which they armed themselves. At Middle Bass Island, where they stopped to wood the *Philo Parsons*, another small steamer, the *Island Queen*, was seized. The two vessels left the island lashed together, but after a few miles the *Island Queen* was scuttled and turned adrift.

The outcome of the enterprise was wholly dependent upon Cole's success in corrupting or drugging the crew of the *Michigan;* but even before the plotters boarded the *Philo Parsons*, Colonel Hill at Detroit had sent the commander of the *Michigan* a warning of the impending attack. That officer promptly sent a boat crew ashore to seize Cole, while all Monday night the *Michigan* lay cleared for action, with guns shotted, steam up, and officers and men at their quarters. Had the *Parsons* actually put in an appearance she would have been blown out of the water in short order. Much to Beall's disgust, however, his men, belatedly perceiving the impossibility of capturing a warship with pistols and hatchets, mutinied. All but Burley and two others refused to proceed with the mad enterprise, and Beall was compelled to yield. The *Parsons* was turned back toward De-

troit, therefore, and on reaching Sandwich the Confederates, having scuttled the vessel, landed and disappeared. Beall was later seized at Niagara Falls, condemned to death as a spy, and hanged at Governor's Island in New York harbor. Cole after some months' imprisonment was released on habeas corpus proceedings, there being insufficient evidence to convict him. Burley was brought back from Canada through extradition proceedings on the prosaic charge of robbery and assault. The jury disagreed, however, and before the second trial could be held, the prisoner took French leave and departed upon a career of world-wide adventure. Of all the plotters, Beall was the only one who was punished by the government.

The *Michigan* took an active part in repressing the Fenian invasion of Canada in 1868, but for the rest her story is chiefly one of peaceful lake surveys, and of service as a training ship for the naval militia. With the passing years the old ship grew ever more obsolete, of course, and from time to time proposals were made to replace her with a vessel of more modern design. In the early '90s the people of Chicago, intent on having a warship on exhibition at their World's Fair, petitioned Congress to replace the "antiquated" Iron Ship with a new one, but nothing came of this, and dynamic Chicago was compelled to content herself with an imitation battleship built of brick on the lake front. Some years after the Spanish War the government planned to bestow the name, Michigan, upon a new battleship that was being built. In 1905, therefore, the name, *Wolverine*, was given to the Iron Ship, the new name, like the old, attesting the intimate association of the vessel with Michigan. The *Wolverine* continued in service many years longer as a training ship for the naval militia. A few years ago she was retired from this service and condemned to be sold for what she might bring. But the people of Erie, Pennsylvania, who from an early period have manifested a deep interest in the United States navy, asked that the vessel be given to that city for preservation as an historic memorial. The request was granted, and so the ancient Iron Ship, after three-quarters of a century of continuous service, has found a permanent anchorage in the port whence so many of her officers were drawn. Her story is more interesting, her wealth of human associations greater, than that of any other vessel that rides our inland seas.

CHAPTER XXXVII

PROGRESS OF EVENTS IN THE NORTHWEST

INFLUX OF SETTLERS—AMERICAN-INDIAN-BRITISH SITUATION—THE JAY TREATY—BRITISH FINALLY SURRENDER FORTS—GENERAL WILKINSON SUPERSEDES WAYNE—DESIGNS OF THE SPANISH AND BRITISH—WAYNE COUNTY ESTABLISHED—COMMUNICATION BETWEEN DETROIT AND OHIO RIVER—THE WESTERN RESERVE AND FIRE LANDS.

Peace between the white man and the savage, so far as the aborigine was concerned, was generally a matter of expediency. Some of the tribes whose head chiefs attached their mark of approval to the Greenville Treaty, however, possessed a genuine friendliness for the Americans, while others joined with their brethren in the agreement from a matter of policy and enforced self interests. There was much suffering among the Indians of the Sandusky and Maumee region, especially among those gathered at the lower Swan Creek section, during the winter of 1794-1795, by reason of their corn and other crops being destroyed by Wayne. They had expected protection at the Battle of Fallen Timbers from the British at Fort Miami and now the latter, unprepared to aid such a large force, left them at the creek in almost a starving condition. There was much sickness among them, the few animals they had left mostly died for want of care and food, or were eaten, including their dogs. Little wonder then that they turned to the American commander for peace and aid. With Wayne's treaty concluded, there was a greater influx of settlers from the East, the narrowing of the prescribed limits to the hunting grounds of the Indians was naturally a great irritation, and the British were ever ready to take advantage of any situation prejudicial to American interests.

Another treaty, however, which aided the Americans at this juncture was concluded between the United States and Spain, October 27, 1795, which established territorial limits between the two sections, concerned the surrender of Spanish forts to the United States, the subject of navigation and a declaration of the renewal of friendliness. This agreement allayed the agitation

for a new government in the West and harmonized the differences existing between the East and West.

The Americans garrisoned military posts in the Maumee and Sandusky regions and near-by territory in the early part of 1796 were as follows: Forts Wayne, Defiance, and Sandusky, with Miami yet held by the British; also Forts Recovery, Loramies, Head of the Auglaize, Adams, Jefferson and Greenville. The posts recommended in March of that year to be still maintained were: Wayne, Defiance, Recovery, Adams, Head of Auglaize, Miami, Michilimackinac and Detroit—the latter, besides Miami, being still in the hands of the British.

In January, 1796, General Wayne delegated the command of the Northwestern Army to Gen. James Wilkinson with headquarters at Greenville, and visited the national government at Philadelphia in regard to the situation in the Northwest. In June, 1796, a British and Indian council was planned to be held adjacent to Fort Miami to establish closer relations against the Americans. Colonel Hamtramck came down the Maumee from Fort Wayne with an escort of troops to keep in touch with the Indian-British movements, while General Wilkinson extended an invitation to several chiefs to visit him at Greenville. Regarding the British-Indian council, Colonel Hamtramck wrote to General Wilkinson as follows, from Fort Deposit at Roche de Boeuf, above present Waterville on the Maumee:

"Camp Deposit, June 8, 1796.

"Sir: I arrived at this place the day before yesterday and have been waiting the result of the Indian council at the Miami fort. It would appear that they are divided in their opinions. White Cap the principal Shawnee chief wants to alarm the Indians, but I am in hopes he will not succeed. Blue Jacket is with me, and says that he will remain until your arrival. Yesterday same of their chiefs and young men were with me, and assured me of their good intentions towards us. How far this can be depended upon time will determine. * * *

"J. F. Hamtramck."

It was on account of the growing enmity towards Great Britain by reason of her policy of fermenting Indian hostility towards the United States, and also by reason of the British refusal to surrender certain of the lake posts to this country as agreed by the peace treaty of 1783, that President Washington had appointed John Jay, at the time chief justice of the Supreme Court,

to attempt to come to some further specific agreement. Negotiations were in progress over the seas at the very time Wayne was marching down the Maumee against the Indians. On the part of England, Lord Grenville finally signed the "Jay Treaty" November 19, 1794, and the document was presented to the United States Senate for ratification, June 8, 1795. Its terms when they became known were not in accordance with the republican radicals' sentiment in America. In consequence the feeling against England heightened in intensity and public meetings of indignation were held. A few even went so far as to demand Washington's impeachment for his lack of Americanism and Justice Jay was burned in effigy in the cities along the Atlantic Coast. Through all the turmoil Washington displayed his poise and statesmanship and the agreement was ratified June 18th, fifteen days after the signing of the Greenville Treaty. It adjusted the disputed boundary lines, provided for the collection of the British debts, cleared up the question of American-European trade in the West Indies, and provided that "His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States (1783). This evacuation shall take place on or before June 1, 1796."

On March 1, 1796, the treaty was proclaimed a law by the President. On May 27th General Wilkinson sent Captain Schaumberg, his aide, to Detroit to demand of the British Colonel England the evacuation of Fort Miami on the lower Maumee, Fort Lernoult at Detroit, and Fort Michilimackinac. Under the plea that he had received no orders from his superior officer to make such surrender, the demand was refused.

There was still no movement on the part of the British to give up the posts they yet held on June 1, whereupon General Wayne in consultation with the War Department, decided to make one further demand. To carry out this resolution, Captain Lewis was dispatched from Philadelphia to Lord Dorchester with the proper formalities. Lord Dorchester provided Lewis with the orders to be handed to the British commanders of Forts Miami, Lernoult, Michilimackinac, Niagara and Oswego, ordering them to vacate these posts to "such officer belonging to the forces of the United States as shall produce this authority to you for that purpose; who shall precede the troops destined to garrison it by one day, in order that he may have time to view the nature and condition of the works and buildings." Captain Lewis handed

the orders for evacuation of Forts Niagara and Oswego to Captain Bruff at Albany, and the orders for the surrender of the other forts were given to General Wayne at Philadelphia. Wayne immediately dispatched the orders to General Wilkinson at Greenville, who thereupon forwarded them to Colonel Hamtramck at Fort Deposit. The latter officer proceeded down the Maumee to Fort Miami without delay and sent to General Wilkinson the following report:

"Fort Miami, July 11, 1796.

"Sir: On the 7th instant two small vessels arrived from Detroit in which I sent a detachment of artillery and infantry, consisting of sixty-five men, together with a number of cannon with ammunition, &c., &c., the whole under the command of Captain Porter. On the 9th a sloop arrived from Detroit at Swan Creek, purchased by Captain Henry De Butts, which carries fifty tons, and which is now loaded with flour, quartermaster's stores and troops. That, together with eleven batteaux which I have, will be sufficient to take all the troops I have with me, leaving the remainder of our stores deposited at this place, which was evacuated on this day, and where I have left Captain Marschalk and Lieutenant Shauklin with fifty-two men, infantry, and a corporal and six of artillery, that is, including the garrison at the head of the Rapids (Fort Deposit). I have endowed Fort Miami with one month's provision for both the troops and the Shawanese. The latter, you recollect, you promised subsistence until the crops were ripe. The number of the Shawanese is about one hundred and eighty, besides twenty-six or thirty Ottawas. I shall embark in two hours, with all the troops, for Detroit. * * *

"J. F. Hamtramck."

"Detroit, July 17, 1796.

"Sir: I have the pleasure to inform you of the arrival of the troops under my command at this place which was evacuated on the 11th instant and taken possession of by a detachment of sixty-five men commanded by Captain Moses Porter, whom I had detached from the foot of the Rapids (Maumee) for that purpose. Myself and the troops arrived on the 13th instant.

"J. F. Hamtramck.

"To Major-General Wilkinson."

The British in the meantime, before their evacuation, had built a fort at Malden, below Detroit, and on the Canadian side of the Detroit River, below where is now Amherstburg.

Naturally a reader who has followed this story from the beginning of the American Revolution and the struggle of the young Republic for Independence, from 1774 down to the present, and also from reading the treaty of Paris (1783) and now the Jay Treaty effective in 1796, would expect here to be written the finis of a great American peace. However, such is not the story of this western country, and this narrative must cover a period of eighteen more years before such an ending can be recorded.

It is of course impossible to tell what history might record concerning the United States had England at once carried out the terms agreed upon at the treaty of Paris, 1783. Possibly internal complications might have been more serious on the uncharted sea of freedom than were the thirteen years more of struggle up to Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers. There is no question that much blood was shed in the meantime that England was responsible for. Had that country at that juncture adopted the proper attitude in her conduct towards the Indian, and aided in the betterment of their condition instead of inciting them to American ravages and murder, untold good might have been accomplished and thousands of American lives spared—more than were lost east of the Alleghenies during the entire Revolution, not considering the great loss of property. But England's policy of expansion and acquisition of territory and her desire to hold to the last all that had been acquired, caused the hope for some international event to take place which might give her the repossession of the American colonies, or at least the territory west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. As has been repeated, this was shown by their tenacity in holding the forts upon the American border, the building of Fort Miami on the lower Maumee (a stronghold within American territory) and their continued efforts to federate the Indian tribes and turn them against the United States. No statement that the British Home Office was not fully informed and in touch with the situation in America will ever be credited as an excuse for what took place. The facts were the American policy was directed from the Home Office in London.

General Wayne after the Philadelphia conference and the arrangement for the evacuation of the forts by the British, arrived at Detroit by way of Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.) August 13, 1796, where he was joyfully acclaimed even by the large concourse of Indians. On November 17th he embarked again for home on a sloop, was seized with a serious attack of the gout and

died at now Erie, Pa., December 15, 1796, near his fifty-second birthday. Gen. James Wilkinson, who had been serving as commander during Wayne's absence, was now his successor as general-in-chief of the United States army in the West.

The Jay Treaty brought on a disturbance from a source not anticipated. The document was considered by France as the suspension of the American-French treaty of 1778, and they made an offensive and defensive alliance with Spain, August 19, 1796, which led to some French and Spanish complications with this country not necessary to give here in detail, but which revived the question of a western confederacy among a few Kentuckians, and a Spanish emissary was sent there to "advocate the interests of Spain in the Mississippi basin." Further, instead of the Spanish forts along the Mississippi being surrendered to the United States according to agreement, it was reported that some three hundred Spaniards were building a strong, new post at St. Louis and that a large party of Delaware Indians, bearing the Spanish colors, were on their way to join that garrison. Thomas Power, the versatile Irishman who could talk English, French and Spanish, and who had been in the Kentucky and Ohio settlements to spread Spanish propaganda in the interests of that country in the Mississippi Valley, in August, 1797, also visited the Maumee region on a mission to General Wilkinson and other prominent men at Detroit. He was joined there by Victor de Collot and M. Warin, representatives of France, who from observations made maps of the watercourses and geography of this region.

This Detroit visit caused General Wilkinson to write a letter to Capt. Robert Buntin, the American commander at Vincennes, dated September 4, the above year, in which Wilkinson said that he had received a communication from Baron de Carondolet, the Spanish governor general of Louisiana, giving "a variety of frivolous reasons for not delivering the (Mississippi) posts and begs that no more (American) troops be sent down the Mississippi." General Wilkinson, however, demanded of Carondolet that the Spanish posts be surrendered, and considering Powers' presence in Detroit undesirable, the general put him in care of Captain Schaumberg and sent him to New Madrid "by the most direct route."

It was feared too that Great Britain had her eye on the Spanish colony and planned an invasion by way of the Maumee or the Illinois River.

For civil purposes, on August 15, 1796, Winthrop Sargent,

secretary of the Northwest Territory, proclaimed at Detroit the establishment of the County of Wayne, which included all of present Ohio north of the Greenville Treaty line and east to the Cuyahoga River, a large part of now Michigan and a small strip of Indiana north of Fort Wayne. Thereby the Maumee and Sandusky valleys were for the first time brought under the jurisdiction of the United States. Before then, excepting the American forts, this territory had been under the nominal jurisdiction of Kent County, Canada, organized in 1792. Governor St. Clair's promulgation of laws for the Northwest Territory did not then affect this section, which was "Indian lands."

With the long sought-for occupation of Detroit by Americans, close communication as possible was necessary between that place and Fort Washington or Cincinnati. To effect that purpose, relays of horses were kept at the stations of Miami(Maumee), Defiance, St. Marys and Greenville. In this connection, Maj. John Wilson, assistant quartermaster at Fort Miami, under the date of September 16, 1796, received a letter from J. Wilkins, Jr., quartermaster-general at Detroit, saying, "I send over by Ogden two horses which are to remain at Fort Miami to serve as a relief for expresses; when expresses are coming to this place (Detroit) they are to leave the horses they bring, with you, and come on with fresh horses. You will take the greatest care of the horses and have them well fed and attended to."

Not only was this route used for military purposes, but after the organization of Wayne County, until Ohio became a state, there was considerable business to pass between the two sections and lawyers from Cincinnati, as told by Judge Barnet in his "Notes," traveled the route in attending the General Court at Detroit. The first postal route between Cincinnati and Detroit was inaugurated March 3, 1801. For some two years, however, the mail was carried by a military express, until post offices on the northern section were established.

The Territory of the Mississippi was formed by Congress, April 7, 1798, and Winthrop Sargent was made its governor. William Henry Harrison was selected secretary of the Northwest Territory to fill the vacancy caused by Sargent's transfer. Before proceeding with the progress of the civil organization of the Northwest, however, it is well to call attention to what is known as the Western Reserve.

When Connecticut by its act of May 11, 1786, ceded to the United States its claims in the Northwest Territory, it reserved

a strip bounded on the north by forty-two degrees and two minutes north latitude, on the east by the Pennsylvania state line, on the south by the forty-first degree parallel and on the west by a meridian line 120 miles west of the boundary line of Pennsylvania. This tract was known as the "Connecticut Western Reserve." On May 11, 1792, the General Assembly of Connecticut quit-claimed to the inhabitants of the several Connecticut towns whose property had been burned by the British during the Revolution, 500,000 acres lying across the western end of the Reserve, bounded on the north by the shore of Lake Erie. These lands are known in the West as the "Fire Lands." In 1796 the property sufferers were incorporated in Connecticut and in 1803 in Ohio, and the lands on being surveyed were distributed in proportion to each sufferer's loss. The survey showed that the total reservation, including Kelleys Island and the several Bass Islands in Lake Erie, contained 3,366,921 acres, more than the entire state of Connecticut, but this amount was later reduced somewhat by another survey. The lands of the Connecticut Land Company were drawn by the purchasers in four separate drawings, 1798, 1802, 1807, and 1809. After the last draft the company was dissolved.

A rather peculiar fact connected with all Ohio land company organizations and purchases, such as the Ohio Company, the Scioto Company, the Symmes Purchase in the Cincinnati-Dayton region, the French Colony and finally the Connecticut Land Company, was that they never resulted in the financial successes anticipated and all were attended with many difficulties and disappointments. However, they served their purposes in the development and settlement of Ohio. On July 10, 1800, Governor St. Clair issued a proclamation, constituting the entire Western Reserve, including the Fire Lands, as a county, which was named Trumbull in honor of the then governor of Connecticut, Jonathan Trumbull. This cut off a section of Wayne County west from the Cuyahoga. It is plain to see where the people in this "New Connecticut" came from, as they named their settlements Norwalk, New London, New Haven, East Haven, Greenwich, Ridgefield, Danbury, Fairfield, Milan, Plymouth, New Salem, Berlin Heights, etc.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

BEGINNING OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

FIRST TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—CINCINNATI SEAT OF GOVERNMENT—INDIANA TERRITORY FORMED—LOUISIANA PURCHASE—CHILLICOTHE MADE TERRITORIAL CAPITAL—MOVE FOR STATEHOOD—FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—OHIO BECOMES A STATE—IMPORTANT INDIAN TREATIES—LAND OFFICES ESTABLISHED.

The passage of the Ordinance of 1787 creating the Northwest Territory, the appointment of General St. Clair as governor, the selection of the three territorial judges and the promulgation of a limited number of laws for the territorial government, has already been set forth. Representative government in the territory began with the meeting of the First General Assembly at Cincinnati, September 16, 1799. For ten years the government had been in the hands of the governor and the judges, who had exercised the legislative, executive and judicial powers as the ordinance provided. The governor was the commander-in-chief of the military, appointed magistrates and other civil officers and was the chief executive in law enforcement. The laws, civil and criminal, were made by the governor and judges, or a majority of them; the judges formed a court with common law jurisdiction and constituted the territory's judicial power. There was at times friction between Governor St. Clair and the judges as to their various rights and powers, but as for the people, they were well satisfied with the administration of affairs and the character of the laws they had no voice in making. Now came the government by the people as provided for when the territory contained "five thousand free male inhabitants of full age."

Taking notice of this fact, Governor St. Clair on October 29, 1798, issued a proclamation to the qualified voters, ordering that an election be held for territorial representatives on the third Monday in December, 1798. Only the owners of fifty acres or more of land were permitted to vote at the election and only freeholders of 200 acres were eligible to the office of representative. The Ordinance also made provision for a council of five members corresponding to a senate, to be selected by Congress, out of a list

of ten names submitted by the Territorial House of Representatives. As the Congress of the confederation went out of existence automatically upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, these appointments were made by President Adams.

The first election was held in accordance with the governor's proclamation but owing to irregularities another election was held January 14, 1799. Representatives from Wayne County, of which the Maumee and Sandusky valleys were a part, chosen at the election held at Detroit, were Solomon Sibley, Jacob Visgar and Charles F. Chabert de Joncaire, all of Detroit or that neighborhood. As the constituency of the officials lived in a territory comprising over 250,000 square miles, over twice the area of Great Britain and Ireland, and greater than France, it took time to determine the election results. And while the governor's proclamation called for the convening of the Legislature on January 22nd, the meeting did not take place until the 4th of February. From Kaskaskia on the Mississippi was some four hundred miles, and from Vincennes on the Wabash and from Michigan, the travel on horseback through deep forests, broken only by Indian trails, was a task not to be taken lightly.

The first duty of the Territorial Assembly was the nomination of ten persons out of which the Legislative Council was to be named. These ten names were reported to Governor St. Clair, who in turn transmitted them to the Federal secretary of state and from the list President Adams selected for a term of five years—James Findlay and Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, Hamilton County; Henry Vanderburgh of Vincennes, Knox County; Robert Oliver of Marietta, Washington County; and David Vance of Vanceville, Jefferson County. Each possessed a freehold of 500 acres of land. An adjournment was then taken until September 16th following.

There being no quorum present on September 16th, it was not until the 24th, eight days later, that the two houses were organized. Henry Vanderburgh of Vincennes was chosen as president of the Council and Edward Tiffin of Chillicothe was unanimously elected speaker of the House of Representatives. "Cincinnati, the seat of government of the territory, was then a struggling and unprepossessing village. With the river at its feet, it was surrounded by the dense and impenetrable forests of the Miami country." On October 3rd William Henry Harrison was selected by the Legislature as the first representative to Congress from the territory and upon his resignation as secretary of the terri-

tory, that position was filled by the appointment of Charles William Byrd, whose selection was confirmed by the Council or Senate December 31, 1799.

Slow communication between the various outlying sections of such a vast and new country, much of which was remote from officers of the law, made the maintenance of order and good government a difficult problem in the far removed districts. The situation was brought to the attention of Congress, and a committee of investigation on March 3, 1800, reported that in five years in three western counties of the territory, there had been but one court to which complaints had been reported against criminal offenders; and that the immunity which law breakers experienced attracted "as to an asylum the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society." The evil was greatly remedied by the act of Congress passed May 7, 1800, providing for the establishment on the 4th of July following of the Territory of Indiana; the boundaries of which were "that part of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio opposite to the mouth of the Kentucky River, and running thence to Fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada." The section west of this line was to constitute the territory of Indiana and the part east thereof was Ohio territory. This movement reduced the size of Wayne County about one-half. To administer the affairs of such a region as that of Indiana required a man of ability and versed in Indian affairs, and the governorship fell to William Henry Harrison. While Governor St. Clair, despite much opposition, received a reappointment, his jurisdiction now applied to the Ohio section. Vincennes was made the seat of government of the Indiana Territory and that for the Ohio section was changed from Cincinnati to Chillicothe. The second session of the First Territorial Assembly was held at Chillicothe, November 3, 1800. Four land offices were established in the Ohio division—Marietta, Chillicothe, Cincinnati and Steubenville.

The dawn of the nineteenth century brought many important events to the Northwest and history was rapid in the making. Even after the forts of this region were taken over by the Americans and the British had built Fort Malden and retired to the Canadian side of the Detroit River and the established boundary line, they continued in their official capacity to invade American

territory and to attempt to influence the Indians in their interests. But one by one the problems that came up were courageously met by the United States Government and the various Spanish, French and Indian intrigues inaugurated were dispelled. A new treaty was made with France, September 30, 1800, which averted threatened war with that nation, and the ambitions of Spain to gain a permanent western foothold were defeated, by her secretly ceding Louisiana back to France after a thirty-eight years' possession. The climax came with the purchase of that vast domain by the United States April 30, 1803, under the Jefferson administration, which put a quietus on Napoleon's idea of a New France, opened up American navigation on the Mississippi and put a finality to local and foreign agitation for a Western Republic. Greater stability to western affairs followed and with a population in the Ohio territory, including what is now Eastern Michigan, of 45,365, the agitation began for the formation of a new state.

After Congress had designated Chillicothe as the seat of territorial government, the first capitol building was erected there, in which the first session of the Second Territorial Assembly was convened November 23rd, 1801. Solomon Sibley was the member of the Council or Senate from Wayne County in place of Judge Vanderburgh, whose residence was in the territory of Indiana. Jonathan Schiefflin, George McDougall and Charles F. Chabert Joncaire were the members of the House of Representatives. Joncaire and Schiefflin had previously been most active in the interests of the British. Edward Tiffin was elected speaker of the House and Robert Oliver president of the Council. The controversy between Governor St. Clair, a Federalist, and the leaders for statehood, which proposition the governor opposed, caused St. Clair to prorogue the legislative session on January 23rd, 1802, to meet in Cincinnati the following November. This act greatly incensed the citizens of Chillicothe, and the mobbing of the governor was averted by the prompt action of Representative Schiefflin of Detroit, who displayed a brace of pistols in such a threatening manner that the attack was quelled and the mob dispersed.

With the finding that the Ohio territory contained a population of sixty thousand or more people, as provided by the Ordinance of 1787, and a Congressional committee appointed for the purpose, on March 4, 1802, reporting favorably their investigation, Congress on April 30 voted the call for a Constitutional Convention to meet November 1, 1802, to frame a constitution for a

new state on the lines now existing. The act provided that all male residents in the Ohio division of the territory who had resided therein one year and paid their taxes, were eligible to vote for members of the convention. There was to be a representative for every 1,200 inhabitants of each county. The election was held the second Tuesday in October (1802) and of the thirty-five members elected, Wayne County was excluded from the enabling act because it mostly lay outside the territory to be included in the new state; Detroit being its seat of government. It therefore had no representative in the convention.

The members of the convention to determine whether there should be a new state government and to frame a constitution, as stated, met at Chillicothe and effected their organization November 1, by the selection of Edward Tiffin president and Judge Thomas Scott of Chillicothe secretary. After the credentials of the members were passed upon and the rules of procedure adopted, the question whether "it be or be not expedient at the time to form a constitution and state government" was carried in the affirmative by a vote of thirty-two to one, the one negative vote being that of Ephriam Cutler of Washington County, a radical Federalist.

After due deliberation upon each of the eight articles of the constitution, it was completed, passed and signed November 29, 1802, and Ohio was admitted to the Union as a state, February 19, 1803; the fourth under the general Federal Constitution and the seventeenth state in number. Pursuant to the provisions of the new constitution the election of a governor and members of the General Assembly took place January 11, 1803, at which Edward Tiffin was elected Ohio's first governor. The first session of the Ohio legislature opened March 1, 1803 at Chillicothe, which place was designated by the constitution as the capital until the year 1808. Nathaniel Massic was elected president of the Senate and Michael Baldwin speaker of the House of Representatives. The executive and judicial officers of the state, as provided also by the constitution, were selected by joint ballot of the Senate and House. For Judges of the Supreme Court, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., Samuel Huntington and William Spriggs were chosen, as were three Associate Judges for each county. Thomas Worthington and John Smith were elected the first United States Senators. Jeremiah Morrow was elected June 21, 1803, as Ohio's one and first member of Congress.

With the beginning of Ohio as a state, Detroit was the residence of most of the white settlers of Wayne County, although

along the Maumee and Sandusky there were traders and a few who considered the watercourses where they were located as their permanent home. All were enumerated to total the required number to make Ohio eligible to statehood, but as said Wayne County was given neither representation in the constitutional convention nor vote on the constitution. As a matter of fact the constitution was never submitted to the people for ratification. Northwestern Ohio, north of the Greenville Treaty line, and known as Indian lands, never had representation or voice in the government until after the organization of the various northwestern Ohio counties April 20, 1820. Automatically the Ohio portion of the Maumee and most of the Sandusky valleys reverted to Hamilton County for its civil government, after the organization of Ohio as a state, and when Green and Montgomery counties were organized May 1, 1803, their jurisdiction might be said to extend northward to the state line. On account of its remoteness, these counties exercised little if any control over this region which remained Indian lands until the treaties of 1817, and were subject to the United States governmental authorities at Detroit and Fort Wayne.

The Indian situation in the Maumee and Sandusky country, together with the various treaties, including that at Fort Industry in 1805, has already been given. The Indians after the Treaty of Greenville, with some exceptions, were comparatively contented with their governmental annuities, with what they received for their furs and peltries, and the fruits of their hunting and trapping. They derived also considerable benefit from the gifts of the white settlers in their wanderings among them and had little regard for the rights of property; not considering as theft the appropriation of small articles that they found around the cabins of the pioneers.

An important treaty outside of the Ohio section, was that negotiated by Governor Harrison, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Indiana Territory, begun at Vincennes September 17, 1802 and completed at Fort Wayne June 7, 1803. By this agreement the Miami, Eel River, Kaskaskia, Kickapoo, Piankeshaw, Pottawotamie and Wea tribes, ceded to the United States the lands about Vincennes which had previously been released by the other Indian tribes. Further treaties were made for lands in the Illinois country, between the Wabash and the Ohio and the release of Indiana lands by still other tribes. Thus the Northwest Territory was being prepared for statehood and settlement. On

January 11, 1805, Michigan was made a separate Territory. The southern boundary line was to run due east from the most southern shore of Lake Michigan as it was then defined, and over which serious controversy arose later. Gen. William Hull was appointed governor and the new government began operations June 30th.

Under instructions from the government, Governor Hull who was also Superintendent of Indian Affairs for that territory, in January, 1807, issued a call to the various Indian tribes of that section to meet at Detroit for a treaty council, to which they made no response. A second and third invitation was not accepted and President Jefferson even went so far as to direct the Governor to forward to the Indians assurances of the continued friendly intentions and good will of the United States. Investigation proved that while the tribes had been willing to attend the conference, through the scheming of the British agent Alexander McKee, they had been kept away. Evading the British influence, representatives of the tribes finally visited Governor Hull and told of the operations of McKee and the British to gain their favor and aid, "for the war likely to ensue with the United States." The British had gathered some eight hundred Indians about the Fort at Malden, present Amherstburg, to whom they furnished liquor and made many glowing promises of future reward. Governor Hull in the fall of the above year was obliged to feed hundreds of these savages while on their way to and from Malden; although from fifty to one hundred were the number that had been provided for to the Detroit council. President Jefferson desired that the Indians be instructed to a neutral position as between the United States and any other nation in case of trouble, as this government was strong enough to fight its own battles. He indicated that when any people or nation coveted the aid of the Indians, it was evidence of their weakness.

Calling attention again to the treaty made by the United States with the Ottawas, Chippewas, Pottawotamies, and Wyandots at Detroit November 17, 1807, these tribes ceded to this government all their rights to the lands west of the middle of the Maumee River from its mouth to where the Auglaize enters the Maumee thence extending north to the south part of Lake Huron, thence eastward along the Canadian boundary. The United States agreed besides the ten thousand dollars purchase price and annuity and implements for agriculture, to furnish two blacksmiths for the term of ten years, one of which was to be located

with the Ottawas on the Maumee and the other at Saginaw among the Chippewas. Hunting rights were also given so long as the lands remained the property of the United States. The Indian reservations included a tract six miles square on the west or north bank of the Maumee above Roche de Boeuf and to include the village where Ton-Tog-a-ne or the Dog lived, and another tract three miles square including Presque Isle, about the site of the battle ground of Fallen Timbers above now Maumee. Whenever the lands could not conveniently be laid out in square tracts, they were to be outlined in the manner most convenient to their situation. As the settlers began to establish themselves, the matter of roads became a problem between Ohio and the lake region, and it was at the treaty of Brownstown, Michigan Territory, November 5, 1808, that the Western Reserve road 120 feet in width from now Perrysburg to Fremont and the Western Reserve line was provided for; also a road from Lower Sandusky, (Fremont) to run southerly to the Greenville Treaty line along the Sandusky River.

CHAPTER XXXIX

HOSTILITIES BETWEEN U. S. AND ENGLAND AGAIN

CAUSE OF THE BREACH—INDIAN SITUATION A FACTOR—TECUMSEH'S INDIAN FEDERATION SCHEME—TECUMSEH MEETS HARRISON—BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE—HARRISON DISPLAYS GREAT GENERALSHIP AND BRAVERY—PARTICULARS OF THE IMPORTANT CONTEST—WAR DECLARED.

With the rapid increase in population within the Northwest Territory and plans being developed to carve the various divisions into statehood, the Atlantic district too was growing and fast accumulating wealth through its trade with foreign nations. It has been noted with what persistence Great Britain laid every obstacle possible in the way of western advancement, and the prosperity on the seaboard was also interrupted by British aggression. As has been shown they continued their intercourse with the Indians within this nation's western limits in order to keep them attached to the British interests and hostile to the United States.

On June 7, 1809, Samuel Tupper, agent of the Trading Post on the Sandusky wrote that the conduct of the British in furnishing liquor to the Indians of that section and their persistent hostility to the measures put forth by the American government, have long been the subject of much complaint and the infamous stories they circulated most embarrassing.

But the evils this government experienced on the ocean were now even more intolerable than those of the interior. Robert B. McAfee in his history of the Western operations of the War of 1812, written in 1815, gives one of the best expositions extant of the whole situation of that period and he is therefore here quoted at length as follows:

"The war in Europe, which had originally been instigated by the British against the revolution in France, continued to rage with unabated violence. England and France, the leading parties in the war, used every species of artifice and violence, to involve all other nations in the contest. Orders and decrees were published, by which the maritime rights of neutral nations were in-

fringed, and extensive coasts declared in a state of blockade, without any adequate means of enforcement. By the British orders in council, our vessels were required, under the penalty of being liable to capture, to call at a British port, on their way to any place belonging to France and her allies. By way of retaliation, Bonaparte decreed, that all vessels which had submitted to this British regulation, should be subject to capture by his cruisers. And thus no vessel of the United States could sail, either to Britain or France, or to any of their allies including all Europe, without being subject to capture by one or the other of the belligerents. At the same time the British naval officers carried on the practice of impressing American seamen, in a manner so extensive and vexatious, as to cause much distress among our seafaring people, and much inconvenience and risk to our merchants.

"An endless course of negotiation was pursued, on these different subjects of complaint, without the prospect of success becoming any brighter. The American government could obtain in this way neither indemnity for the past nor security for the future. No alternative was left, but a resort to arms, to vindicate our honor and our rights, and to protect our interests on the ocean. Our losses by captures and impressments nearly equalled the expenses of a war in men and money. A formal declaration of war was accordingly made on the 18th of June, 1812. But previous to this declaration, hostilities had commenced with the Indians, and the battle of Tippecanoe had been fought.

"A preliminary view of Indian affairs will enable the reader to understand this commencement of the war. By the combined counsels and schemes of the British agents, and some of the principal chiefs among the Indians, the seeds of hostility were sown among them soon after the peace of Greenville, and were gradually nurtured into war. At that time, Little Turtle and Blue Jacket were the leading chiefs among the northwestern tribes. They had disagreed about the manner of opposing Wayne's army. The plan of Blue Jacket was adopted, and eventuated in the total defeat of the Indians, as predicted by the other. After this event, Little Turtle continued friendly to the United States. He was of opinion that the Indian tribes were unable to contend against the Americans; that no material aid would be furnished them by the British; and that war would only be the means of their losing more of their lands. Blue Jacket had more confidence in the British; he thirsted for revenge against the Americans; and he wished to regain the lands which had been ceded by the treaty of

Greenville. His influence increased, whilst the Little Turtle became unpopular. He found in Tecumseh, a Shawanoese Indian, whom he associated with him in his views and projects, an able and persevering coadjutor. The leading principles in their policy were, to combine all the tribes together in one confederacy; to prevent the sale of their lands by any single tribe; and to join the British in the event of war, with a view to revenge and the recovery of their lands. They contended, that by the treaty of Greenville, the United States had acknowledged the right to their lands to reside jointly in all tribes; and that of course the United States had no right to purchase lands from any single tribe, without the consent of the others. Blue Jacket did not live to execute his schemes; but they were diligently pursued by Tecumseh, in which he was encouraged and supported by the British agents.

"The various tribes, who were in the habit of visiting Detroit and Sandwich, were annually subsidized by the British. When the American agent at Detroit gave one dollar by way of annuity, the British agent on the other side of the river, Detroit, would give them ten. This course of iniquity had the intended effect; the Indians were impressed with a great aversion for the Americans; and disregarding the treaty of Greenville, they desired to recover the lands which they had ceded, and for which they had annually received the stipulated annuity. They wished also to try their strength again with the 'Big Knife,' as they called the Kentuckians, in order to wipe away the disgrace of their defeat by General Wayne. And they were still promised the aid of the British, in the event of a war between the Indians and Americans. Their natural temper for war was thus inflamed, and they were held in readiness at any moment to commence the contest.

"About the year 1804, a Shawanoese Indian, the brother of Tecumseh, proclaimed himself a Prophet, alleging that he had been commanded by the Great Spirit, who made the red people, and who was not the same that made the white people, and whom the latter worshiped, to inform his red children, that the misfortunes which had fallen upon them, proceeded from their having abandoned the mode of life which he had prescribed for them, and adopted the manners and dress of the white people; and that he was commanded to tell them, that they must return to their former habits, leave off the use of whiskey, and as soon as possible clothe themselves in skins instead of blankets.

"The Prophet fixed himself at Greenville, the spot which had been so noted from the cantonment of General Wayne's army,

and from the treaty made by him with the Indian tribes at that place in the year 1795. The fame of the Prophet spread through the surrounding Indian tribes, and he soon found himself at the head of a considerable number of followers, composed principally, however, of the most abandoned of the young men of the Shawanoese, Delawares, Wyandots, Potawatamies, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Kickapoos. Besides these he was visited by an immense concourse of men, women and children from the tribes of the Mississippi and Lake Superior. The most absurd stories were told, and believed by the Indians, of his power to perform miracles, and no fatigue and suffering was thought too great to be endured to get a sight of him. The people of Ohio became much alarmed at the great assemblage of the Indians upon their frontier, and a commission was sent by the governor to insist upon their removal. The United States' agent at Fort Wayne also joined in the remonstrance, against his forming a permanent settlement at Greenville, which was within the boundary of the United States. Accordingly, in 1808, he removed to the Wabash, and fixed his residence on the north bank of that river, near the mouth of the Tippecanoe. This land was the property of the Miami tribe, who made strong remonstrances against it, but were not strong enough to effect his removal by force, as he had collected around him a considerable body of the most daring and unprincipled young men, of all the neighboring tribes. The chiefs of the latter were almost unanimously opposed to him, as they discovered that he was constantly endeavoring to destroy their influence, or to prevail on the warriors to take the authority into their own hands. Several of the most influential chiefs were put to death by the young men, under the pretence of their practicing magic. Teteboxke, the venerable chief of the Delawares, with several of his friends, were condemned to the flames. The loss of their chiefs began, however, to be regretted, and those that survived made a common cause, in opposing the extension of the Prophet's ininfluence. He was only able to retain about 40 warriors of his own tribe, the chiefs of which hated him most cordially. In the year 1809, he had not more than 250 or 300 warriors with him. They had suffered much for provisions and the greater part of them, perhaps, would have perished, if they had not been supplied with corn by Governor Harrison, of Vincennes. In September, 1809, a treaty was made at Fort Wayne, by the governor, as commissioner upon the part of the United States, for the extinguishment of the title to a considerable tract of land, extending about sixty

miles up the Wabash above Vincennes. The Delawares, Miamis and Potawatamies were parties to this treaty; but the Prophet and his followers were not invited; because, as the governor said in his address to the legislature of Indiana, 'it never had been suggested, that they could plead even the title of occupancy to the lands which were then conveyed to the United States,' and it was well known they were the rightful property of the Miamis, who had possessed them from the time of the first arrival of the white people among them. The Shawanoese tribe made no pretensions to those lands. Their principal chief attended the treaty, and recommended to the Miami chiefs to make the cession. About the time that the treaty was made, the affairs of the Prophet were at a low ebb. In the course of the succeeding winter, however, the intrigues and negotiations of his brother Tecumseh, procured a large accession of strength. They were joined by a considerable number of Winnebagoes or Puants, the greater part of the Kickapoo tribe, and some of the Wyandots. Although the affairs were managed in the name of the Prophet, Tecumseh was in fact the director of everything. This extraordinary man had risen into consequence, subsequently to the treaty of Greenville in the year 1795. He had been considered an active warrior in the war which was terminated by that treaty, but possessed no considerable influence. The principal object in his labors, by which he obtained distinction, was to unite all the tribes upon the continent in one great confederacy, for the purpose of opposing the encroachments of the whites. Tecumseh was on a mission for this purpose, when the treaty was concluded in 1809. Upon his return, he threatened to kill the chiefs who had signed it, and declared his determination to prevent the lands from being surveyed and settled.

"Governor Harrison, upon being informed of his proceedings, sent him a message, informing him 'that any claims he might have to the lands which had been ceded, were not affected by the treaty; that he might come to Vincennes and exhibit his pretensions, and if they were found to be solid, that the land would either be given up, or an ample compensation made for it.' Accordingly in the month of August, 1810, he came down to Vincennes, attended by several hundred warriors. A day was appointed to hear his statement, which it took him many hours to make. He asserted, that the Great Spirit had made the continent for the use of the Indians exclusively—that the white people had no right to come here, and take it from them—that no particular part of it was

given to any tribe, but that the whole was the common property of all; and that any sale of lands, made without the consent of all, was not valid. In his answer, the governor observed, that the Indians, like the white people, were divided into different tribes or nations and that the Great Spirit never intended that they should form but one nation, or he would not have taught them to speak different languages, which put it out of their power to understand each other—and that the Shawanoese, who emigrated from Georgia, could have no claim to the lands on the Wabash, which had been occupied far beyond the memory of man by the Miamis. The governor having proceeded thus far, sat down for the purpose of giving the interpreters time to explain what he had said, to the different tribes that were present. As soon as it was interpreted in Shawanoese, Tecumseh interrupted the interpreter, and said that it was all false, and giving a signal to his warriors, they seized their tomahawks and war clubs and sprang upon their feet.

"For some minutes the governor was in the most imminent danger. He preserved his presence of mind, however, and, disengaging himself from an armchair in which he was sitting, seized his sword to defend himself. A considerable number of citizens of Vincennes were present, all unarmed. At a little distance, however, there was a guard of a sergeant and twelve men, who were immediately brought up by an officer. The governor then told Tecumseh, that he was a bad man, and he would have no further intercourse with him; and directed him to retire to his camp and set out immediately on his return home. As the Indians with Tecumseh greatly outnumbered the citizens of the town, and the regular troops there, two companies of militia were brought in during the night, and a large number the next day. Early, however, on the following morning, Tecumseh sent for the interpreter, made an apology for his conduct, and earnestly requested that he might have another conference with the governor. His request was at length granted; but the governor took care to be attended by a number of his friends, well armed, and to have the troops in the town ready for action. In his speech Tecumseh said that he had been advised by some white persons, to act as he had done; but that it was not his intention to offer any violence to the governor. The latter then inquired, whether he had any other grounds for claiming the lands, that had been ceded to the United States, but those which he had stated; and he answered in the negative. The governor then observed to him, that so great a warrior should disdain to conceal his intentions, and desired to know

whether he really intended to make war upon the United States, if the lately purchased lands were not relinquished by them. He answered that it was decidedly his determination, and that he would never rest until he brought all the tribes upon the continent to unite in one confederacy. The activity and perseverance, which he manifested in the prosecution of this scheme, were most wonderful. He visited all the tribes west of the Mississippi, and on Lakes Superior, Huron, and Erie repeatedly, before the year 1811. So sanguine were his followers about this time, and so much were they encouraged by the British agents, that in the event of a war between Indians and America, they believed the confederated tribes with the aid of the British, would be able to drive the Americans over the Ohio River to the south side, and thus regain all the country on the northwest of that river. And from the sine qua non, advanced by the British commissioners in the negotiations at Ghent, it would appear, that the British ministry had indulged a delusion not much less extravagant.

"It was the intention of Tecumseh, to avoid hostilities with the whites, until he should effect a combination strong enough to resist them, or until the expected war American-British conflict should commence. Whether the British were really the authors of this plan for forming a general confederacy amongst the tribes, or whether the scheme originated with Blue Jacket and Tecumseh themselves, is not certain; but from the papers found in the baggage of the British army taken on the Thames, it appears more than probable, that the former was the case—at least it is certain, that an intimate communication was kept up, between the Prophet and Tecumseh, and the British Indian department, from their first establishment at Greenville; and that they were constantly supplied with arms, ammunition and clothing, from the King's stores at Malden. In the winter and spring of the year 1811, many depredations and several murders were committed upon the inhabitants of the frontiers of the Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri territories. The perpetrators were demanded of the respective chiefs, but no satisfaction could be obtained. A militia officer was sent by Governor Harrison to demand the delivery of some horses that had been stolen from the settlements, and which were discovered with the Indians; no satisfaction was however obtained; and Tecumseh and his brother informed the officer, that they would pay a visit in person to the governor. They were told that they would be well received, provided they came with not more than thirty followers. This was acceded to. The governor, how-

ever, caused their motions to be watched, and was soon informed, that they were descending the river with several hundred warriors. The same officer was dispatched to meet them, and to forbid their approach to Vincennes with that body. Compliance was again promised, and Tecumseh came on with a few canoes only, but was soon followed by all the rest, who joined and encamped with him a mile from the Town of Vincennes. The inhabitants were much alarmed, and there is little doubt but that it was the intention of the Indians to surprise and plunder the town. The governor was, however, on his guard. The militia of the town was kept under arms, and some companies were brought in from the country. Tecumseh demanded an interview. The governor agreed to it, and asked whether it was the intention of the Indians to come armed to the council. Tecumseh replied that he would be governed by the conduct of the white people; if they attended the council armed, his warriors would be armed also, but if the white people would come unarmed, he would come in the same way. The governor informed him that he would be attended by a troop of dragoons, dismounted, who would have only side arms, and that the Indians might bring their war clubs, tomahawks and knives. The meeting took place in a large arbour, on one side of which were placed the dragoons, eighty in number, seated in rows; on the other side, the Indians. Besides their swords, the dragoons had their pistols stuck in their belts. The Indians were evidently alarmed, and when the governor, who was seated in front of the front row of dragoons began to address them, Tecumseh complained that he could not hear him, and desired him to remove his seat to an open space near himself. The governor complied. In his speech he complained of the constant depredations, which were committed by the Indians of Tippecanoe. The refusal on their part to give satisfaction—and the constant accumulation of force at that place for the avowed purpose of obliging the United States to give up lands, which they had fairly purchased, of the rightful owners. In his answer Tecumseh denied that he had taken the murderers under his protection; but admitted his design of forming a grand confederacy of all the nations and tribes of Indians upon the continent for the purpose of putting a stop to the encroachments of the white people. He said, that 'the policy which the United States pursued, of purchasing lands from the Indians, he viewed as a mighty water, ready to overflow his people, and that the confederacy which he was forming among the tribes, to prevent any individual tribe from

selling without the consent of the others, was the dam he was erecting to resist this mighty water.' And he added, 'your great father may sit over the mountains and drink his wine, but if he continues this policy, you and I will have to fight it out.' He admitted that he was then on his way to the Creek nation for the purpose of bringing them over to his measures; and he actually did, two days afterwards, set out on this journey with twelve or fifteen of his warriors. Having visited the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, he crossed the Mississippi and continued his course northwardly as far as the river Des Moines. Having obtained, it is believed, the promise of assistance from all the tribes in that direction, he returned to the Wabash by land, across the heads of the Illinois River. In his absence his affairs had sustained a sad reverse. His town was consumed, his large deposit of provisions were destroyed, his bravest followers killed, and the rest dispersed. Upon his departure to visit the southern Indians, the Prophet, his brother, was left in charge of the temporal as well as spiritual concerns of the establishment. It is believed that he received from Tecumseh positive instructions to avoid coming to extremities with the white people, and to restrain his followers from committing depredations which might lead to the commencement of hostilities before his plans were ripe. The Prophet, however, wanted the inclination as well as the authority necessary to follow the direction. Murders and other depredations followed in quick succession; no redress could be obtained; the people upon the frontiers became exceedingly alarmed, as well as the citizens of Vincennes, at which place a large meeting was held which passed a number of resolutions indicating their sense of the danger they were in, and warmly approbating the measures which had been taken by the governor for their defense. These resolutions, with a strong remonstrance against the propriety of suffering this banditti to continue their depredations, were forwarded to the President of the United States. They produced the desired effect, and the fourth regiment commanded by Colonel Boyd, which was at that time at Pittsburgh, was ordered to repair immediately to Vincennes, and was placed under the command of Governor Harrison. The governor was also directed to add to them a body of militia, to take measures for the defence of the citizens, and as a last resort to remove the Prophet and his followers by force.

"As soon as it was known in Kentucky that Harrison was authorized to march with an army against the Indians, a number of

volunteers went over to join his standard. Many of them were men of high standing at home as military, civil, and literary characters. Of this number were Samuel Wells, a major-general of the militia, who had been an active soldier in former wars with the Indians—Joseph H. Daveiss, Esq., a very eminent attorney, who had great military ambition—Col. Abraham Owen, a veteran in Indian warfare—and Colonel Keiger, who raised a small company of young men near Louisville, including among them, Messrs. Croghan, O'Fallon, Shipp, Chum and Edwards, who afterwards distinguished themselves as officers in the army of the United States.

"In the latter part of September, (1811) the governor commenced his march up the Wabash, with a force of about nine hundred effective men, composed of the fourth regiment, a body of militia, and about 130 volunteer dragoons. The fourth regiment had been raised for some time, and was trained and well officered. The militia, too, who were all volunteers, had been trained with great assiduity by the governor, in those particular evolutions which had been practised by General Wayne's army, and which had been found useful in a covered country and operating against Indians. Conformably to his orders from the President, the governor halted within the boundary of the United States, and endeavored by the intervention of the Delaware and Miami tribes, to induce the Prophet to deliver up the murderers and the stolen horses. These messengers of peace were received and treated with great insolence, and the demands made by them rejected with disdain by the Prophet and his council. To put an end to all hopes of accommodation, a small war party was detached for the purpose of commencing hostilities. Finding no stragglers about the camp, they fired upon one of the sentinels and wounded him severely; the Delaware chiefs informed the governor of the object of the party, and that it was in vain to expect that anything but force could obtain either satisfaction for the injuries done, or security for the future. He learned also from the same source, that the strength of the Prophet was daily increasing by the ardent and giddy young men from every tribe, and particularly from the tribes on and beyond the Illinois River. The governor was at this time busily engaged in erecting a fort on the southeast side of the Wabash, some miles within the boundary of the United States, and in preparing ammunition, and disciplining his men for the expected conflict, which from the character of the enemy, he knew would be a desperate one. His little army had been much

weakened by sickness, the effect of flesh food without vegetables and a sufficient quantity of bread. The governor finding his flour growing short, had early in October put the troops upon half allowance of that article—this regulation extended to the officers of every rank, and was rigidly conformed to in the family of the general. The sick having been deposited in the fort, which the officers, in compliment to their commander, had requested might be called Fort Harrison, and the weak and convalescent being drawn out to form the garrison, the troops on the 29th of October took up the line of march; the infantry in two columns in single file on each side of the trace, and capable by a single conversion of being formed into two lines, to receive the enemy on any point he might attack, or of being reduced into a hollow square.

"The country through which the army passed was occasionally an open, beautiful prairie, intersected by thick woods, deep creeks, and ravines. The cavalry and mounted riflemen, of the latter of which there were two companies, covered the advance, the flanks and the rear, and were made to exchange positions with each other as the ground varied—so as to keep them upon that which best suited the mode of fighting which they respectively practised. The Indians being perfect masters of the art of ambuscading, every precaution was used to guard against surprise, and prevent the army from being attacked in a disadvantageous position. At some distance above Fort Harrison, two routes for approaching the Prophet's town presented themselves to the choice of the governor. The one passing up the south side of the Wabash was much shorter than the other, but it led through an uneven woody country. To the north of the river, the prairies were very extensive, affording few situations for the kind of warfare peculiar to the savages. To deceive the enemy, the governor caused the route to be reconnoitered on the south side and a wagon road laid out, and having advanced upon it a short distance, he suddenly changed his direction, and gained the right bank of the Wabash, by crossing it above the mouth of Raccoon Creek. Here the army was joined by some of the volunteers from Kentucky, amongst whom were Major-General Wells, and Colonels Owen and Keiger. To General Wells the command of the mounted riflemen was assigned with the rank of major. Colonel Owen was appointed aid-de-camp to the governor; and the rest of the volunteers with a detachment of the Indiana militia under Major Beck were formed into a company, and placed under the command of Colonel Keiger as captain. To Colonel Daveiss the

command of the dragoons had been given with the rank of major. In passing the large prairies the army was frequently halted, and made collectively to perform the evolutions which they had been taught in smaller bodies, during their stay at Fort Harrison, at which place the governor had manoeuvered the relieving guards every day in person, and had required the attendance of the field officer on those occasions.

"The Indians not expecting the army on the north side of the river, no signs of them were seen until it approached Pine Creek, a very dangerous pass, where a few men might successfully have opposed a whole army. The appearance of this creek formed a singular exception to the other water courses of this country. It runs for the distance of fifteen or twenty miles above its mouth, between immense cliffs of rock, upon whose summits were found considerable quantities of pine and red cedar, the former of which was rare, and the latter nowhere else to be found near the Wabash. The ordinary crossing place, to which the trace led that the army was pursuing was represented by the traders, who served as guides, to be extremely difficult, if not impassable for wagons, and that it was no doubt the spot where the Indians would make their attack, if they had determined to meet the army in the field. It had been twice selected by them for that purpose—once in the year 1780, when General Clark undertook a campaign against the Indians of the Wabash; but their design was then frustrated by a mutiny of a part of his troops seventy or eighty miles above Vincennes—and a second time in the year 1790, when Colonel Hamtramck penetrated with a small force as high as the Vermillion, to make a diversion in favor of General Harmar's expedition to the Miami of the Lake (Maumee). The governor had no intention of encountering the enemy in a place like this. He accordingly, in the course of the night preceding his approach to the creek, dispatched Captain Prince of the Indiana militia, with an escort of forty men, to reconnoitre the creek some miles above, and endeavor to find a better fording. About 10 o'clock next day, this excellent officer met the army in its advance and informed the general that at the distance of six or eight miles, he had found a trace used by the Illinois Indians in traveling to Tippecanoe, which presented an excellent ford at a place where the prairie skirted the creek. This prairie which they were now crossing, excited the admiration and astonishment of the officers and soldiers, who had never been on the northwest side of the Wabash. To the north and west the prospect was unbounded—

from the highest eminence no limit was to be seen, and the guides asserted that the prairie extended to the Illinois River. On the evening of the 5th of November, the army encamped at the distance of nine or ten miles from the Prophet's town. It was ascertained that the approach of the army had been discovered before it crossed Pine Creek. The traces of reconnoitering parties were very often seen, but no Indians were discovered until the troops arrived within five or six miles of the town on the 6th of November. The interpreters were then placed with the advanced guard to endeavor to open a communication with them. The Indians would, however, return no answer to the invitations that were made to them for that purpose, but continued to insult our people by their gestures. Within about three miles of the town, the ground became broken by ravines and covered with timber. The utmost precaution became necessary, and every difficult pass was examined by the mounted riflemen before the army was permitted to enter it. The ground being unfit for the operation of the squadron of dragoons, they were thrown in the rear. Through the whole march, the precaution had been used of changing the disposition of the different corps, that each might have the ground best suited to its operations. Within about two miles of the town, the path descended a steep hill, at the bottom of which was a small creek running through a narrow wet prairie, and beyond this a level plain partially covered with oak timber and without underbrush. Before the crossing of the creek, the woods were very thick and intersected by deep ravines. No place could be better calculated for the savages to attack with a prospect of success, and the governor apprehended that the moment the troops descended into the hollow, they would be attacked. A disposition was, therefore, made of the infantry, to receive the enemy on the left and rear. A company of mounted riflemen was advanced a considerable distance from the left flank to check the approach of the enemy; and the other two companies were directed to turn the enemy's flanks, should he attack from that direction. The dragoons were ordered to move rapidly from the rear and occupy the plain in advance of the creek, to cover the crossing of the army from an attack in front. In this order the troops were passed over; the dragoons were made to advance to give room to the infantry, and the latter having crossed the creek, were formed to receive the enemy in front in one line, with a reserve of three companies—the dragoons flanked by mounted riflemen forming the first line. During all this time, Indians were frequently seen

in front and on the flanks. The interpreters endeavored in vain to bring them to a parley. Though sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, they would return no answer, but continued by gestures to menace and insult those who addressed them. Being now arrived within a mile and a half of the town, and the situation being favorable for an encampment, the governor determined to remain there and fortify his camp, until he could hear from the friendly chiefs whom he had dispatched from Fort Harrison on the day he had left it, for the purpose of making another attempt to prevent the recurrence to hostilities. Those chiefs were to have met him on the way, but no intelligence was yet received from them. Whilst he was engaged in tracing out the lines of the encampment, Major Daveiss and several other field officers approached him, and urged the propriety of immediately marching upon the town. The governor answered that his instructions would not justify his attacking the Indians as long as there was a probability of their complying with the demands of the government, and that he still hoped to hear something in the course of the evening from the friendly Indians, whom he had dispatched from Fort Harrison.

"To this it was observed, that as the Indians seen hovering about the army had been frequently invited to a parley by the interpreters, who had proceeded some distance from the lines for the purpose; and as these overtures had universally been answered by menace and insult, it was very evident that it was their intention to fight; that the troops were in high spirits and full of confidence; and that advantage ought to be taken of their ardor to lead them immediately to the enemy. To this the governor answered that he was fully sensible of the eagerness of the troops, and admitting the determined hostility of the Indians, and that their insolence was full evidence of their intention to fight, yet he knew them too well to believe that they would ever do this but by surprise, or on ground which was entirely favorable to their mode of fighting. He was, therefore, determined not to advance with the troops until he knew precisely the situation of the town, and the ground adjacent to it, particularly that which intervened between it and the place where the army then was—that it was their duty to fight when they came in contact with the enemy—it was his, to take care that they should not engage in a situation where their valor would be useless, and where a corps upon which he placed great reliance would be unable to act—that the experience of the last two hours ought to convince every

officer that no reliance ought to be placed upon the guides as to the topography of the country—that relying on their information, the troops had been led into a situation so unfavorable, that but for the celerity with which they changed their position, a few Indians might have destroyed them; he was, therefore, determined not to advance to the town until he had previously reconnoitered, either in person, or by some one on whose judgment he could rely. Major Daveiss immediately replied that from the right of the position of the dragoons, which was still in front, the opening made by the low grounds of the Wabash could be seen; that with his adjutant, D. Floyd, he had advanced to the bank, which descends to the low grounds, and had a fair view of the cultivated fields and the houses of the town; and that the open woods in which the troops then were, continued without interruption to the town. Upon this information, the governor said he would advance, provided he could get any proper person to go to the town with a flag. Capt. T. Dubois, of Vincennes, having offered his services, he was dispatched with an interpreter to the Prophet, desiring to know whether he would not comply with the terms that had been so often proposed to him. The army was moved slowly after them in order of battle. In a few moments a messenger came from Captain Dubois, informing the governor that the Indians were near him in considerable numbers, but that they would return no answer to the interpreter, although they were sufficiently near to hear what was said to them, and that upon his advancing, they constantly endeavored to cut him off from the army. Governor Harrison during this last effort to open a negotiation, which was sufficient to show his wish for an accommodation, resolved no longer to hesitate in treating the Indians as enemies. He, therefore, recalled Captain Dubois, and moved on with a determination to attack them. He had not proceeded far, however, before he was met by three Indians, one of them a principal counsellor to the Prophet. They were sent, they said, to know why the army was advancing upon them—that the Prophet wished, if possible, to avoid hostilities; that he had sent a pacific message by the Miami and Potawatamie chiefs, who had come to him on the part of the governor—and that those chiefs had unfortunately gone down on the south side of the Wabash. A suspension of hostilities was accordingly agreed upon; and a meeting was to take place the next day between Harrison and the chiefs, to agree upon the terms of peace. The governor further informed them that he would go to the Wabash,

and encamp there for the night. Upon marching a short distance he came in view of the town, which was seen at some distance up the river upon a commanding eminence. Major Daveiss and Adjutant Floyd had mistaken some scattered houses in the fields below for the town itself. The ground below the town being unfavorable for an encampment, the army marched on in the direction of the town, with a view to obtain a better situation beyond it. The troops were in an order of march, calculated by a single conversion of companies to form the order of battle, which it had last assumed, the dragoons being in front. This corps, however, soon became entangled in ground covered with brush and tops of fallen trees. A halt was ordered, and Major Daveiss was directed to change position with Spencer's rifle corps, which occupied the open fields adjacent to the river. The Indians seeing this maneuver at the approach of the troops towards the town, supposed that they intended to attack it, and immediately prepared for defence. Some of them sallied out and called to the advanced corps to halt. The governor upon this rode forward and requested some of the Indians to come to him; assured them that nothing was farther from his thoughts, than to attack them—that the ground below the town on the river—was not calculated for an encampment, and that it was his intention to search for a better one above. He asked if there was any other water convenient besides that which the river afforded; and an Indian with whom he was well acquainted, answered that the creek, which had been crossed two miles back, ran through the prairie to the north of the village. A halt was then ordered, and some officers sent back to examine the creek, as well as the river above the town. In half an hour, Brig.-Maj. Marston Clarke and Maj. Waller Taylor returned and reported that they had found on the creek everything that could be desirable in an encampment—an elevated spot, nearly surrounded by an open prairie, with water convenient and a sufficiency of wood for fuel. An idea was propagated by the enemies of Governor Harrison after the battle of Tippecanoe, that the Indians had forced him to encamp on a place chosen by them as suitable for the attack they intended. The place, however, was chosen by Majors Taylor and Clarke after examining all the environs of the town; and when the army of General Hopkins was there in the following year, they all united in the opinion, that a better spot to resist Indians was not to be found in the whole country.

"The army now marched to the place selected, and encamped

late in the evening on a dry piece of ground, which rose about ten feet above the level of a marshy prairie in front towards the town, and about twice as high above a similar prairie in the rear; through which, near the bank, ran a small stream clothed with willows and brushwood. On the left of the encampment this bench of land became wider; on the right it gradually narrowed and terminated in an abrupt point about 150 yards from the right flank. The two columns of infantry occupied the front and rear. The right flank, being about eighty yards wide, was filled with Captain Spencer's company of eighty men. The left flank, about one hundred and fifty yards in extent, was composed of three companies of mounted riflemen under Major-General Wells, commanding as a major. The front infantry under the command of Major Floyd was flanked on the right by two companies of militia infantry and on the left by one company of the same troops. The rear line consisted of a United States infantry under Captain Baen, commanding as a major; and four companies of militia infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Decker; the regulars being stationed next the riflemen under Wells, and the militia on the other end of the line adjoining Spencer's company. The cavalry under Daveiss were encamped in the rear of the front line and the left flank. The encampment was not more than three-fourths of a mile from the town.

"The order given to the army in the event of a night attack was for each corps to maintain its ground at all hazards till relieved. The dragoons were directed in such a case to parade dismounted with their swords on and their pistols in their belts, and to wait for orders. The guard for the night consisted of two captains' commands of forty-two men and two non-commissioned officers each; and two subalterns' guards of twenty men and non-commissioned officers—the whole under the command of a field officer of the day.

"The night was dark and cloudy; the moon rose late, and after midnight there was a drizzling rain. Many of the men appeared to be much dissatisfied; they were anxious for a battle and the most ardent regretted that they would have to return without one. The army generally had no expectation of an attack; but those who had experience in Indian affairs suspected some treachery. Colonel Daveiss was heard to say he had no doubt but that an attack would be made before morning.

"It was the constant practice of Governor Harrison to call up the troops an hour before day, and keep them under arms till it

was light. After 4 o'clock in the morning (November 7, 1811) the governor, General Wells, Colonel Owen and Colonel Daveiss had all risen, and the governor was going to issue his orders for raising the army when the treacherous Indians had crept up so near the sentries as to hear them challenge when relieved. They intended to rush upon the sentries and kill them before they could fire; but one of them discovered an Indian creeping towards him in the grass and fired. This was immediately followed by the Indian yell, and a desperate charge upon the left flank. The guards in that quarter gave way and abandoned their officer without making any resistance. Captain Barton's company of regulars and Captain Keiger's company of mounted riflemen, forming the left angle of the rear line, received the first onset. The fire there was excessive; but the troops who had lain on their arms, were immediately prepared to receive and gallantly resist the furious savage assailants. The manner of the attack was calculated to discourage and terrify the men; yet as soon as they could be formed and posted, they maintained their ground with desperate valor, though but very few of them had ever before been in battle. The fires in the camp were extinguished immediately, as the light they afforded was more serviceable to the Indians than to our men.

"As soon as the governor could mount his horse, he proceeded towards the point of attack, and finding the line much weakened there, he ordered two companies from the center of the rear line to march up and form across the angle in the rear of Barton's and Keiger's companies. General Wells immediately proceeded to the right of his command; and Colonel Owen, who was with him, was proceeding directly to the point of attack when he was shot from his horse near the lines, and thus bravely fell among the first victims of savage perfidy. A heavy fire now commenced all along the left flank, upon the whole of the front and right flank, and on a part of the rear line.

"In passing through the camp towards the left of the front line, the governor met with Colonel Daveiss and the dragoons. The colonel informed him that the Indians concealed behind some trees near the line were annoying the troops very severely in that quarter, and he requested permission to dislodge them, which was granted. He immediately called on the first division of his cavalry to follow him, but the order was not distinctly heard, and but few of his men charged with him. Among those who charged were two young gentlemen who had gone with him from Ken-

tucky, Messrs. Mead and Sanders, who were afterwards distinguished as captains in the United States service. They had not proceeded far out of the lines when Daveiss was mortally wounded by several balls and fell. His men stood by him and repulsed the savages several times, till they succeeded in carrying him into camp.

"In the meantime the attack on Spencer's and Warwick's companies on the right became very severe, Captain Spencer and his lieutenants were all killed, and Captain Warwick was mortally wounded. The governor in passing towards that flank, found Captain Robb's company near the center of the camp. They had been driven from their post; or rather, had fallen back without orders. He sent them to the aid of Captain Spencer where they fought very bravely, having seventeen men killed during the battle. Captain Prescott's company of United States infantry had filled up the vacancy caused by the retreat of Robb's company. Soon after Colonel Daveiss was wounded, Captain Snelling at the head of his company charged on the same Indians and dislodged them with considerable loss. The battle was now maintained on all sides with desperate valor. The Indians advanced and retreated by a rattling noise made with deer hoofs; they fought with enthusiasm, and seemed determined on victory or death.

"As soon as daylight appeared, Captain Snelling's company, Captain Posey's, under Lieutenant Albright, and Captain Scott's were drawn from the front line and Wilson's from the rear, and formed on the left flank; while Cook's and Baen's companies were ordered to the right. General Wells took command of the corps formed on the left, and with the aid of some dragoons, who were now mounted and commanded by Captain Parke, made a successful charge on the enemy in that direction, driving them into an adjoining swamp through which the cavalry could not pursue them. At the same time Cook's and Lieutenant Larbie's companies, with the aid of the riflemen and militia on the right flank, charged on the Indians and put them to flight in that quarter, which terminated the battle.

"During the time of this contest the Prophet kept himself secure on an adjacent eminence, singing a war song. He had told his followers that the Great Spirit would render the army of the Americans unavailing, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while the enemies were involved in thick darkness. Soon after the battle commenced he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, that

it would soon be as he had predicted, and then began to sing louder. * * *

"The Indians left 38 warriors dead on the field, and buried several others in the town, which with those who must have died of their wounds, would make their loss at least as great as that of the Americans. The troops under the command of Governor Harrison of every description amounted on the day before the battle to something more than eight hundred. The ordinary force that had been at the Prophet's town throughout the preceding summer was about four hundred and fifty. But they were joined a few days before the action by all the Kickapoos of the Prairie and by many bands of Potawatamies from the Illinois River, and the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan. They estimated their number after the battle to have been 600; but the traders who had a good opportunity of knowing, made them at least 800, and some as many as 1,000. However, it is certain that no American victory was ever before obtained over the northern Indians, where the numbers were anything like equal. The number of killed too was greater than was ever before known. It is their custom always to avoid a close action, and from their dexterity in hiding themselves, but few of them can be killed, even when they are pouring destruction into the ranks of their enemy. It is believed that there was not ten of them killed at St. Clair's defeat, and still fewer at Braddock's. At Tippecanoe, they rushed up to the bayonets of our men, and in one instance related by Captain Snelling, an Indian adroitly put the bayonet of a soldier aside, and clove his head with his war club, an instrument on which there is fixed a triangular piece of iron broad enough to project several inches from the wood. Their conduct on this occasion, so different from what it usually is, was attributed to the confidence of success with which their prophet had inspired them, and to the distinguished bravery of the Winnebago warriors.

"The Indians did not determine to attack the American camp till late at night. The plan that was formed the evening before was to meet the governor in council the next day, and agree to the terms he proposed. At the close of the council, the chiefs were to retire to the warriors, who were to be placed at a convenient distance. The governor was then to be killed by two Winnebagos who had devoted themselves to certain death to accomplish this object. They were to loiter about the camp after the council had broken up; and their killing the governor and raising the war

whoop was to be the signal for a general attack. The Indians were commanded by White Moon, Stone Eater and Winemac, a Potawatamie chief, who had been with the governor on his march and at Fort Harrison, making great professions of friendship.

"The Fourth Regiment was about two hundred and fifty strong, and there were about sixty volunteers from Kentucky in the army. The rest of the troops were volunteers from the Indiana militia. Those from the neighborhood of Vincennes had been trained for several years by the governor, and had become very expert in the maneuvers which he had adopted for fighting the Indians. The greater part of the territorial troops followed him as well from personal attachment as from a sense of duty. Indeed,, a greater degree of confidence and personal attachment has rarely been found in any army towards its commander than existed in this; nor have there been many battles in which the dependence of the army on its leader was more distinctly felt. During the whole action the governor was constantly on the lines, and always repaired to the point which was most hardly pressed. The reinforcements drawn occasionally from the points most secure, were conducted by himself and formed on the spot where their services were most wanted. The officers and men who believed that their ultimate success depended on his safety, warmly remonstrated against his so constantly exposing himself. Upon one occasion as he was approaching an angle of the line against which the Indians were advancing with horrible yells, Lieutenant Emerson of the dragoons seized the bridle of his horse and earnestly entreated that he would not go there; but the governor putting spurs to his horse, pushed on to the point of attack, where the enemy were received with firmness and driven back.

"The army remained in camp on the 7th and 8th of November to bury the dead and dress the wounded; and to make preparations for returning. During this time General Wells was permitted with the mounted riflemen to visit the town, which he found evacuated by all except a chief whose leg was broken. The general burnt their houses, destroyed their corn and brass kettles, and returned to camp unmolested. The town was well prepared for an attack, and no doubt but the Indians fully expected it; for they had determined to agree to no terms which could be offered. The wounds of the chief being dressed and provision made for him, he was left with instructions to tell his companions that if they would abandon the Prophet and return to their respective tribes, they should be forgiven.

"On the 9th of November the return of the army was commenced. It marched slowly on account of the wounded, the difficulty of transportation, and some apprehensions of another attack. As the army had come up the river, a block-house had been built on its bank, where some boats and heavy baggage had been left. The wounded were now put in the boats as the army returned, and were taken to Fort Harrison and Vincennes by water. Captain Snelling and his company were left at Fort Harrison and the governor arrived at Vincennes on the 18th, having been met and welcomed back by a concourse of two hundred citizens."

Thus in detail is given the particulars of the battle of Tippecanoe not generally accorded the importance in history it deserves. It was in fact the first battle of the War of 1812 and gave General Harrison, the commander, the title of "Old Tippecanoe" when he was chosen President of the United States in the political campaign of 1840. The details of the engagement show that he had been trained with Wayne as to what to anticipate in Indian warfare. And while as was usually the case, there were no British at the head of the troops in this battle, they were responsible for the Indian attitude towards the Americans.

There were, by the way, about this time ten American agencies for trade with the Indians, in operation. Those in this section were at Fort Wayne on the Upper Maumee and on the Sandusky River. But the tension between the United States and both the Indians and British had been gradually becoming more serious. While McAfee has ably stated the cause for the declaration of war it may be summarized as on account of Great Britain's interference with American trade, enforced by a blockade; the impressment of American seamen; and the encouragement of the Indians in their depredations, more especially in the West.

CHAPTER XL

WAR OF 1812 OPENS IN THE WEST

OHIO MILITIA CALLED OUT—RENDEZVOUS OF ARMY AT DAYTON—GENERAL HULL CHOSEN COMMANDER—TROOPS BUILD FORTS ON NORTHWARD MARCH—DETROIT THE OBJECTIVE—ROUTE OF THE ARMY—ARRIVAL AT DETROIT—DETAILS OF HULL'S CAMPAIGN AND SURRENDER—RELIEF EXPEDITION OF CAPTAIN BRUSH—CAUSE OF HULL'S FAILURE—PROCEEDINGS AT CHICAGO, AND DISASTER AT FORT DEARBORN.

Governor Hull, of Michigan, on his visits to Washington from Detroit in the winter and early spring of 1812, had urged the government to strengthen the military forces of the Northwest; and observing the advantage to the British on account of their naval control of the Great Lakes he had also declared the absolute necessity of an American fleet on Lake Erie as an adjunct to the military success of the United States.

Advocating the theory that original source material when authentic and available makes the most readable as well as most valuable history, Captain McAfee's narrative is here again quoted as follows:

"In April, 1812, President Madison made a requisition on the State of Ohio for 1,200 militia, and ordered the Fourth Regiment from Vincennes to Cincinnati, under the command of Colonel Miller, to be joined with the militia. Colonel Boyd in the meantime having gone to Washington City, had been promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. In obedience to the requisition, Governor Meigs of Ohio issued orders to the major-generals of the middle and western divisions of that state, for their respective proportions of men to rendezvous on the 29th of April at Dayton, a town at the mouth of Mad River on the Big Miami. The corps were raised without difficulty—the people of Ohio, with an ardent love of country and zeal for its interests, voluntarily tendered their services to the government of their choice. In a few days, more than the number wanted came forward. Citizens of the first respectability enrolled themselves, and prepared for the dangers of the field, contending with each other who should go first into the service of their country. The troops being collected, they

proceeded to choose their field officers, when Duncan M'Arthur was elected colonel of the first regiment, and James Denny and William A. Trimble, majors—for the Second Regiment, James Findley, colonel, and Thomas Moore and Thomas B. Van Horne, majors—for the Third, Lewis Cass, colonel, and Robert Morrison and J. R. Munson, majors. No accommodations having been prepared for the troops, they were obliged to camp without tents or other equipage; and having been hurried from home very suddenly, they had to encounter many difficulties without being prepared to meet them. Most of them had never been in a camp before, and were entirely unacquainted with the necessary equipments. It was the middle of May before blankets and camp equipage arrived from Pittsburgh by the way of Cincinnati.

"William Hull, Esq., governor of the Michigan Territory, having been appointed a brigadier-general in the army of the United States, was destined to command these troops (against his desire). He arrived at Dayton about the 20th of May, and appointed his son, Capt. A. F. Hull, and Robert Wallace, Jr., his aides, Lieut. Thos. S. Jessup, his brigade major, and Dr. Ab. Edwards, his hospital surgeon. Gen. James Taylor, of Kentucky, also accompanied his army as quartermaster general. The organization of the troops into regiments being completed, Governor Meigs proceeded as directed by the Secretary of War, to surrender the command to General Hull. The 25th of May, being selected for this ceremony, the army was formed in close column and addressed by the governor in a speech full of patriotic sentiments and good advice. He congratulated them on being placed under General Hull, a distinguished officer of revolutionary experience; and who, being superintendent of Indian affairs and governor of the territory to which they were destined, would thence be able more effectually to provide for their comfort and convenience. Colonel Cass also delivered an appropriate address, which was received with much applause. General Hull being invested with command, then addressed the troops in flattering and animated terms. After commending their patriotism and recommending discipline, he proceeded: 'In marching through a wilderness memorable for savage barbarity, you will remember the causes, by which the barbarity had been heretofore excited. In viewing the ground stained with the blood of your fellow citizens, it will be impossible to suppress the feelings of indignation. Passing by the ruins of a fortress, erected in our territory by a foreign nation, in times of profound peace, and for the express purpose of exciting the sav-

ages to hostility, and supplying them with the means of conducting a barbarous war, must remind you of that system of oppression and injustice, which that nation had continually practiced, and which the spirit of an indignant people can no longer endure.'

"The delivery of this speech by the general animated every breast, and great expectations were formed of his prowess and abilities. His manners were familiar and his appearance prepossessing. The frost of time had given him a venerable aspect, and the idea of his revolutionary services inspired the troops with confidence. Such were the auspicious circumstances under which General Hull took command of the army. Those who were induced by their discernment, or their intimate acquaintance with the general, to doubt his abilities to lead an invading army, hesitated to express their sentiments and were silent before the voice of public admiration.

"On the first of June, the army marched up the Miami to Staunton, a small village on the east bank. Here they waited for the boats in which the baggage was coming up the river. They intended to ascend Lorimies River eighteen miles, then march by Piqua to the Auglaize, and then descend that river. But on the 6th of June, they were informed that the water was too low for the boats to ascend—they were then ordered by the general to march to Urbana, a village about thirty miles to the east of Staunton. Here they were informed on the morning of the 8th, by a general order, that they would be met that day on parade by the governor accompanied by many distinguished citizens and some Indian chiefs. On the following day, Governor Meigs and General Hull held a council with twelve chiefs of the Shawanoe, Mingoe, and Wyandot nations, to obtain leave from them to march the army through their territory; and to erect such forts as might be deemed necessary; which was promptly granted by them, and every assistance which they could give the army in the wilderness was promised. Governor Meigs had held a council with these Indians on the 6th, in which it was agreed to adhere to the treaty of Greenville. At these councils the just and humane policy of our government was exhibited in fair-dealing with the Indians, and in exhorting them to peace and neutrality. It formed a striking contrast to the conduct of the British, who were using every insidious means to engage the Indians in their service, and to excite them to massacre our innocent women and children.

"On the 10th of June, the Fourth Regiment, with Colonel Miller at its head, arrived at Urbana. They were met about a mile from town by Colonels M'Arthur, Cass, and Findley, at the head

of their respective regiments, by whom they were escorted into camp through a triumphal arch adorned with an eagle, and inscribed with the words, *Tippecanoe—Glory.* On this occasion the general issued a congratulatory order to his troops to excite their emulation.

"On the next day General M'Arthur was detached with his regiment to cut a road for the army as far as the Scioto River, which rises northwest of the head branches of the Big Miami. The whole army having moved as far as King's Creek, three miles from Urbana, another general order was issued on the 16th of June, from which the following are extracts: 'In the honor of this army the general feels the deepest interest. He sincerely hopes that nothing will take place during the campaign, to tarnish the fame it has already acquired; its glory, however, is not yet complete. Bare professions of patriotism do not establish the character of a patriot. It is necessary for this army to meet with a cheerful and manly fortitude, the fatigues and dangers it may be called to encounter, before it can be entitled to the honorable appellation of a patriotic army. It is easy to boast of patriotism; it is hard to perform the duties it requires. The general retains the highest confidence in the honorable motives of this army, and he assures the officers and soldiers, that while on the one hand he will do all in his power for their comfort and convenience, on the other hand he expects a ready submission to his orders and a punctual discharge of all their duties.'

"On the day this order was issued, Colonel M'Arthur's regiment had opened the road as far as the Scioto and had begun to build two block-houses on the south bank of the river, which is there, but 40 or 50 feet wide. These houses were strengthened by stockades, and in honor of the colonel, the whole was called Fort M'Arthur (near present Kenton, Hardin County). At this place, Peter Vassar, a Frenchman, while on guard, deliberately shot a brother sentry by the name of Joseph England, and wounded him badly, but he afterwards recovered and returned home. Vassar was put under guard, and a general order was issued, prohibiting settlers from selling liquor to any non-commissioned officer or private, without a written permit from his commanding officer.

"The whole army having arrived here on the 19th, Colonel Findley was ordered to proceed with his regiment on the 21st and cut the road as far as Blanchard Forks of the Auglaize; and on the 22nd, the whole army followed, except a part of Captain

Dill's company, which was left to keep the fort and take care of the sick. It now rained for several days excessively, so as to render the road almost impassable for wagons. After marching only sixteen miles the army halted again in the midst of a swampy country, in which the water courses, both of the Ohio and the lakes, have their sources. A block-house was erected here (in now Hancock County) which was honored with the name of Fort Necessity. The mud was deep and from every appearance the whole army was likely to stick in the swamps. The horses and oxen were put on short allowance; and every man who could make a pack saddle was detailed on that business. The general intended to transport his baggage on pack horses; but as soon as a sufficient number of saddles were made, the order was rescinded and they were deposited in the block-house.

"The general's first order of march was given, it is believed, on the 20th of June at Fort M'Arthur; but he seems to have entirely forgotten to give his army an order of battle—perhaps he did not deem it necessary, intending to do all the fighting himself on paper. The following was the order of march: 'The 4th United States regiment on the right; Colonel M'Arthur on the left; Colonel Findley on the left of the 4th; and Colonel Cass on the right of M'Arthur; the cavalry on the right of the whole. In marching, the riflemen of the respective regiments will form the flank guards, and on the day the army marches, they will be excused from any other duty.'

"When the army was ready to march from Fort Necessity, they were met by Gen. Robert Lucas and Mr. William Deeny, who had been sent by General Hull from Dayton, with dispatches for Mr. Atwater, the acting governor at Detroit. Their report was not the most favorable. General Lucas had been present at several councils held by Mr. Atwater with the chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa tribes, and the Wyandots of Brownstown. They all expressed a disposition to be friendly, except Walk-in-the-Water of the Wyandots, who declared that the American Government was acting improperly in sending an army into their country, which would cut off their communication with Canada. He said the Indians were their own masters and would trade where they pleased; and that the disturbance on the Wabash was the fault of Governor Harrison entirely. General Lucas had also ascertained that the British had collected a considerable body of Indians at Malden, who were fed and supplied with arms and ammunition, and were ready to fight the Ameri-

cans at the first signal from their employers. It was represented that Detroit was in a bad state of defense, and that the citizens generally were much elated at the approach of an army for their protection. General Lucas had no opportunity of visiting Fort Malden; but from every information, it was believed to be in a much worse situation than Detroit, one side of it being entirely open. The weather having become more favorable, the army at last marched from Fort Necessity and arrived in three days at Blanchard's Forks, where Colonel Findley had built blockhouses and stockading on the southwest side, which was called Fort Findley. (This fort was on the south bank of Blanchard River where the Main Street of Findlay crosses that stream).

"On the 26th of June, Colonel Dunlap arrived in camp as an express from Chillicothe with dispatches from the war department for General Hull. They were confidential; but it was believed that they contained certain and official intelligence of the declaration of war against England, as the general ordered all the heavy camp equipage to be left at this fort and determined to commence a forced march. Colonel Cass was sent with his regiment to cut the remainder of the road to the Rapids (Maumee River opposite Presque Isle and Turkey Foot rock). The balance of Captain Dill's company being left at the fort, the army proceeded, but not with more speed than usual, and in a few days encamped on the banks of the Miami of the Lake (Maumee) opposite the battle ground of General Wayne and in view of a small village at the foot of the rapids (site of Maumee). Here the army was cheered with a view of civilized habitations, after a tedious march through a dreary wilderness. Having delayed here a day, they marched down through the village in regular order, and encamped just below the ruins of the old British Fort Miami, from which the Indians were supplied by the British previous to their battle with Wayne on the 20th of August, '94.

"At this place a small schooner (the *Cuyahoga*) belonging to a Captain Chapin, was employed to carry a quantity of baggage to Detroit, about thirty officers and privates being put on board for its protection. It being the last of the month, complete muster rolls of every company in the brigade were made out and deposited in a trunk, which was put on board this vessel. An open boat with the sick, was also sent in company with Captain Chapin. It was here represented to General Hull, by Captain M'Pherson of Cincinnati, that war must have been declared, and

that the schooner would certainly be captured at Malden. Notwithstanding this suggestion, and the general's own knowledge on the subject, he persisted in sending the vessel.

"Lieutenant Davidson with twenty-five men being left here to build a block-house, the army again marched on the 1st of July, after considerable time spent in preparation as usual. Their route was through an open country, interspersed with thin groves of oak, and scattering settlements of French. When they arrived at the River Raisin, on which there is a handsome village of French inhabitants (site of Monroe) information was received that the schooner, in attempting to pass Malden with the baggage, had been captured by the British, and the whole crew and passengers made prisoners, the enemy having previously received intelligence of the declaration of war which was made on the 18th of June by the American Government. Though General Hull had certainly received intimation of this act of the government by Colonel Dunlap, yet the troops had not been informed of it till the evening before they reached the River Raisin, at which time the baggage had been captured. The colonels having on that evening informed their men of the declaration of war, and that the situation of the army required strict subordination, firmness, and bravery to insure success; and each man being supplied with ten rounds of ammunition and extra flint; every heart beat warm in the cause of the country and new life and animation beamed in every countenance.

"A day was spent at the River Raisin; and a day and a half in marching fifteen miles to the River Huron. Here the 4th of July was spent in erecting a bridge over the river, which is but 40 feet wide, but very deep. The road crosses about half a mile from the lake, from which place the army had a full view of the Canada shore below Malden, and a delightful prospect of Lake Erie to the east. A large vessel supposed to be the *Queen Charlotte*, with troops on board, was seen going towards Malden, where the firing of cannon was distinctly heard. An attack from the British and Indians was expected at this place, and the army anxiously desiring it, was kept under arms the whole day.

"On the 5th, the army marched early, and having passed the villages of Brownstown and Maguaga, and the rivers DeCorce and Roach (Rouge), it arrived at Springwells, the lower end of the Detroit settlement, and but two miles from the town. Here is a handsome eminence on the River Detroit, well calculated for a fort, which would command the town of Sandwich on the Ca-

nadian shore, the river being about three-quarters of a mile wide. The following extract from a general order issued at this place, will show in what manner General Hull informed the northwestern posts of the declaration of war. 'The garrisons of Detroit, Michilimacinac, Chicago, and Fort Wayne, being placed by the President of the United States, under the command of General Hull, the commanding officers of those garrisons are informed that Congress has declared war against Great Britain; and they will immediately place their garrisons in the best possible state of defense, and make a return to Brigade-Major Jessup at Detroit, of the quantity of provisions the contractor has on hand at their respective posts, the number of officers and men, ordnance and military stores of every kind, and the public property of all kinds.' When this general order, containing a variety of other matters trivial and local, had issued from the pen of the general, it was left to find a conveyance to Chicago and Macinaw in the best way it could, no human means being employed by the general for that purpose.

"On the morning of the 6th (July), Colonel Cass was sent with a flag of truce to Malden, which was commanded at that time by Colonel St. George. The object was to demand the baggage and prisoners captured in the schooner. When he arrived there he was blind-folded and his demands were refused; he then returned to camp with Captain Burbanks of the British army. In this instance General Hull betrayed his ignorance of military diplomacy in sending Colonel Cass with a flag to an equal, if not an inferior in rank. But perhaps there was some greater object in view than simply to demand the baggage. Five pieces of artillery were brought down from the fort on the 7th and placed on the bank in front of the army, in a situation to annoy the enemy at Sandwich. On the same day the general held a council with the principal chiefs of the Wyandot, Shawanoe, Potawatamie, Seneca and Mohawk nations, which ended in their professing to be our friends. On the next day the general became alarmed, lest the enemy should bombard his camp from the upper side of Sandwich; he therefore removed into the rear of Detroit to be out of the reach of danger.

"The town of Detroit contains about 160 houses and 700 inhabitants. It is handsomely situated on the west side of the River Detroit, about nine miles below Lake St. Clair, the opening of which can be seen from the town. Fort Detroit stands on an elevated spot of ground in the rear of the town, and about

250 yards from the bank of the river. It is a square, containing nearly two acres of ground. It is surrounded with a double row of pickets, the outside row being set in the ditch, and the other obliquely in the bank, which is thrown up against the walls of the fort, and which is so high, that at some distance from the fort, the interior buildings cannot be seen. The ground gradually declines from the fort in every direction. It is badly situated to command the river; but it is a place of great strength, and could not be injured by any battery on the same side of the river. The inhabitants about Detroit are mostly descendents of the old French settlers, professing the Catholic religion. The Territory can raise between six and seven hundred militia.

"Preparations are now made for the invasion of Canada; arms were repaired and carriages made for the cannon; and the officers endeavored to inspire their men with ardor, a willingness to obey, and a determination to avenge the wrongs of their country, by invading the territories of her enemy. The night of the 10th was appointed for crossing into Canada; but it was prevented by the disorderly conduct of some individuals who kept firing their guns, by one of whom Major Munson was severely wounded. But few of the enemy were to be seen on the opposite shore; it was deemed necessary, however, to use some precaution in landing. On the evening of the 11th, the regiment of Colonel M'Arthur, accompanied by some boats, was marched down to the Springwells to decoy the enemy. The British were thus induced to believe that a descent would be made from that point, and that an attack would immediately be made upon Malden; which ought to have been done before this time. They accordingly drew all their forces to that place. Next morning the army marched about a mile above Detroit, where boats had been taken in the night. The regiments of Colonels Miller and Cass embarked at once and in fifteen minutes landed on the Canada shore without opposition. General Hull was among the last to embark, and as his boat reached the shore, he was heard to exclaim, 'The critical moment draws near!' The American flag was unfurled, and the Huzzas of the front were answered by the rear and the citizens of Detroit. An encampment was formed in the farm of Colonel Baubee (Baby), a British officer; the quarters of the general being fixed in a brick house near the centre of the camp, and not far from the bank of the river."

On the same day, July 12th, at Sandwich, General Hull issued his famous proclamation to the inhabitants of Canada

guaranteeing protection by the army as friends and not enemies, and declaring the power of the United States sufficient for the security of right and justice.

The landing on the Canada shore was near the present site of Walkerville. The camp and farm of Francois Baby was where is now Windsor.

Officers and men were all eager to attack the enemy. Unable to resist the insistence of the officers, General Hull sent a scouting party of forty men under Captain Ulery down the river towards Malden. At a bridge over Turkey Creek about nine miles from camp, Ulery discovered a party of 200 Indians laying in ambush near Fighting Island, to cut off any detachment that might cross the bridge which had been partly destroyed. Upon his report to the commander, Hull immediately caused his camp to be protected with earthworks, except the side next to the river which was defended by cannon. Receiving information that a band of Indians had gone in the direction of the River Thames by a land route, Colonel McArthur with a detachment was sent in pursuit. Reaching the river they encamped about half a mile from the mouth, opposite the house of Isaac Hull, a nephew of the general, and near Moraviantown. A corporal and six militiamen of the enemy stationed as guard to the family were captured and disarmed and sent home on parole. McArthur's force found several large boats at the Thames and returned with 200 barrels of flour, 400 blankets and other military stores gathered in the vicinity. At Baldoon opposite Walpole Island, they came upon 400 sheep, the property of a Scotch settlement, and drove the flock to camp. On the 16th Colonel Cass and Lieutenant-Colonel Miller were sent towards Malden with a detachment of 280 men to reconnoitre the enemy's advanced posts.

At this point Captain McAfee in his writings says: "Next morning Captain Brown of the 4th United States regiment went down to Malden without the knowledge of Colonel Cass; but there is no doubt of his mission being known to General Hull; the object of it has never yet been developed. Presently a reinforcement of our troops arrived, consisting of the balance of the 4th regiment, and a piece of artillery under the command of Lieutenant Eastman. A council of officers was now convened, a majority of whom insisted on leaving the bridge. Colonel Cass and Captain Snelling, insisted on holding it, as it would be of the utmost importance in marching the army to Malden. Their opinion being overruled, and no order to hold the bridge being

received from the general, the whole detachment marched back to camp. The abandonment of this bridge, which had been gained so easily, and which in the possession of the enemy would be the chief obstruction to the advance of the army, was a most fatal error. It was sufficient itself to develop the character of the general; and I can scarcely restrain my indignation sufficiently while writing, to mention the event in deliberate terms. The officers from this occurrence began to distrust the views of the general, and their opinion of his abilities began to dwindle into contempt. It was evident to every person that the possession of the bridge was important to the success of the enterprise; and had the army marched immediately to Malden, that fortress must have fallen an easy conquest. The command of the river, and security to the upper country, would have been the consequences. Colonel Cass' orders were, to reconnoitre the advance posts of the enemy, but not to hold any position he might conquer.

"In the evening a report prevailed that the *Queen Charlotte* was sailing up the straits and committing depredations on the American side; and that the British had again occupied the bridge. Colonel Findley in consequence went down to the bridge with a small party to reconnoitre. He found it torn up and a breastwork of timber erected on the south side to defend the pass. The *Queen Charlotte* also occupied a station convenient to aid in its defense. Colonel Findley having returned next day, another small party under Captain Snelling went down in the evening as a corps of observation. General Hull for his part staid close in his quarters at Sandwich; but to induce his officers to believe that he really intended to attack Malden, he issued the following general order, by way of retaliation for the capture of his baggage; the execution of it would have placed our army on a level with the disgraceful conduct of the British.

" 'Whereas the private property, consisting principally of the necessary clothing of the officers and soldiers of this army, has been seized by the British force, and is detained at Malden or its dependencies, nothwithstanding application has been made for the restitution of it. In order to remunerate those officers and soldiers who have suffered, the general directs that all personal property of officers now serving in the British army, at the aforesaid post, shall be taken under special orders from the general, and delivered to the quartermaster general for safe keeping, until the orders of the government are known on the subject.

One hundred and fifty men properly officered, will be detached for command tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock from Colonel M'Arthur's regiment. Colonel M'Arthur will command and will call at Headquarters for instructions.'

"In pursuance of this order, Colonel M'Arthur was sent down to relieve Captain Snelling, who was found at the Petit Cote settlement about a mile above the bridge. From this place to the bridge, the country is a dry, level prairie. About 300 yards from the Kanards, there is a small ridge across the road about eight feet high, which is covered towards the west with small oak and hazel bushes. From the ridge to the river the prairie is somewhat marshy and covered with long grass. The river is about twenty-five yards wide and very deep, and on the south side a thick wood commences at a short distance from the bridge. Colonel M'Arthur was instructed to ascertain the situation of the bridge and the position of the *Queen Charlotte;* but not to go within the reach of her guns, nor attempt to pass the bridge. This information the general had already received from the other parties repeatedly, and of course was merely amusing his men and spending time by this conduct.

"Colonel M'Arthur left his men at the Petit Cote settlement, and went with Adjutant Puthuff and a few riflemen to the top of the ridge to reconnoitre. He found the plank had been torn off the bridge, and that a battery had been erected at the south end of it, near which there were about 60 regulars, 450 Canadian militia, 25 dragoons, and 50 Indians. Some firing occurred between the riflemen and the Indians, some of whom came over the bridge, and as the the colonel rode down to view the *Queen Charlotte*, he was fired on by a gunboat which accompanied her, and which had approached him unperceived, under the bank of the river. They now all retreated uninjured to the main detachment, but the colonel not being satisfied, returned to the ridge again with a few others, to make further observations. They were there fired on again by some Indians who in the meantime had concealed themselves in the brushwood. The whole detachment immediately came up to their relief and drove the Indians back over the bridge; but as they retired Tecumseh followed them with a considerable force, when a halt was called and another skirmish ensued. Ammunition becoming scarce, the colonel sent an express to camp to inform the general of all the circumstances; and at the same time concluded to return to camp with the detachment. When the express arrived, Colonel Cass

pushed down with 150 men and a six pounder to reinforce M'Arthur. About sunset they met at Turkey Creek bridge, nine miles from camp, and immediately returned to the Petit Cote settlement where they encamped for the night. Next morning on reconnoitering the enemy, he was found to be considerably reinforced both in men and artillery. At the desire of Colonel Cass, the whole detachment marched down near the bridge, and with the six pounder, exchanged a few shot with the battery. The whole detachment then marched back to camp, hungry and fatigued, without having effected anything valuable.

"Tecumseh, who was very conspicuous among the Indians for his influence, and for his bravery and skill in Indian warfare, was about this time said to be appointed a brigadier-general by the British. The whole army now began to lose all confidence in General Hull. His sending detachments to contend for the bridge, and when it was taken, his failing to hold it, or to march immediately to Malden, and afterwards sending party after party to reconnoitre and skirmish, were strong, irresistible proofs of incapacity or of treachery, which must have convinced even the British themselves, that he either did not intend to attack their fort, or that he had neither courage nor skill to execute such an enterprise. The distrust of the army was still more confirmed by his leaving them and going over to Detroit on the 21st of July, where he remained till the 26th under a variety of frivolous pretexts. While he was thus wasting his time and resources, the government entertained the most favorable opinion of his firmness and ability. His proclamation was read throughout the union and highly applauded as the production of superior talents; and great expectations were formed by an admiring and sanguine people. Living nearly thirty years under a popular, deliberative form of government, had accustomed the people to judge the abilities of public men by the fine things they were able to say; and hence men the best qualified to act were overlooked and neglected for those who were only qualified to speak and write.

"The British forces at Malden were in the meantime daily augmented; and the greatest exertions were made night and day to strengthen that post by entrenchments and picketing. By the absence of General Hull at Detroit, the command devolved on Colonel M'Arthur, who immediately dispatched Captain M'Cullough with the rangers and spies, to examine whether a road could not be made to cross the Kanards above the bridge, so as

to avoid the battery and the guns of the *Queen Charlotte.* The captain reported that a road for the artillery was impracticable, on account of swamps and morasses."

While this procrastination was evidently being deliberately practiced by General Hull at Detroit, the fort at Mackinac, unwarned of the fact that war had been declared, was surprised and captured by a British force sent over from St. Joseph's Island. Within a short time Hull ordered most of his men back to Detroit, leaving near Sandwich only a small detachment. One of General Hull's greatest worries seems to have been from the fear that communication with the Ohio settlements might be severed, thus cutting off his army from their base of supplies and exposing them to the attack and butchery of the savages.

About the 18th of July Governor Meigs received at Chillicothe from General Hull over the long trail the following dispatch:

"Detroit, 11th July, 1812.

"Dear Sir: The army arrived here on the 5th inst. I have now only time to state to you, that we are very deficient in provisions and I have authorized Mr. Piatt to furnish a supply for two months.

"The communication must be preserved by your militia, or this army will perish for the want of provisions. We have the fullest confidence that you will do all in your power to prevent so distressing a calamity to this patriotic army.

"I am, very respectfully,

"Your most ob't. serv't.,

"W. HULL."

With this dispatch from General Hull, Governor Meigs received notice from Coloniel Piatt, contractor at Urbana, stating that fourteen thousand pounds of flour and three hundred beef cattle would be ready to leave that place so soon as the Governor would furnish a military escort to guard the supplies through the wilderness. A company of volunteers was immediately raised at Chillicothe which selected as their commander, Capt. Henry Brush, a distinguished lawyer of that place. The detailed story of the arrival of the company at Urbana where they were joined by a detachment of Regulars, and seventy pack horses secured, and of the march with the supplies to the River Raisin (Monroe) and their failure to reach Detroit, will be told later.

A little beyond Frenchtown, the supply train and escort was

opposed in its further advance by a band of Indians under Tecumseh, and help from Detroit was asked. When General Hull received the news of the arrival thus far of Captain Brush, he sent Maj. Thomas Van Horn of Colonel Findley's regiment with two hundred men to their relief. When Van Horn's men were near the site of Trenton, two of their scouts were ambushed and scalped. Proceeding to near Brownstown, the whole relief command was ambushed and at the first volley of the unseen enemy, seventeen Americans were killed and many more wounded. Keeping up a rear guard fight as he retreated, Van Horn dispatched a runner to Detroit for a reinforcement of five hundred men. Among Van Horn's losses were Captains Ulery, Gilchrist, and Boersler, Lieutenant Pento and Ensign Rubey.

General Hull was evidently in great fear that the surrender of Mackinac would let loose a horde of savages upon Detroit from that direction and in his greatly perturbed condition he at first refused to spare any more men for the aid of Van Horn from the fort; consequently the latter returned with his men to headquarters. Knowing the weakness of the British at Fort Malden, the American army from the officers to the men in the ranks were expecting at any moment an order to make an attack. But Hull kept to himself, and his officers knew nothing of his plans or what to expect. On August 7, the detachment of Americans which had remained at Sandwich was ordered to break camp. The whole force was elated at this move because they believed it was the preliminary to an advance on Malden. Consequently, there was great astonishment when another order came for them to return to Detroit; all the more so from the fact that the Sandwich contingent had just been reinforced by 650 French-Canadians, who were anxious to join in the British attack. There were now 2,300 Americans at the fort, the 650 Canadians who were American sympathizers were across the river, and the 230 men under Captain Brush were at the River Raisin. Opposed to this force were about 400 British at Malden and about 1,000 Indians, including 700 savages who had come in from Mackinac. Concerning the move of Hull ordering his army to recross the river to the American side again, McAfee has this:

"With what deep contempt was this order heard; with what sullen murmurings was it executed! A few weeks before, the army had landed triumphantly in the enemy's country; and now, without any ostensible cause, was ordered to return in the most disgraceful manner. What feelings of indignation filled every

true American bosom; and what anguish was felt by a number of the poor inhabitants, who confiding in General Hull's promises of protection, had made themselves liable to the vengeance of their own government! The whole army now recrossed the river in sullen procession and indignant contempt, and encamped once more behind Fort Detroit."

At this stage a large part of the British force at Malden also crossed to the American side and took up their station opposite Grosse Isle, in order to cut the American communication between Detroit and Ohio.

In this deplorable situation the American troops were on the verge of mutiny. To allay the feeling that Hull knew existed against his tactics, on the same day that the army had recrossed to the American side, he sent Colonel Miller, with Majors Van Horn and Morrison of the Ohio volunteers, with a detachment to make another attempt to open communication with Captain Brush at the River Raisin. Near the home of Chief Walk-in-the-Water, about the site of Trenton, they ran into one hundred British regulars, one hundred Canadian militia and some three hundred Indians under Tecumseh, all under the command of Major Muir. The account of what is known as the battle of Brownstown was reported as follows:

"The main body of the army having recrossed the River Detroit, on the night and morning of the 8th of August, six hundred men were immediately detached under the command of Lieut.-Col. Miller, to open the communication with the River Raisin and protect the provisions. This detachment consisted of the 4th U. S. regiment and two small detachments under the command of Lieutenant Stansbury and Ensign M'Abe, of the 1st regiment; detachments from the Ohio and Michigan volunteers; a corps of artillerists with one six pounder, and a howitzer under the command of Lieutenant Eastman; a part of Captains Smith's and Sloan's cavalry, commanded by Captain Sloan, of the Ohio volunteers. Lieut.-Col. Miller marched from Detroit on the afternoon of the 8th of August, and on the 9th in the afternoon about 4 o'clock, the front guard commanded by Captain Snelling of the 4th U. S. regiment, was fired on by an extensive line of British and Indians, about two miles below Maguaga village, where there had been a small opening on the bank of Detroit River, surrounded with thick brush and white oak timber, and about fourteen miles from Detroit. At this time the main body was marching in two lines, and Captain Snelling maintained his position in

a most gallant manner, under a very heavy fire, until the line was formed and advanced to the ground he occupied, when the whole, except the rear guard was brought into action. The enemy were formed behind a temporary breastwork of logs, with the Indians extending in a thick woods on their left. Lieut.-Col. Miller ordered his whole line to advance, and when within a small distance of the enemy made a general fire upon them, and immediately followed it up with charged bayonets, when the whole British line and Indians commenced a retreat. They were pursued in a most vigorous manner about two miles, and the pursuit discontinued only on account of the fatigue of the men, the approach of evening, and the necessity of returning to take care of the wounded.

"The judicious arrangements made by Lieut.-Col. Miller, and the gallant manner in which they were executed, justly entitles him to the highest honor. From the moment the line commenced the fire, it continually moved on, and the enemy maintained their position until forced at the point of the bayonet. The Indians on the left under the command of Tecumseh fought with great obstinacy, but were continually forced and compelled to retreat. The victory was complete in every part of the line; but the success would have been more brilliant, had the cavalry charged the enemy on their retreat, when a most favorable opportunity presented. Although orders were given for that purpose, unfortunately they were not executed. Majors Van Horn and Morrison were associated with Colonel Miller as field officers in this command, and were highly distinguished by their exertions in forming the line, and the firm, intrepid manner in which they led their respective commands to action."

Colonel Miller sent an express to General Hull with information of his success and a request for a supply of provisions. Colonel McArthur was ordered sent forward with one hundred men and six hundred rations and to proceed down the river in boats. McArthur immediately applied to the contractor David Baird to fill the order, who being strongly suspected of being a British agent, brought up many excuses for delay. As soon as McArthur received the supplies, he embarked in nine boats and arrived safely at Colonel Miller's camp two miles above Brownstown. Leaving some of his men with Miller, it was with much difficulty that he succeeded in again reaching the fort.

On account of the injury to Colonel Miller, Colonel Cass asked to be placed in charge of the troops under the former commander

but he received no reply. Cass also sent a message to Governor Meigs of Ohio, asking the governor to hasten to the relief of Detroit as General Hull would take no action against the enemy himself, nor allow his subordinates to accomplish anything aggressive. Even the relief of Captain Brush was allowed to fail after its near accomplishment. Upon these points McAfee again wrote as follows:

"From the manner in which the American flags had been treated by the enemy, it was expected, that no more would be sent; but to the surprise of the whole army, on the 12th a boat was seen descending with a white flag from Detroit to Sandwich, where it was known that General Brock had arrived with the Forty-first regiment. Colonels McArthur, Cass, and Findley, with some warmth and indignation, immediately repaired to headquarters, and inquired of the general why a flag of truce had been sent to Sandwich. The general denied having any knowledge of it; and the colonels then expressed their determination to inquire into the affair, and have the offender punished. The general seemed to be somewhat disconcerted, and observed that he would inquire of Captain Hickman, his volunteer aide, whether he had authorized any person to take a flag to the enemy's camp. He went to the captain, and after a few minutes returned and said, that Captain Hickman had conversed with Captain Rough on the subject, but did not wish him (Rough) to consider himself permitted to take a flag, but that the captain had probably considered himself authorized. The colonels then left their general in disgust, and extended their inquiries no further on the subject, but strongly suspected his fidelity to the country. He had for several days been an object of general contempt, having frequently been intoxicated, and apparently lost to all sense of honor, and even decency. He was sullen in his deportment and wavering in his orders."

A conversation now took place between the colonels of the Ohio Volunteers and Gen. J. Taylor, of Kentucky, continues McAfee, respecting the abilities and fidelity of the general. They were unanimously of the opinion that if he continued in the command of the army, it would be surrendered to the enemy. They came, therefore, to a determination to deprive him of the command, and solicited Colonel Miller to assume it. He refused, but declared he would unite with them in giving it to McArthur. They drew up a round-robin and signed their names in a circle, around a statement of their views. A faint hope remaining that they might yet receive relief from the State of Ohio, the project was abandoned,

and Colonel Cass immediately addressed the following letter to the governor of Ohio:

"Detroit, August 12, 1812.

"Dear Sir—From causes not fit to be put on paper, but which I trust I shall live to communicate to you, this army has been reduced to a critical and alarming situation. We have wholly left the Canadian shore, and have abandoned the miserable inhabitants who depended on our will and our power to protect them, to their fate. Unfortunately the general and our principal officers could not view our situation and our prospects in the same light. That Malden might easily have been reduced, I have no doubt. That the army were in force and in spirits enough to have done it, no one doubts. But the precious opportunity has fled; and instead of looking back, we must now look forward. The letter from the secretary of war to you, a copy of which I have seen, authorizes you to preserve and keep open the communication from the State of Ohio to Detroit. It is all important that it should be kept open; our very existence depends upon it. Our supplies must come from our state. This country does not furnish them. In the existing state of things, nothing but a large force of 2,000 men at least, will effect the object. It is the unanimous wish of the army, that you should accompany them. Every exertion that can, must be made. If this reaches you safely by Murray, he will tell you more than I can or ought here to insert. I am, etc.,

LEWIS CASS."

This letter having been written and shown to the other officers, they were induced from the appearance of the British in the meantime at Sandwich, to add the following endorsement:

"Since the other side of this letter was written, new circumstances have arisen. The British force is opposite, and our situation has nearly reached its crisis. Believe all the bearer will tell you. Believe it, however it may astonish you; as much as if told by one of us. Even a c . . . is talked of by the . . .! The bearer will supply the vacancy. On you we depend.

Signed by

"Cass, Findley, M'Arthur, Taylor and E. Brush."

The intention was, if Governor Meigs could arrive in time to relieve them, to divest General Hull of the command and confer it on the governor, who had the confidence of the army. Major Denny now evacuated the fortification at Gowies, having previously set fire to the works, which unfortunately communi-

cated to the house and burned it down. On the 13th the British were seen marching up from Sandwich to a place opposite Fort Detroit, within pointblank shot of our batteries; yet the general would not suffer Lieutenants Dalaby and Anderson to fire on them with our 24 pounders, and they were permitted unmolested to erect their batteries opposite Detroit.

On the evening of the 14th, a detachment of three hundred men, was sent to the two colonels, M'Arthur and Cass, to endeavor again by a circuitous route to open the communication with the River Raisin. Colonel M'Arthur remonstrated against sending them without provisions; upon which the general promised to send provisions after them on pack horses, but he failed in the end to do it. This detachment after marching about twenty-four miles, having passed the rivers Rouge and DeCorce some distance, got into a marsh and could go no farther without provisions. Being still a great distance from the River Raisin, on account of their circuitous route, a council of officers as held, which judged it expedient to return. But in the meantime affairs at Detroit had been brought to a crisis. On the morning of the 15th General Hull pitched his marquee in the centre of the camp with red and blue stripes painted on its top. This was the first time he had erected a tent in camp since the 4th of July. It was remarked with astonishment by every person; and about one o'clock two British officers arrived from Sandwich with a flag of truce, and a letter from General Brock demanding the surrender of Fort Detroit to His Britannic Majesty's forces. The following is a copy:

"H. Q. Sandwich, August 15th, 1812.

"Sir—The force at my disposal authorizes me to require of you the surrender of Fort Detroit. It is far from my inclination to join in a war of extermination; but you must be aware, that the numerous body of Indians, who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences. You will find me disposed to enter into such conditions as will satisfy the most scrupulous sense of honor. Lieut.-Col. M'Donnell, and Major Glegg are fully authorized to conclude any arrangement that may prevent the unnecessary effusion of blood.

"I have the honor to be your most obedient servant,

"Isaac Brock, Maj.-Gen.

"His excellency, Brig.-Gen. Hull,
"Commanding at Detroit."

The British were at this time engaged in pulling down a

house opposite Detroit, behind which they had erected a battery; and Lieutenants Dalaby and Anderson were busily engaged in completing a battery on our side. When the troops were informed that the British had demanded a surrender of the fort, they laughed at the idea and seemed to be inspired with new vigor. The general, himself, seemed to be actuated by contending passions. At one moment he seemed to be determined to make an obstinate defense, and save his army from disgrace and his Territory from invasion; then again he would discover symptoms of the greatest fear and pusillanimity. His conversation with his officers was of the most dispiriting nature, exaggerating the force of the enemy, etc. The absence of Colonels M'Arthur and Cass was deeply deplored by the army, and was a cause of increasing the suspicions against the general. The threat of the British commander, to let loose the Indians to massacre and exterminate the people, excited the most indignant contempt towards a nation which, pretending to be civilized, could associate with savages in a war of the most horrible nature. General Hull, after a considerable struggle in his own mind, which was observed in the countenance by the British officer, at last returned the following reply to the demand they had brought:

"H. Q. Detroit, August 15, 1812.

"Sir—I have received your letter of this date. I have no other reply to make, than to inform you that I am ready to meet any force which may be at your disposal, and any consequences which may result from its execution in any way you may think proper to use it.

"I avail myself of this opportunity to inform you that the flag of truce under the direction of Captain Brown, proceeded contrary to the orders and without the consent of Colonel Cass, who commanded the troops who attacked your picket near the River Kanard bridge. I likewise take the occasion to inform you that Gowies house was set on fire contrary to my orders, and it did not take place till after the evacuation of the fort. From the best information I have been able to obtain on the subject, it was set on fire by some of the inhabitants on the other side of the river.

"I am very respectfully your excellency's most obedient servant,

"Wm. Hull, Brig.-Gen.
"Commanding N. W. Army of the United States.

"His excellency, Major-General Brock,
"Commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces in Upper Canada."

This letter being written and delivered to the British officers, General Hull immediately retired into the fort with every appearance of alarm; and no sooner had they landed in Sandwich, than the British armed vessels appeared in sight, and the battery on the opposite shore began to play upon the fort. The fire was returned from our batteries and the fort, and one of the enemy's guns was silenced in a few minutes. As soon as the firing commenced, all the troops, except Colonel Findley's regiment, were crowded into the fort and posts assigned to as many as could be employed. Colonel Findley was stationed three hundred yards from the fort on the northwest.

Previous to the opening of the batteries, Brigade Major Jessup and Quartermaster Dugan, rode down the river to Springwells to view the enemy at Sandwich; and from the position of the *Queen Charlotte*, they concluded that the enemy intended to effect a landing at that place. Having ascertained a position for a battery, which would be secure from the fire of her guns, the major returned to headquarters, and requested that a 24-pounder might be sent down to sink that vessel. The general told him that he had consulted his artillery officers and they were of opinion that a bridge over which it must pass, was not strong enough to bear the weight of a 24-pounder. The major informed him that there was plenty of timber near it to make it stronger; to which remark the general made no reply. Major Jessup then returned to the Springwells, where he found Captain Snelling with a few men and a brass 6-pounder. Observing that the principal part of the British forces were at Sandwich, he returned again to General Hull and requested permission to cross the river with 150 men, and spike the enemy's cannon on the battery opposite Detroit. The general said he could not spare that number. He then asked for one hundred, in which he was joined by Captain Snelling. The general replied "I will think of it." The enemy still kept up a constant fire from the battery; from which they did not desist until 10 o'clock at night; and at daylight next morning, the 16th, they commenced again, but their fire had very little effect. Our batteries returned it with promptitude till near 11 o'clock, having in the meantime silenced two of their guns.

The British had by this time effected a landing at Springwells with their whole force, consisting of about thirty royal artillerists, 300 regulars, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, with three 6, and two 3-pounders. They advanced towards the

fort without any opposition, the militia and regulars being on the margin of the river, and the Indians next the woods on the west of the town. When they had arrived within three-quarters of a mile from the fort, two 24-pounders loaded with grape shot, were levelled at them under the direction of Captain Forsythe and Lieutenant Anderson; but just as the artillerists were applying the matches, Captain Dyson, the senior officer of the artillery, came up and drew his sword, and swore that the first man who attempted to fire on the enemy should be cut to pieces.

General Hull had taken refuge on the east side of the fort under the wall, where he was sure the balls of the enemy could not hit him—yet he seemed to be stupefied and nearly torpid with fear. A ball from the British battery, which now kept up a constant fire, struck in the fort and killed Captain Hanks, Lieutenant Sibley, and Doctor Reynolds, and wounded Doctor Blood. Another passed through the gate and killed two soldiers in the barracks. Two men were also killed on the outside. The general had crowded so many men into the fort, together with the women and children, who had come there for protection, that it was almost impossible for a ball to strike in the fort without killing some person. Very little injury, however, was experienced from the shells of the enemy; though well directed, they generally burst too soon.

Under these circumstances, which excited in the general the most terrible apprehensions, an officer of the Michigan militia came into the fort and inquired whether General Hull expected Colonel Brush to defend the city with two or three hundred men? He stated that the British forces were at the tanyard below the town, upon which information General Hull stepped into a room in the barracks, and returning in a few minutes handed a note to his son, who immediately hoisted a white flag on a pike staff, and inquired whether he could say anything in addition to the note. Being answered in the negative he went out and proceeded to meet General Brock. When he returned from the enemy, he was accompanied by Colonel M'Donnell and Major Glegg. It was now evident to every person that the general had tendered a capitulation; and white flags in the meantime being hoisted on the walls in different places, the firing from the British batteries was discontinued. General Hull now called upon General Taylor of Kentucky, Major Jessup, and several others, to assist in drawing up the articles of capitulation; but they all indignantly refused their assistance. However, the business was soon arranged

between the general and the British officers; who then immediately returned to the tanyard, where the British forces had halted. Our troops in the meantime were ordered to stack their arms; Colonel Findley with his regiment being ordered into the fort for the same purpose. It is impossible to describe the indignation which was felt and expressed by the officers on this occasion. The men very generally shed tears, and the common expression as they indignantly dashed down their arms, often breaking them to pieces, was "Damn such a general!"

The Indians soon began their devastations by killing the cattle and sheep in the commons. About 12 o'clock the British forces with General Brock at their head marched into the fort; the Americans were marched out and put into an adjoining garden; the American flag was pulled down, and the British hoisted in its place. The firing of their cannon, with the yelling of the savages and the discharging of their guns in the air, closed the scene and proclaimed their joy at their success. The following are the articles of capitulation:

"Camp at Detroit, August 16, 1812.

"Capitulation for the surrender of Fort Detroit, entered into between Major-General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces on the one part, and Brigadier-General Hull, commanding the northwestern army of the United States, on the other part:

"1. Fort Detroit with all the troops, regulars as well as militia, will be immediately surrendered to the British forces under the command of Major-General Brock, and will be considered prisoners of war, with the exception of such of the militia of the Michigan Territory as have not joined the army.

"2. All public stores, arms, and all public documents, including everything else of a public nature, will be immediately given up.

"3. Private persons and property of every description will be respected.

"4. His excellency, Brigadier-General Hull, having expressed a desire that a detachment from the State of Ohio, on its way to join the army, as well as one sent from Detroit under the command of Colonel M'Arthur shall be included in the above capitulation, it is accordingly agreed to; it is, however, to be understood, that such part of the Ohio militia as have not joined the army will be permitted to return to their homes, on condition that they

will not serve during the war. Their arms, however, will be delivered up, if belonging to the public.

"5. The garrison will march out at the hour of 12 o'clock this day, and the British forces will take immediate possession of the fort.

"J. M'Donnell, Lt. Col. Mil. P. A. D. C.
"J. B. Glegg, Maj. A. D. C.
"J. Miller, Lt. Col. 4th Regt. U. S. Inft.
"E. Brush, Col. 1st Regt. Mich. Mil."

"Approved:
"Wm. Hull, Brig. Gen. Com. N. W. Army.
"Isaac Brock, Maj. Gen."

To these articles, two additional ones were added, to which General Brock says, "certain considerations induced him to agree." They were not known to the troops at the time.

"Detroit, August 16th, 1812.

"It is agreed, that the officers and soldiers of the Ohio militia shall be permitted to proceed to their respective homes, on this condition, that they are not to serve during the present war, unless they are exchanged.

"Wm. Hull, Brig. Gen.
"Isaac Brock, Maj. Gen."

"The other additional article places the Michigan militia and volunteers under Major Wetherell on the same principles with the Ohio militia. Colonel M'Arthur, with his detachment, being ignorant of these transactions, was hastening back with all possible dispatch; having had no provisions except a few green pumpkins and potatoes from Friday morning till Sunday evening. When he arrived within a mile of the fort he was informed of its surrender, and immediately ordered his men back to the River Rouge. There he found an ox, which being killed and divided among his men was eaten half raw. After some consultation with his officers, he sent Captain Mansfield with a flag of truce to the fort. On his way he was robbed of his horse and his arms by the Indians, and in the evening returned to the detachment in company with Majors Dixon and Givens of the British army. Captain Elliott arrived about the same time and handed Colonel M'Arthur the articles of capitulation. The colonel struck his sword in the ground and broke it to pieces, while tears of indignation stood in his eyes. The detachment then marched to the fort

and stacked their arms in the citadel. Colonels M'Arthur and Cass both remonstrated against surrendering rifles, which were private property, but without success. They then observed that they had already surrendered the muskets or they would contend for the rifles.

"While the troops were stationed in the ordnance yard, the British guard pulled off their knapsacks and took their knives from their scabbards; the Indians at the same time being employed in robbing the citizens of their property and taking the horses from the dragoons.

"Several pieces of brass cannon, which had been surrendered on the 16th of August, '76, by Colonel Baum to the American General Stark, were viewed with the greatest pleasure by the British officers, some of whom saluted them with kisses.

"The troops who had surrendered in the fort, were escorted by the British guards to their vessels, which were lying in the river, and being stowed aboard, they were floated down to Springwells. The Michigan militia were liberated. Colonel M'Arthur's detachment was embarked next morning and they all descended the river, the 4th regiment being destined for Quebec and the militia for the State of Ohio, where they were landed at different places on the shores of Lake Erie. They returned home dejected and spiritless, the issue of the campaign having proved so very different from the anticipations with which they commenced it. General Hull being landed from Lake Erie, made the best of his way to Massachusetts, his former place of residence, consigned to eternal infamy, with the curses of his country lowering over his head."

It is not necessary to follow General Hull through his later life —his court-martial and sentence of death, which was remitted in consideration of his earlier Revolutionary gallantry. The investigation closed with the following general order:

"Washington City, April 25th, 1814.

"The rolls of the army are to be no longer disgraced by having upon them the name of Brigadier-General Wm. Hull. The general court-martial, of which General Dearborn is president, is hereby dissolved.

"By order of
"J. B. Walbach, Adjt. Gen."

Of course the writings of McAfee reliably reflected the situation as viewed by Hull's officers and the public at the time of the

events. Later and more calm reflections do not pronounce Hull a traitor. Evidently he was somewhat incapacitated by lack of vigor through early exposures and his habits of life. His nature was passive and he lacked aggressiveness. His policy of non-resistance was based upon the belief that even should he be gloriously victorious over the British by an attack, this success would be only temporary. He evidently reasoned that later he would be compelled to capitulate, perhaps after a long siege and the exposure of the army to the cruelties of the savages. His motives were based upon reasons of humanity rather than cowardice. Detroit was a long journey from the base of supplies and man power. The Indians of the vast surrounding territory were mostly enemies and friendly to the British. And back of the whole situation, the government at Washington was sadly lacking in proper aid and coöperation.

Again, one of Hull's greatest errors was that he did not take his subordinate commanders into his confidence. He evidently considered their judgment clouded by enthusiasm, over-confidence and inexperience.

Even Captain McAfee in all his bitterness over Hull's surrender believed in according the general justice, for in his concluding statement he says this:

"If General Hull had made a bold and vigorous attack upon Malden when he first crossed into Canada, though he had even then lost much precious time, there cannot be a doubt, but that the fort would have surrendered without much loss on our part, and all the British forces in that quarter would have fallen into our hands. But it is doubtful whether the British, having the command of the Lake, would not have soon compelled him to abandon it. Fortifications might have been erected on the island of Bois Blanc opposite Malden, which would have commanded the River Detroit still more effectually; but it would have been very expensive to maintain an army there, sufficient with these advantages only, to hold the country against the command of the lake, the importance of which had been duly appreciated by the British government. The fall of Malden, however, would doubtless have awed the savages into a temporary neutrality at least, which would have greatly relieved our frontier settlements. The administration of the general government exhibited great want of foresight in sending General Hull to Canada without having taken the necessary measures to obtain the command of Lake Erie; and, unless it had been determined to hold Upper Canada

during the war at least, and thus to cut off all communication between the British and Indians, the invasion of that territory was wholly unnecessary and improper. Although the foregoing account of the operations of General Hull, clearly proves his incapacity to conduct any species of warfare, yet we ought not to conceal the errors of others in relation to the affairs he had to manage. It is a fact that General Hull, while governor of Michigan, previous to his being appointed a brigadier in the army, and as early as the 6th of March, 1812, in a memorial which he laid before the war department, did suggest the propriety of having a superior naval force on Lake Erie, as an auxiliary in the reduction of Upper Canada, without which it would be impossible to effect that object; and he pointed out the various difficulties which must attend a different course. In another communication on the 11th of April, after he had received his appointment in the army, he recommended in strong and explicit terms the building of a navy on the lakes. The United States had then but one old transport vessel on Lake Erie, which was repairing, and was not even launched for a month after the declaration of war. He represented to the government that unless the Northwestern Army was strengthened by addition to its numbers, and followed by detachments to keep open the communication, and insure supplies from the State of Ohio; and without the aid of a superior naval force on Lake Erie, it would be impossible for that army to carry on offensive operations in Upper Canada, or even to maintain its position at Detroit. But the war department disregarded these suggestions, and expected General Hull to get command of the lakes with the forces placed at his disposal. Nothing could be more chimerical, unless General Dearborn had been ready to coöperate with a powerful army on the Niagara strait. By the capture of Malden, with all the British forces in that quarter, and by an efficient invasion at the same time from Niagara so as to cut off the communication of the British with Lake Erie and the upper country, the objects of the government might have been effected, without the expense of a navy on Lake Erie. But General Dearborn was not even ready to make an attempt at invasion, before the unfortunate affair at Queenstown on the 12th of October. While Hull was invading Upper Canada Dearborn was lying at his ease at Greenbush, and on the 9th of August he concluded an armistice with the governor-general of the Canadas, which was not to extend above Fort Erie on the Niagara. This measure was proposed by General Prevost, in consequence of

intelligence that the orders in council were repealed. By excluding General Hull from the benefit of this arrangement his opponent, General Brock, would have been able in a short time to bring all the British forces against him. This forms no excuse, however, for the surrender of Detroit, for the armistice below was unknown to General Hull till he was informed of it after the capitulation to General Brock. In this instance General Dearborn acted very imprudently, in suffering himself to be lulled by an armistice, which was disapproved by the President, when it was his duty to coöperate with the Northwestern Army, by threatening an invasion at least, which would prevent General Brock from pressing with all his force against Hull. Thus, in the catalogue of our early failures, we discover many blunders and causes of miscarriage, besides those for which the commander of the Northwestern Army has to answer."

Hull's Trail or trace, which was opened from Urbana to the Scioto River (Fort McArthur) and which ran thence north to Fort Necessity, Fort Findlay and from there still northward to the Maumee River and on to Frenchtown (Monroe) and to Detroit, became an important military road and route of travel for civilians. From Fort Necessity in now Hancock County, the trail to the northward followed the line of present Main Street, Findlay, kept close to the present Dixie Highway route, ran a little west of where is now Cygnet and reached the west branch of the Portage River, just south of the Village of Portage, Wood County, and some eighty rods west of the Dixie route. Here a stockade or storehouse was built for supplies; and going east along the south bank of the river, the army crossed the Portage at almost the point where the New York Central Railroad now has its bridge crossing there. The trail then ran northward along the present railroad line through Bowling Green, Ohio, after which it turned westward and reached the Maumee River opposite Presque Isle Hill and Turkey Foot Rock. The nature of the river here made it one of the best fording points along the stream at ordinary water stage, and from the left bank or present Lucas County side of the river, the course lay through where is Maumee until the site of Fort Miami was reached. Here Hull's army veered to the westward and followed through where is now Toledo, on the line of Detroit Avenue. From the River Raisin at Frenchtown (Monroe) the trail reached near the bank of the Detroit River, where it enters Lake Erie and followed across the River Rouge to where is now the central business section of Detroit. Northwestern Ohio

from the Greenville Treaty line near Fort McArthur to the north Ohio boundary, was Indian Lands.

Mention has been made of the appeal of General Hull at Detroit to Governor Meigs of Ohio at Chillicothe for supplies and the necessity of keeping open the line of communication between the Ohio country and Detroit. The messenger who carried the dispatch from General Hull to Governor Meigs already quoted, necessarily traveled along Hull's Trail in his route south to Ohio. Of the company raised at Chillicothe that July evening to guard the supply train of seventy pack-horses carrying 14,000 pounds of flour and the 300 beef cattle, one of the volunteer privates from Chillicothe was a Mr. Williams, who kept a daily account of the expedition's journey, also over Hull's Trail northward.

The volunteer company of near one hundred members made up from the best citizens of Chillicothe, under the command of Capt. Henry Brush, left Ohio's capital July 21, 1812, and were escorted beyond the limits of the town by a large procession of citizens. A brief farewell address, wishing success for the expedition was delivered, and was ably responded to by Captain Brush on behalf of the company, the captain being a prominent Chillicothe attorney.

The first day's march was twenty-one miles to the quarters of General Timmons, where they encamped in a grove, lying on the ground in the open air, without tents. The march the next day was over thirty miles, through the "barrens," or open plains, where the men were exposed nearly all day to the fierce rays of a mid-summer's sun, in very sultry weather. A march of nineteen miles the third day brought them to Urbana in the afternoon, where they encamped on the commons. The indoor occupations of nearly all the company had wholly unfitted them for long marches on foot and exposure to the sun, each carrying a weight of thirty pounds, and hampered by the straps and fastenings of his outfit. Marching thus all day, and sleeping at night on the cold ground, without tents, was very severe. Mr. Williams writing to his wife from Urbana, on July 24, 1812, says, "My limbs were so stiff and sore at the end of each day's march that I could hardly walk."

After a detention of two days at Urbana, and being reinforced by about twenty soldiers of the Fourth United States Infantry who had been in the battle of Tippecanoe, the company resumed its march on the 25th, having in charge the brigade of seventy pack-horses, each laden with 200 pounds of flour, in a

bag, lashed on a pack-saddle. The drove of about three hundred beef cattle was also an important adjunct. The order of march was thus: a scouting party of three or four men went in advance, a half mile or more; the company usually in single file; next followed the brigade of pack-horses; and after them the drove of cattle. On each side, at the distance of some two hundred yards, marched a flank guard of eight or ten men of the company on horseback. The regulars under the command of Sergeant Story, formed the rear guard. In the evening they encamped on the Indian boundary line, the frontier of the settlements, where they remained over the Sabbath, July 26th (Greenville Treaty line).

On Monday, 27th, they entered the Indian territory; and thence their march was through an uninhabited wilderness, where there was no road except the trace, the width of a wagon track, cut by General Hull's army, and much cut up by his baggage-wagons and cavalry horses. In a letter to his wife dated at Fort M'Arthur, on the Scioto River July 29, 1812, Mr. Williams describes the usual routine of a day and night on the march:

"While we are waiting a few minutes to store part of our baggage and provisions in this fort, to lighten our baggage-wagons for a more rapid march, I seize a moment to tell you that I am very well, in good spirits, and much improved in strength and general health. The fatigues and hardships of a soldier's life are just what I needed. You would hardly believe it possible for me to endure what I daily undergo in common with my fellow soldiers. Our food is coarse, and cooked in the roughest manner. For whole days together we have had to use the water from stagnant ponds, or from the wagon ruts and horse-tracks in the road. We sleep upon the cold damp ground, without tents. One-third of the company are on guard every night; so that each one of us, after a hard day's march, has every third night to mount guard and stand sentry four hours—or half the night—and during the remaining four hours turn out hourly to receive the 'grand round,' and 'relief' to the guard. The whole company not on guard sleep on their arms with all their accoutrements on, ready for an attack from the hostile Indian tribes occupying the country.

"You would smile at our mode of cooking, could you see us thus employed. Our company is divided into messes of six men each. Our rations are delivered to each mess when we encamp at night. This consists of flour, fat bacon, and salt. The flour is kneaded

in a broad, iron camp kettle, and drawn out in long rolls the size of a man's wrist, and coiled around a smooth pole some three inches in diameter and five or six feet long, on which the dough is flattened so as to be half an inch or more in thickness. The pole thus covered with dough, except a few inches at each end, is placed on two wooden forks driven into the ground in front of the campfire, and turned frequently till it is baked, when it is cut off in pieces, and the pole covered again in the same manner and baked. Our meat is cooked thus: a branch of a tree having several twigs on it is cut, and the ends of the twigs sharpened; the fat bacon is cut in slices and stuck on these twigs, leaving a little space between each, and then held in the blaze and smoked until cooked. Each man then takes a piece of the pole-bread and lays thereon a slice of bacon, and with his knife cuts therefrom and eats his meal with a good appetite. Enough is thus cooked each night to serve for the next day; each man stowing in his knapsack his own day's provision."

A few miles north of Fort Findlay, on Blanchard River—now the flourishing town of Findlay—the expedition entered the Black Swamp, through which Hull's Trail passed, and much of which was almost impassable. On the 2nd of August they reached the Maumee River.

After marching for many days through dense forests and thickets, and wading much of the way through deep and extensive swamps and morasses, to emerge suddenly therefrom into the dry, open plains on the east bank of the Maumee River, Wood County, was a transition so great that it had a most exhilarating effect upon the feelings of the weary and burdened travelers. A description of these plains and the Maumee Rapids, and the territory after crossing the river, together with some historical reminiscences of the localities, are given by Mr. Williams to his wife, dated, "Encampment, Foot of Maumee Rapids, August 3rd, 1812." He says:

"The country we yesterday passed through is the most delightful I have ever seen. Our route was, most of the day, over natural plains of many miles in extent, apparently as level as the ocean, seemingly bounded only by the distant horizon, and interspersed with a few small islets, or groves, of oak and hickory timber and hazel bushes, and here and there a solitary oak tree or two, standing out in the open expanse. These isolated trees and groves contribute much to the beauty of the scenery. But this is not all. These plains are covered with a most luxuri-

ant growth of grass and herbs, and an endless variety of beautiful native flowers—Cardinal Flower, Lady of the Lake, Blue Flag, Honeysuckles, Red Lobelia, Wild Fox-Glove, Wild Iris and Wild Columbine, representing all the hues of the rainbow and loading the atmosphere with their perfume. These fill up the picture I have hastily drawn, and 'lend enchantment to the view.' Indeed, I had almost imagined that Gray must have seen this plain before he penned his inimitable 'Elegy,' and that it was in reference to it he wrote these beautiful lines:

'Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.'

"What a rich field this is for the botanist! Here are hundreds of plants, herbs and flowers, which were unknown to Linnaeus or any of his successors in that science. Some portions of these plains are rich and dry land; other parts are of a wet, cold and stiff clay soil.

"The Rapids of the Maumee, I am told, are nine miles in length, and form a succession of small rapids, the principal one of which is at the place where this road crosses the river. Here the whole channel is stratified limestone rock, in horizontal strata and divided, at distances of three or four feet, by parallel vertical seams, running diagonally across the whole channel, which is about forty rods wide. The descent of the current over the successive ledges of rock, forms beautiful little cascades, at distances of a few yards between. The Rapids terminate five miles below the ford; and from hence to the head of the Maumee Bay, a distance of some twelve miles, the river is from a quarter to a half mile or more in width, and navigable for the largest vessels, which readily ascend to the foot of the Rapids.

"The plain on which we encamped last night, was the battle ground on which Gen. Anthony Wayne defeated and totally routed and dispersed the combined Indian forces, on the 20th of August, 1794—eighteen years ago.

"This morning we moved down the river about five miles, and encamped on the upper end of a large and beautiful plain, bordering on the left bank of the river, a few rods below the old British Fort, and on the very ground upon which the great battle above described terminated. Here, by order of General Hull, we are to remain till reinforced by a company of volunteers from Cleveland, and another from Sandusky, both daily expected to arrive. Near our encampment, in the bank of the river, is a large spring

of pure, cold water, which is very refreshing after drinking, as we very often did, from the puddles in the road."

The account of the various attempts of detachments from Hull's army to form a junction with the troops of Captain Brush in order to escort the supply train to Detroit has already been given. While these abortive efforts to relieve Major Brush were being made, his little battalion, numbering only some two hundred and thirty men, were in a position of great peril. The road and the whole territory between them and the American army was occupied by a large force of the enemy, within four hours' march of their encampment. The Americans were, therefore, in hourly expectation of an attack from the enemy, who might at any time have overpowered them by a force five or ten times their number, and massacred them all, as was the case of the unfortunate Kentucky brigade, under the command of General Winchester, at the same place the following winter.

The daily occurrences, with whatever apparently authentic news that reached their encampment, are minutely given in the letters now written almost every day by Mr. Williams to his wife and others. In a letter to Governor Tiffin, dated August 11th, after noting the battle of Brownstown, three days previous, he adds: "It is certain that our affairs on this frontier wear a very serious and gloomy aspect. All communication between us and Detroit has been for several days wholly cut off by the enemy."

The last of his series of letters to Mrs. Williams is dated Friday, August 14th, in which is the following paragraph: "All thought of being able to proceed to Detroit is now abandoned and our attention is turned exclusively to fortifying our position, and putting it in the best state of defense that we can. If the enemy should bring their field artillery to the attack—which, if they come, they will surely do—our rotten stockade will be battered to the ground in ten minutes. What our fate will be I cannot tell. But if we fall, we shall sell our lives as dearly as we can. We have lost all confidence in General Hull. In any event we cannot remain here longer than this week, or the middle of next."

He tells then of the surrender of General Hull and continues:

"The surrender of Detroit and the whole army was an event so unlooked for, so extraordinary, so astonishing, that the papers were regarded as forgeries and Captain Elliott (British and son of the notorious Matthew Elliott), being regarded as a spy, was immediately placed in confinement under guard. In the afternoon, however, three or four of the well known Ohio Volunteers

from Detroit, who were absent from the fort when it was surrendered, made their escape and arrived at Major Brush's encampment, fully confirming the sad news. A council of war was held in the evening, and it was unanimously resolved that the battalion should disregard the surrender and make their way back to Ohio. Accordingly every preparation was made, except that of cooking food, for which there was no time, and about 10 o'clock that night—Captain Elliott being first liberated, the men took up their march homeward. The night was cloudy and dark, and in the dense forest the narrow road could only be kept by traveling in the mud.

"Early the next morning they had reached the foot of the Maumee Rapids, thirty-four miles. Here the few inhabitants furnished them a scanty breakfast of whatever could be gathered up, and the march was resumed. After crossing the river, Captain Rowland's company took the Sandusky road, and Captain Brush's that to Urbana. The march was continued all day and till midnight, when getting into the Black Swamp, where it was all mud, it was found impossible to distinguish where the road lay. A halt was called, and every man sought for himself a dry place at the root of some tree, where he sat on his knapsack and, leaning against a tree, slept till dawn the next morning, when the march was continued. A courier was sent ahead on horseback to Fort Findlay, on the Blanchard Fork, where on the arrival of the company about noon, they enjoyed the luxury of a good and plentiful meal of bread and jerked beef, hastily prepared for them by the sergeant's guard stationed at that post."

To this point the company was pursued by "Brigadier-General Tecumseh," the noted Shawnee chief, at the head of 300 mounted Indians, sent by General Brock to capture and bring them back as escaped prisoners. But finding by the "sign," the footprints of the marchers, that they were several hours in advance of them, and would reach the settlements before they could be overtaken, the pursuit was abandoned, and Tecumseh and his brigade returned.

The march was continued from Fort Findlay immediately after taking their meal, and late that night the company reached Fort M'Arthur, on the Scioto River. The next morning they made a very early start through a heavy rain, which continued the whole day, and in the evening arrived at "Manary's Block-House," on the Indian boundary, where was stationed a company of United States Rangers, under the command of General Manary. Here

every possible kindness was shown to the weary fugitives by the general and his men. Fires were made in all the huts, and their wet clothing dried, and the rangers gave up their "bunks"—berths—for the repose of the visitors.

Here the company entered the settlements, and being no longer in danger of pursuit, they continued their march more leisurely. At Urbana they separated into small parties for greater ease in traveling, and generally reached their homes at Chillicothe on Monday, August 23rd, after an absence of five weeks, without the loss of a man.

Although the company thus escaped from the enemy, our Government recognized them as prisoners, and they were a few months afterward, regularly exchanged, and were ordered by Governor Meigs to be credited for a full tour of duty.

It will be noted that the forces returned as far as the Maumee Rapids on the same route they passed up. Here a part of the convoy turned to the left and marched over the Lower Sandusky (Fremont) trail. The Chillicothe detachment passed south again through present Wood County as they went. When Williams says "every man sought for himself a dry place at the root of a tree," the place was evidently but a few miles south of present Bowling Green. Manary's Block-House was on the northern border of now Logan County, and while built on the border line between the Indian Lands and the government territory (Greenville Treaty line) by private settlers, had been taken over and occupied by the government.

Another most valuable historical fact is the statement that the celebrated Indian chief and statesman Tecumseh, at the head of 300 warriors, passed up and back on "Hull's Trail" on Wood County soil, marching within a short distance of Fort Findlay. This Williams, by the way, in December, 1808, carried the presidential electoral vote of Ohio from Chillicothe to Washington on horseback.

Reverting to the proceedings at Chicago before taking up the next step of the government. When General Hull at Detroit was warned of the fate of Mackinaw, the last of July (1812) he sent an express by way of Fort Wayne to Captain Heald, who commanded at Fort Dearborn, near the mouth of the Chicago River and at the southwest extremity at Lake Michigan, with orders to dismantle the fort and deliver to the Indians in that neighborhood all the public property of his possession, which he could not bring away. Captain Wells, who lived at Fort Wayne, volunteered his

services with the aid of about fifty Miami Indians, to bring away the garrison with the women and children. He set out from Fort Wayne about the 3d, and arrived at Chicago on the 12th of August. For several days a large number of Pottawatomies, and Winnebagoes had been encamped round the fort, but most of them professed to be friendly. Tecumseh and the British kept up a regular correspondence by runners with those Indians, who were waiting to hear the result of the contest about Malden before they would join either side. On the 14th, Captain Heald distributed the public stores among the different tribes, with which they were much pleased. In the evening of the same day, Mr. Griffith, who acted as an interpreter and trader at Fort Dearborn, was informed by a chief whose name was Black Partridge, that "leaden birds had been singing in his ears," and that they ought to be careful on the march they were going to take. From his suggestion, it was evident that the Indians had been holding councils on the subject of commencing hostilities. Their number in the neighborhood of the fort now amounted to five or six hundred.

On the morning of the 15th at sunrise, the troops, consisting of about seventy men, with some women and children, marched from the fort, with the pack-horses in the center, and Captain Wells with his Indians in the rear. They had proceeded about a mile from the fort, when the front guard was fired on by the savages, who were posted behind a sandbank on the margin of the lake and in a skirt of woods which the party was approaching, the rest of the country around them being an open prairie. At the same time they saw a body of Indians passing to their rear, to cut off their retreat to the fort. The firing now became general, and the troops seeing nothing but death and massacre before them formed in line of battle and returned the fire of the enemy with much bravery and success, as they slowly retreated into the prairie. The Indians made several desperate efforts to rush up and tomahawk them; but every charge was repulsed by the firmness of the troops, who fought with desperation, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible. Captain Wells being killed, his Indians retired from the party and joined the others. Several women and children were also killed; and the American ranks were at last so reduced as scarcely to exceed twenty effective men, yet they continued resolute and stuck together, resolved to fight while one remained able to fire. But the Indians now withdrew some distance and sent a small French boy to demand a surrender.

The boy was Captain Heald's interpreter, who had run off to the Indians at the commencement of the action. He advanced cautiously, and Mr. Griffith, who was afterwards a lieutenant in a company of spies in Colonel Johnson's regiment from Kentucky, advanced to meet him, intending to kill him for his perfidy. But the boy declared that it was the only way he had to save his life and appeared sorry that he had been obliged to act in that manner. He then made known his business; the Indians proposed to spare the lives of the men, provided they would surrender. The proposal being made known to the surviving soldiers, they unanimously determined to reject it. The boy returned with this answer to the Indians, but in a short time he came back and entreated Mr. Griffith to use his influence with Captain Heald, to make him surrender, as the Indians were very numerous. The captain, his lady, and Mr. Griffith were all wounded. He at last consented to surrender, and the troops having laid down their arms, the Indians advanced to receive them; and notwithstanding their promises, they now perfidiously tomahawked three or four of the men. One Indian with the fury of a demon in his countenance, advanced to Mrs. Heald with his tomahawk drawn. She had been accustomed to danger, and knowing the temper of the Indians, with great presence of mind she looked him in the face and smiling said: "Surely you will not kill a squaw."

His arm fell nerveless; the conciliating smile of an innocent female, appealing to the magnanimity of a warrior, reached the heart of the savage and subdued the barbarity of his soul. He immediately took the lady under his protection. She was the daughter of Gen. Samuel Wells of Kentucky. The head of Captain Wells was cut off; and his heart was cut out and eaten by the savages.

The Indians having divided their prisoners as usual in such cases, it was the fate of Captain Heald, his lady and Mr. Griffith, to be taken by the Ottawas on the lake beyond the mouth of the River St. Joseph. Their wounds being severe, they looked upon destruction as inevitable; but heaven often smiles when least expected. Griffith had observed a canoe which was large enough to carry them; and they contrived to escape in it by night. In this frail bark they traversed the lake 200 miles to Mackinaw, where the British commander afforded them the means of returning to the United States.

The attack on the garrison of Chicago was caused by intelligence received from Tecumseh. On the night previous to the

evacuation of the fort, a runner had arrived with information from Tecumseh that Major Van Horn had been defeated at Brownstown, that the army under Hull had returned to Detroit, and that there was every prospect of success. This intelligence decided the Indians in that quarter to join the British side and they resolved to remain no longer inactive.

PETER NAVARRE

General Harrison's Chief Scout in the War of 1812.
From painting in possession of the Toledo Public Library

CHAPTER XLI

OPERATIONS OF HARRISON AND WINCHESTER

WINCHESTER HEADS ARMY—INVESTMENT OF FORT WAYNE BY THE INDIANS—HARRISON SENDS RELIEF—WINCHESTER'S OPERATIONS AT HEAD OF MAUMEE—HARRISON APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF—BUILDS FORT WINCHESTER—PLANS FOR THE CAMPAIGN—RIGHT AND LEFT WING AND CENTER—ROADS AND WEATHER CONDITIONS DISASTROUS MENACE—EXPEDITION OF GENERAL TUPPER TO MAUMEE RAPIDS—STORY OF CAPTAIN LOGAN THE INDIAN—ADVANCE OF WINCHESTER DOWN THE MAUMEE.

President Madison was authorized to levy one hundred thousand detached militia among the states for service. When Governor Meigs became fully informed of the deplorable situation at Detroit, he immediately ordered the remaining twelve hundred members of Ohio's quota to rendezvous under Brig.-Gen. Edward W. Tupper at Urbana near the southern boundary of the so-called Indian Lands. Further, when Hull's surrender became known, the governor used every effort to place the effective forces under his control in the best situation of defense; and as a protection to their families and property, warned the frontiersmen to build centralized block-houses and stockades.

Governor Harrison of Indiana, who had been also commissioned commander of the troops of that Territory, together with the forces of Illinois, had displayed his efficiency and good judgment by providing places of security for the settlers under his jurisdiction. He was also authorized to call on Gov. Charles Scott of Kentucky for any troops needed from that state not already in service. The reliable veteran governor of Kentucky had been prompt in assembling the quota of ten regiments averaging five hundred and fifty each required from that state, and by the invitation of Governor Scott who was with Harrison in Wayne's campaign against the Indians, Harrison visited Frankfort where he inspected the militia, was given a rousing public reception; "the principal citizens including Henry Clay gathering to do him honor." For the purpose of placing him in chief command of the Kentucky forces, Governor Scott also on August 25th, 1812, commissioned Harrison "Major-General of the Militia of Kentucky by brevet." It was not known at the time

by Governor Scott or Harrison that the latter had three days before been commissioned by President Madison as Brigadier-General in the Army of the United States. General Harrison appointed the Hon. R. M. Johnson, Wm. S. Hunter and John Logan of Kentucky his aides.

From Cincinnati on August 27, 1812, Harrison informed Governor Meigs that the Kentucky troops present with him were two regiments of infantry and one regiment of mounted riflemen; which were immediately ordered to Urbana. Harrison also stated that three regiments of infantry and one of dragoons and one of mounted riflemen, were on the way to join him; the whole force totaling over four thousand men. It was the intention of Harrison—should the report of Hull's surrender prove untrue, to join at Urbana the forces assembling there, or meet them before they arrived at that point. He also wanted to know of Governor Meigs what assistance he could receive from Ohio. Marching up the Miami Valley, the Kentucky troops were on the third day overtaken by General Harrison before they reached Urbana and he was enthusiastically received. Above Dayton on September 2nd, a messenger overtook the marchers bearing to General Harrison his government appointment and also instructions for him to take command of the Illinois and Indiana troops and coöperate with General Hull and Governor Howard of Missouri Territory, in consequence of Gen. James Winchester being assigned to the command of the Army of the Northwest. General Harrison had some hesitancy in accepting the appointment until the status between himself and Winchester was definitely understood.

On September 3rd, the troops as McAfee says "arrived at Piqua eighty miles from Cincinnati and only three miles from the outside settlements. Piqua is the Indian name for this place, which is called Washington by the people of Ohio. It is a little village situated on the west bank of the Great Miami River."

General Harrison here learning of the investment by the neighboring Indians of Fort Wayne, which in 1804 had been rebuilt by Col. Thomas Hunt, immediately detached the regiment of Colonel Allen, and two companies from the regiment of Colonel Lewis and one from Colonel Scott, with instructions to make a forced march for its relief. A regiment of seven hundred mounted men under the command of Colonel Adams had also advanced as far as Shane's Crossing of the St. Marys (present Rockford). McAfee says this corps was composed of the citizens

of Ohio, of all ages and conditions, who had, unsolicited by the government, volunteered and organized themselves for the protection of the frontiers, and the relief of Fort Wayne. Many gentlemen, who held important offices in the state, and not a few of the most wealthy and respectable citizens of Cincinnati, were to be found in this regiment. Such, indeed was the ardor of the citizens to serve in this way, that every road to the frontiers was crowded with unsolicited volunteers. Their zeal was highly honorable to themselves, but in the end it proved disadvantageous to the cause; for they consumed much of the provisions which had been accumulated at the outposts by the orders of General Hull, the want of which was afterwards severely felt.

On the evening of the 4th, General Harrison received further intelligence that a British and Indian force had left Malden on the 18th of August, to join the Indians already at the siege. Having previously been advised that General Winchester was ordered by the war department to take command of the troops destined to reinforce the Northwestern Army, he had intended to resign them to him at Piqua, for which purpose he had written to Winchester to come on to that place; but on learning the critical situation of Fort Wayne, he determined not to wait for Winchester, but to retain the command till he had relieved the fort.

Early next day, the 5th of September, he paraded the remainder of the troops, and delivered them a speech, in which he stated that Fort Wayne was in imminent danger, and that it was absolutely necessary to make forced marches to relieve it. He read several articles of war prescribing the duty of soldiers, and explained the necessity for such regulations. He then observed that if there was any person who would not submit to such regulations, or who was afraid to risk his life in defense of his country, he might return home, as he did not wish to have any person with him who was afraid to fight or unwilling to discharge his duties. One man only said he wished to return, and his friends having obtained leave as usual to escort him on his way, he was hoisted on a rail and carried to the Big Miami, in the waters of which they absolved him from the obligations of courage and patriotism, and then gave him leave of absence.

The troops were detained here till the 6th for want of flints, a very small, yet indispensable article. On that day they marched, leaving the greater part of their clothes and heavy baggage at Piqua, and overtook Colonel Allen's regiment early on the 8th at St. Marys River, where an express from the general had over-

taken him with orders to halt and build some block-houses, for the security of provisions and the protection of the sick. This place is commonly known by the name of (James) Girty's Town. (St. Marys). The men were here put on half rations, but any one who did not like such fare had leave to remain at the block-houses. Major R. M. Johnson arrived on the evening of the same day, with a corps of mounted volunteers, consisting of the companies of Captains Arnold and Johnson, and a company from Mason County under the command of Captain Ward. The army was now about two thousand two hundred men strong.

While the troops were at Piqua, Mr. Johnson the Indian agent, at the request of General Harrison, had procured some Shawanoe Indians to go down to the mouth of the Auglaize, the site of old Fort Defiance, and examine whether any British force had passed up to the siege of Fort Wayne. A Shawanoe half blood by the name of Logan, who had received his name in consequence of his having been taken prisoner when a boy by General Logan in an excursion from Kentucky, had also been sent by the agent to ascertain the situation of the fort. He was an Indian of great merit, and a chief warrior in his tribe. He was about six feet high and robust, with broad shoulders and a prominent forehead. He was much attached to General Harrison and a warm friend to our cause, which he promoted by acting as a guide and a spy for our army. On his trip to Fort Wayne he eluded all the vigilance of the enemy, got into the fort, and returned with the information of its being besieged. He also brought intelligence that Stephen Johnson, a brother to the Indian agent, had been killed in sight of the fort, while attempting to escape as an express, and that the Indians had tried every stratagem to get possession of the fort. This information was important, as well as the report of the Indians from the Auglaize, that there was no appearance of a British army having gone up the Miami of the Lakes (Maumee). The hostile Indians were taking similar measures to obtain information of Harrison's movements. On the night of the 8th, while the army lay in tolerably open order at the St. Marys, the besiegers at Fort Wayne sent their spies to examine it. They did not get around the camp before daylight, and returned with a report that "Kentucky was coming as numerous as the trees."

Early next morning the army marched for Fort Wayne, except the mounted volunteers, who remained till 12 o'clock to rest their horses and elect a major to command the corps. R. M. Johnson was chosen for this office, and Benjamin S. Chambers

was appointed quartermaster, and the Reverend James Suggette, adjutant to his battalion. The army arrived in the evening at the camp of Colonel Adams, at Shane's Crossing of the St. Marys (now Rockford, Ohio); and Major Johnson came up in the night and encamped half a mile above the main army. On the morning of the 10th, some delay was caused by repairing broken wagons and making other necessary arrangements. General Harrison was unremitting in the discharge of his duties. Every department underwent his personal inspection; and the temper and condition of every corps in the army was known to him.

The arrival of Harrison's troops at Fort Wayne for its relief on September 12, 1812, was a source of great joy to the garrison and to the people who had taken refuge within the works. As McAfee again states, the Indians had fled, most of them on the evening before, and some only a few minutes before the appearance of the army. They were pursued by the Ohio horsemen, but without success. The fort had been closely invested for ten or twelve days by the Indians, who had made several pieces of wooden cannon by boring out pieces of timber, and strengthening them with iron hoops. The army encamped round the fort, where a few days previous there had been a handsome little village; but it was now in ruins, having been burnt down by the Indians, together with the United States' factory, which had been erected to furnish the ungrateful wretches with farming utensils.

Until the 1st of September, the savages about the fort had professed friendship, with a view to get possession of it by some stratagem. Captain Rhea, who commanded, was addicted to intoxication, for which and his other misconduct he was arrested by General Harrison; but on account of his age he was permitted to resign. The fort was well prepared to resist a siege by Indians, as it had plenty of provisions and water, and about seventy men with four small field pieces. It was delightfully situated on an eminence on the south bank of the Maumee immediately below the formation of that river by the junction of the St. Marys from the southwest with the St. Josephs from the north. It was well constructed of block-houses and picketing, but could not resist a British force, as there were several eminences on the south side, from which it could be commanded by a six or nine pounder.

This was the place where the Miami Indians formerly had their principal town; and here many an unfortunate prisoner suffered death by burning at the stake. It was here also that General Harmar suffered his army to be cut up and defeated in

detachments after he had burnt the town in the fall of the year 1790. For more than a century before that time it had been the principal place of rendezvous between the Indians of the lakes, and those of the Wabash and Illinois, and had been much restored about the year 1756 and previously, by French traders from Canada. The portage to the nearest navigable branch of the Wabash was but seven or eight miles, through a level marshy prairie, from which the water ran both to the Wabash and St. Marys. The corn which had been cultivated in the fields by the villagers, was nearly all destroyed by the Indians; the remains served as forage for the mounted troops. Captain Wells, who was massacred at Chicago, had a handsome farm in the forks of the river, with some good buildings, which were all destroyed in the general devastation.

On the day after the arrival of the army, reconnoitering parties were sent out in every direction, and at the same time a council of field officers was convened, in which it was determined, agreeably to plans submitted by General Harrison, to divide the army into two divisions and march on the next day in quest of the Indians and their towns. The first division was composed of the regiments of Lewis and Allen, and Captain Garrard's troops of horse, under General Payne and accompanied by General Harrison. They were to destroy the Miami villages at the forks of the Wabash, about thirty miles from the fort. The other division was to destroy the Pottawatomie village on the Elkhart River, a branch of the St. Josephs of Lake Michigan. It was to be commanded by Col. Samuel Wells, and to consist of one battalion under Johnson and the mounted men from Ohio under Adams. The greater part of the latter corps, however, returned home next morning. The main object which the general expected to accomplish by the proposed expeditions, was to destroy the corn of the Indians so that they could not find the means of subsistence for making another attack on the fort.

The party under Payne, having traversed a fine region of country, arrived on the 15th at the village in the forks, which was abandoned by the Indians. They encamped in the town, destroyed all its huts and cabins, and cut up the corn and other vegetables in the fields. Next day the spies discovered several other deserted villages lower down, which were all in like manner destroyed. The tomb of a chief, built of logs and daubed with clay, was found in one of these villages. He was laid on his blanket, with his gun and his pipe by his side, and a small tin pan on

his breast containing a wooden spoon, and a number of earrings and broaches—all deemed necessary no doubt on his journey to the other world. On the 18th they arrived again at the fort, without having lost a man or having seen a living Indian.

The party under Wells had to march about sixty miles to the village against which they were sent. Captain Audrain, who was son-in-law, and Mr. Wells, who was son to the colonel, went with them as guides; and Captain Arnold's company marched at the distance of near a mile in front to act as spies. On the 16th, having crossed the Elkhart River, above the village about three miles, the line of battle was formed on a plain, thinly timbered. Major Johnson's mounted battalion was placed in front on the left flank, and Major Dunlap's mounted men on the right in front; with orders to advance to the right and left of the town and surround it. The infantry were formed in line of battle, then broke off by heads of companies, and followed the others in rapid motion. In a few minutes the mounted men were in the rear of the village, but to the regret of every person it was found destitute of inhabitants, the Indians having fled two days previous. They had left a considerable quantity of corn, gathered and laid on scaffolds to dry, with abundance of beans, potatoes and other vegetables, which furnished ample store of provision for the men and forage for the horses. This village was called Five Medals, from a chief of that name who made it his residence. On a pole before the door of that chief, a red flag was hung with a broom tied above it, and on another pole at the tomb of an old woman, a white flag was flying. The body of the old woman was entire, sitting upright with her face towards the east, and a basket beside her containing trinkets, such as owl and hawk bills and claws, a variety of bones, and bunches of roots tied together; all of which indicated that she had been revered as a sorceress, and probably a doctress. In one of the huts was found a morning report of one of Hull's captains—also a Liberty Hall newspaper printed at Cincinnati, containing an account of General Harrison's army. Several coarse bags, which appeared to have contained shot, and pieces of boxes with London and Malden printed on them, were also picked up in the cabins, which proved that these Indians were intimately connected with the British, and had been furnished with information by some traitor in our own country. The village with about seventy acres of corn was totally destroyed, and on the same evening the army returned as far as the Elkhart River. On the 18th the main body arrived at the fort a few

hours after the party under Payne. In the meantime Colonel Simrall had arrived on the 17th, with his regiment of dragoons, armed with muskets, 320 strong (and a company of mounted riflemen under Colonel Farrow, from Montgomery County, Kentucky). General Harrison sent them on the evening of the 18th to the town of Little Turtle, about twenty miles to the northwest, with orders to destroy it all, except the buildings erected by the United States for the Little Turtle, whose friendship for the Americans after the treaty of Greenville, had contributed greatly to the preservation of peace. Colonel Simrall executed his orders with a degree of promptness and dispatch, and on the 19th he returned in the evening to the Fort Wayne.

It was September 19th, 1812, that Gen. James Winchester, in pursuance to his appointment, arrived at Fort Wayne to assume command of the Northwest Army and more immediately the first troops which had marched from Kentucky as reinforcements. Like Harmar, St. Clair and Hull, he had been a Revolutionary officer and was advanced in years. He was a wealthy citizen of Tennessee where he had lived many years in a degree of elegant luxury and ease, which was not calculated to season him for a northern campaign in the forest. His arrival produced much uneasiness among the troops; being a regular officer, with whom they were unacquainted, many of the militia seemed disposed not to be commanded by him. General Harrison with the field officers had to exert all their influence to reconcile the army to the change. The troops had confidently expected that General Harrison would be confirmed in the command, and by this time he had completely secured the confidence of every soldier in the army. He was affable and courteous in his manners, and indefatigable in his attention to every branch of business. His soldiers seemed to anticipate the wishes of their general; it was only necessary to be known that he wished something done, and all were anxious to risk their lives in its accomplishment. His men would have fought better and suffered more with him than with any other general in America; and whatever might have been the merits of General Winchester, it was certainly an unfortunate arrangement which transferred the command to him at this moment. The men were at last reconciled to march under Winchester, but with a confident belief that Harrison would yet be reinstated in the command; and which accordingly was done, as soon as the war department was informed of his appointment in the Kentucky troops, and his popularity in the western country.

At the same time that the command of the troops at Fort Wayne were transferred to General Winchester, General Harrison informed him that any other part of the infantry which he might deem necessary to the execution of his plans, would be placed at his disposal. On the same evening, General Harrison turned back to take command of the forces collecting in the rear, and to prepare for a mounted expedition against Detroit. He intended to make a coup de main on that place, with a mounted force which would march by an unfrequented route from Fort Wayne, up the St. Josephs to the headwaters of the river Raisin. The troops collecting in the rear, were the three regiments from Kentucky under Barbee, Poague and Jennings; and three companies of mounted riflemen from the same state under Captains Roper, Bacon and Clarke; and also a corps of mounted men from Ohio, who were rendezvoused at Dayton on the 15th, in pursuance of a previous call by Meigs and Harrison, which had been made early in September with a view to employ them in an expedition against some of the Indian towns. This corps was commanded by Colonel Findlay, who had entered the service again after being surrendered by Hull.

To advance his own plans, General Winchester had removed his camp into the forks of the St. Marys and St. Josephs rivers and early on the 22nd he marched down the Maumee on the north side, following very nearly the route by which General Wayne had returned after the battle of Fallen Timbers. Winchester's object was to go as far as the old Fort Defiance at the junction of the Auglaize and the Maumee, and wait there for the arrival of the infantry in the rear, who were to come down the river from St. Marys.

It would be interesting to follow the detailed movements of Winchester's forces, as well as those under Harrison from this point, but through the various operations of Winchester's scouts and detachments of his troops, it was discovered that two hundred regulars under the British Major Muir, with four pieces of artillery and one thousand Indians under the command of Captain Elliott, had arrived at the junction of the Maumee and Auglaize and that they were the advance force of an army destined to attack Fort Wayne. They had brought their baggage and artillery up the Maumee River to old Fort Defiance where they had left their boats and were advancing up the south side of the Maumee towards Fort Wayne. But evidently on learning of the situation of Winchester's men and a prospect of his receiving

additional troops, Muir with his British and Indians retreated down the Maumee towards Detroit seemingly to the great relief of Winchester as appears later. An express was sent to General Harrison advising him of the retreat of Muir, and Winchester, it being now September 30th, moved his camp down the Maumee from the direction of Fort Wayne and to within a mile of old Defiance. Here he fortified himself on the high river bank and remained several days. On October 1st, Colonel Lewis was detached with 380 men to proceed down the Maumee and ascertain whether Muir with his enemy force had entirely deserted that section, and he found evidences of their full withdrawal. Winchester now called upon Governor Meigs of Ohio for more troops and on account of the approaching winter, was speeding up his preparations to advance on the enemy, when there came a radical change.

General Harrison, following McAfee's story, had arrived at Piqua to expedite the supplies for his part of the army and mature his arrangements for the coup de main on Detroit. But there on the evening of September 24th, he received another communication from the war department, dated on the 17th which assigned to him the command of the 8th military district including the Northwestern Army. He was at the same time instructed to provide for the security of the western frontiers, to retake Detroit with a view to the conquest of Upper Canada, to penetrate that country as far as the force under his command would justify him to proceed. He was advised that every exertion was being made by the government to furnish him with a train of artillery from Pittsburgh, and all other necessary supplies. The forces now under his command by order of the government, were estimated at ten thousand strong, including the whole in the state of Ohio and the different territories. The real number was much greater, in consequence of many mounted volunteers having entered the service for short periods unauthorized by the war department. But the services which he was required to perform, were in the opinion of old, experienced, and able officers, the most extensive and arduous that ever had been required from any military commander in America. The endless number of posts and scattered settlements which he was obliged to maintain and protect against numerous and scattered bands of Indians, while he was contending with the difficulties almost insurmountable in the main expedition against the enemy at Malden, were sufficient to employ all the time and talents, and resources, of the greatest military

genius at the head of a well appointed army. His forces, however, were raw, undisciplined militia, which nothing but his address or Jackson's energy could render efficient. Chaos and misconduct reigned in every department, and particularly in that of the supplies, in which the best organization and arrangements were necessary to meet the inconceivable difficulties which were to be surmounted in that line. He had excellent materials for an army in the Kentucky militia, but he had no time to spend in preparing them for the field. The season for action was drawing to a close; not a moment was to be lost in pushing on the campaign.

He immediately digested the following plan for the march of the army towards Detroit, viz: the right column, to be composed of the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops, to rendezvous at Wooster, and proceed thence by Upper Sandusky to the Rapids of the Maumee; the middle column, to consist of twelve hundred Ohio militia, to march from Urbana where they then were, by Fort M'Arthur on General Hull's route, through now Hancock and Wood counties to the Maumee Rapids; the left column, to be composed of the regulars under Wells, and four regiments of Kentucky volunteers, to proceed down the Auglaize and Maumee from St. Marys and Defiance to the Rapids. The mounted men, under a proper officer selected to command them, were to proceed on the route, by which he had intended to make the coup de main on Detroit. The latter intention, however, was now abandoned; for if they should take Detroit, as the infantry could not be ready to support them in it, they must leave it again to the aggravated fury of the Indians. The object, therefore, at present was to sweep the western side of the strait and lake of the Indians, who were scattered from Brownstown to the Maumee Rapids, rioting on the plunder of the farms which had been abandoned by their owners.

The attention of the General was at the same time directed to the important subject of the supplies, the most difficult part of his business in the present campaign. On the 27th he dispatched an express to Pittsburgh, to order the artillery and supplies from that place to proceed to Georgetown on the Ohio, and thence by New Lisbon and Canton to Wooster. Such as the state of Ohio could furnish cheaply, he preferred to procure in that country, as being the most convenient for a land transportation towards Detroit. The troops were nearly destitute of winter clothing; and as the prospect of obtaining an adequate supply

from the government, in due time, was not very flattering, an appeal had already been made on this subject by Shelby and Harrison, to the patriotism of the people of Kentucky, for voluntary contributions of clothing to the militia of that state.

In the plan of the campaign, the Rapids of the Maumee were considered as the first object upon which the forces were to advance from a military base, drawn along the hither edge of the swampy district from Upper Sandusky to St. Marys, by three lines of operations, commencing at St. Marys, Fort M'Arthur, and Upper Sandusky, which places were to be the principal points of concentration and deposit, preparatory to a general advance and combination at the Maumee Rapids.

"This," said Colonel Wood of the engineers, "was an excellent plan; for by sending the corps different routes, with a view of concentrating somewhere in the neighborhood of the enemy, the march of the army would not only be expedited, but the frontiers much more effectually protected."

St. Marys was intended to be the principal depot for provisions, and Upper Sandusky for the artillery and military stores. That portion of the left wing now at Defiance, was to serve as a corps of observation; and at that place provisions were also to be accumulated preparatory to the advance of that corps to occupy the Rapids, which was to take place when the artillery had reached Upper Sandusky, and the other military base; and its arrival at the Maumee Rapids was to be the signal for a general advance with the supplies on all the lines of operation. A corps of observation was also to be placed at Lower Sandusky (Fremont) which with Defiance would form the extremities of a second base when the Rapids were occupied. By these arrangements the greater part of the troops would be kept within the bounds of the local contractors, consuming provisions brought forward at their expense, whilst all the energies of the quartermaster's department would be employed in accumulating provisions at the principal depots, and providing the means to transport them through the swampy country to the positions taken in advance, and particularly to the Rapids of the Maumee.

From Piqua, General Harrison returned again to St. Marys where upon his orders, he was joined by the horsemen at Fort Wayne under Colonel Simrall and Major Johnson. The forces at St. Marys now amounted to nearly three thousand men. The three mounted companies were formed into a battalion, which, associated with Johnson's force constituted a regiment, at the

head of which R. M. Johnson was chosen colonel. This new regiment with Colonel Findlay's from Ohio now formed a brigade, which was placed under command of Brig.-Gen. E. M. Tupper of Ohio.

A few hours after the organization of this force, about 12 o'clock of September 30th, an express arrived from General Winchester with the information that his march from Fort Wayne to Defiance heretofore mentioned, had been impeded by Indians and that on his arrival near Defiance he had discovered that they were accompanied by British troops and artillery (Major Muir's force). A few minutes later another express arrived from Governor Meigs at Chillicothe, with a letter from General Kelso in command of some Pennsylvania troops on Lake Erie, bearing the information that on September 16th, two thousand Indians with some British Regulars and militia and two pieces of artillery had left Malden on an expedition against Fort Wayne. Within three hours all the forces at St. Marys were in motion to join Winchester who was supposed to have met all the Indians and British that these allies could raise in Upper Canada. At Fort Jennings on the way, word came that the enemy (Muir) had retreated, consequently, with his foot troops ordered back over very difficult roads to St. Marys, General Harrison directed that a road be cut from Fort Jennings to Defiance and proceeded there with his mounted force numbering nearly one thousand—"which in the woods made a grand appearance." The troops were much disappointed at the British and Indian withdrawal, as they were anxious for an engagement and the General himself was much displeased over the exaggerated report. Arriving on the evening of October 3rd at Winchester's camp, the troops went down to the mouth of the Auglaize and encamped around the ruins of old Fort Defiance while General Harrison remained behind to take over the command of the Northwest Army from General Winchester. Affairs were in a very bad state and one of the Kentucky regiments was on the verge of mutiny. General Harrison ordered a parade of the troops, addressed them in his characteristic way and when it became known that he had been placed in full command, order and enthusiasm returned. The formalities of the transfer were made by General Winchester issuing the following order:

"Camp at Defiance, October 3, 1812.

"I have the honor of announcing to this army the arrival of General Harrison who is duly authorized by the executive of the

Federal Government to take command of the Northwest Army. This officer is enjoying the implicit confidence of the States from whose citizens this army is and will be collected and, possessing himself great military skill and reputation, the General is confident in the belief that his presence in the army, in the character of its chief, will be hailed with unusual approbation.

"J. Winchester,
"Brig.-Gen. U. S. Army."

The army, as stated, was to consist of the right and left wings and center. In their march down the Sandusky, the right wing as will appear later, built Fort Ferree at Upper Sandusky, Fort Ball on the site of present Tiffin and Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky (Fremont). Fort Seneca on the Sandusky between Fort Ball and Fort Stephenson was still later built by General Harrison. General Tupper had command of the central division and was to move down Hull's Trace by way of Forts McArthur, Necessity and Findlay and the Maumee River. The command of the left wing was confided to General Winchester who accepted it at the solicitation of General Harrison. His principal duty assigned was the transportation of supplies for the Detroit main expedition. He was also instructed to occupy the Maumee Rapids as speedily as possible for the purpose of securing a large quantity of corn which had been raised along the river by the advance settlers who had now fled to the interior for safety. On account of delay in securing provisions for the advance on Detroit, this order was rescinded and Winchester was asked to return most of his command nearer to the base of supplies.

As General Harrison was busily engaged in all quarters, and the operations of Generals Winchester and Tupper are of no special significance for a time, they are passed over with the statement that a disagreement arose between Winchester and Tupper as to their various duties and the latter showed a total lack of efficiency as a successful commander. Charges were made by Winchester against Tupper and the latter was ordered arrested by General Harrison, but on account of Tupper's change of base the matter was passed over without trial.

As the situation of old Fort Defiance was inadequate for the accommodation of a large number of troops, General Harrison had drawn a plan for a new fort more than ten times the size of the old structure, to be located beginning about eighty yards above, on the high west bank of the Auglaize. The stockade in

the form of a parallelogram enclosed more than three acres of ground. There was a strong, two-story block-house at each of the four corners and a large mid-gateway on each side. From a cellar under the northeast corner block-house an underground passageway ran down to the river, where a barrier of logs was built for protection. The structure on its completion October 15, 1812, was named Fort Winchester by General Harrison in deference to the commander he had superseded. All during the War of 1812, the fort was an important rendezvous for troops and the headquarters for supplies to be sent down and up the Maumee and Auglaize in boats.

As General Harrison was returning from Defiance to St. Marys he was informed by an express from Fort Wayne that the Indians were collecting again at that place. On his arrival at St. Marys, Harrison found a corps of 500 mounted volunteers who had gathered there to join the mounted expedition against Detroit. These troops were ordered to Fort Wayne and the campaign in that section including the attack of the Indians on Fort Harrison, the massacre of Pigeon Root and the operations farther west, are outside the limits of this story. General Harrison himself proceeded from St. Marys by way of Piqua to Urbana, where some of the troops of General Tupper (still retained as a commander) were stationed, and went from there to his headquarters at Franklinton (Columbus site) where he was busy expediting the march of troops and hastening the forwarding of supplies and artillery for the campaign against Malden. No commander probably ever had a more arduous or difficult task, with the details of every branch of the service to look after over a wide range of territory and communication most difficult.

Although Forts Barbee and Jennings have as a matter of convenience been already referred to in designating certain points, while some of the men under Winchester were building pirogues and canoes five or six miles down the Maumee River from Fort Winchester, a regiment under Colonel Barbee at St. Marys at this stage completed a defense at St. Marys and called it Fort Barbee and a regiment under Colonel Poague built Fort Amanda on the Auglaize about twelve miles from St. Marys, in now Auglaize County. Colonel Jennings also completed the fort (Jennings) at his encampment (Putnam County). These regiments were also employed in building boats and canoes and General Harrison at Franklinton was forwarding military stores and provisions towards Fort McArthur and Upper Sandusky; to

which former place the Ohio troops at Urbana were removed the latter part of October.

It must be kept in mind that the troops now moving on the line of operations which passed from Delaware through Upper Sandusky to Lower Sandusky, composed of the brigades from Virginia and Pennsylvania and that of General Perkins of Ohio, were designated in the general orders as the right wing of the army; Tupper's brigade moving on Hull's Trail formed the center division and the Kentuckians under Winchester were styled the left wing of the forces. According to Captain McAfee's writings, General Harrison at this period continued his headquarters at Franklinton and Delaware, and was chiefly employed in superintending the supplies. Notwithstanding the failure of an intended expedition to the Rapids of the Maumee under Tupper which brought forth the charges against Tupper by General Winchester, General Harrison still placed a high degree of confidence in the militia volunteers, of which his army was composed; but fearing that the extreme hardships and difficulties of the campaign might shake their firmness and evaporate their zeal, he thought it important to collect a body of men on whom he could fully rely in the most desperate circumstances. He therefore ordered, early in October, all the recruits of the regular army in the western states, to be marched to the frontiers. Those in Ohio were to be commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and those of Tennessee by Colonel Anderson, or some field officer of his regiment.

The different corps of the army were now chiefly employed for several months in forwarding supplies on the different routes on which they had marched, or were destined to march. The Virginia and Pennsylvania troops were employed in escorting the artillery and military stores towards Upper Sandusky; the Ohio troops conveyed provisions from Manary's block-house (on now the northern border of Logan County) near the head of the Big Miami, twenty miles north of Urbana, to Forts McArthur and Findlay on Hull's road; while the Kentuckians were traversing the swamps of St. Marys and the Auglaize, and descending those rivers in small craft, to carry provisions to Fort Winchester and the left wing. The difficulties of this business cannot be adequately exhibited in a cursory statement. The letters of the commander-in-chief, to the war department, at this period, were constantly filled with details on this subject. On the 22nd of October, he thus addressed the government:

"I am not able to fix any period for the advance of the troops to Detroit. It is pretty evident that it cannot be done on proper principles until the frost shall become so severe as to enable us to use the rivers and the margin of the lake for the transportation of the baggage on the ice. To get supplies forward, through a swampy wilderness of nearly 200 miles in wagons or on packhorses, which are to carry their own provisions, is absolutely impossible.

"The object, however, can be accomplished by using the margin of the Lake as above mentioned, if the troops are provided with warm clothing, and the winter is such as it commonly is in this climate. No species of supplies are calculated on being found in the Michigan territory. The farms upon the river Raisin, which might have afforded a quantity of forage, are nearly all broken up and destroyed. This article then, as well as the provisions for the men, is to be taken from Ohio—a circumstance which must at once put to rest every idea for a land conveyance at this season—since it would require at least two wagons with forage for each one that is loaded with provisions and other articles.

"My present plan is, to occupy Sandusky and accumulate at that place as much provision and forage as possible, to be taken from thence upon slides to the river Raisin. At Defiance, Fort Jennings and St. Marys, boats and slides are preparing to take advantage of a rise of water or a fall of snow."

He further stated that he had kept the troops from advancing, with a view to save the expense of supplying them at a greater distance, until the whole should be ready to move on the main expedition; and that the contractors had as yet done little or nothing toward making the deposits which he had urged them to accomplish. The principal contractor had let out his contract for the northwestern part of the state at a rate so low, that the subcontractors were unable to furnish the supplies—and some of them, too, were characters on whom no reliance could be placed. The principal contractor, it was said, would make $100,000 by his contract for Ohio; yet he was not disposed to make the least sacrifice of his own interests for the public good.

The General proceeds to state in the same letter, that on account of the troops being kept in the interior, "Depredations by small parties of Indians may and will be made, but it is impossible that any considerable body can advance against the settlements, without being in danger of being intercepted on

their retreat. I am persuaded that the Indians have done less mischief on the frontiers since the declaration of war than they did in the same time preceding it. It was suggested to me a few days ago by a member of Congress that the possession of Detroit by the enemy would probably be the most effectual bar to the attainment of peace. If this was really the case, I would undertake to recover it with a detachment of the army at any time. A few hundred packhorses, with a drove of beeves, without artillery and heavy baggage, would subsist the 1,500 or 2,000 men, which I would select for the purpose, until the balance of the army could arrive. But having in view offensive operations from Detroit, an advance of this sort would be premature and ultimately disadvantageous."

A few days after the letter was written, from which the above extracts are made, Harrison was informed by Generals Perkins and Beall, belonging to a detachment of Ohio militia under General Wadsworth, in the northwestern part of the State, that the opening of a road from a point near Mansfield to Lower Sandusky, in which they had been engaged by the orders of Governor Meigs, was forbidden by General Wadsworth; and that a road from Lower Sandusky to the Maumee Rapids would be impassable unless causewayed for a distance of fifteen miles. This information induced the General to set out immediately to make a personal examination into the state of affairs in that quarter. He found Major-General Wadsworth commanding 800 men, near the mouth of the river Huron, and 500 were under Brigadier-General Beall near Mansfield. The two corps were consolidated and placed under Brigadier-General Perkins with orders to proceed to Lower Sandusky and open a road thence to the Maumee Rapids, making the causeways required by the state of the country. He returned to his headquarters early in November; and about the 15th of the month, the Pennsylvania troops with the artillery passed Mansfield, destined to meet the Virginia troops at Upper Sandusky.

On the 15th of November General Harrison informed the war department that he did not think it safe to move from the Maumee Rapids until one million of rations had been accumulated at that place. Considerable progress had now been made—but he adds:

"You can scarcely form an idea, sir, of the difficulty with which land transportation is effected north of the fortieth degree of latitude in this country. The country beyond that, is almost

a continued swamp to the lakes. Where the streams run favorable to your course, a small strip of better ground is generally found, but in crossing from one river to another, the greater part of the way at this season is covered with water. Such is actually the situation of that space between the Sandusky and the Maumee Rapids; and from the best information I could acquire, whilst I was at Huron, the road over it must be causewayed at least half the way."

He further stated, that in the opinion of the quartermaster it would require two teams, loaded with forage for their own subsistence, for every one employed in carrying the other articles from Franklinton (Columbus) to Upper Sandusky, at which place it was necessary to accumulate not only provisions for the men, but forage to serve at least *two thousand horses and oxen*, to be employed in advancing on the main expedition. The expenses of such transportation would of course be enormous. The intention of employing the dragoons on that expedition was for this reason abandoned.

An event of much interest concerning the Lower Maumee section which has not been sufficiently emphasized is here detailed as follows: Early in November, General Tupper, who had previously marched his command from Urbana to the frontiers on Hull's road, sent his spy company, under Captain Hinkston, along through present Hancock and Wood counties to reconnoitre at the Maumee Rapids. The Captain concealed his men on the southeast side of the river, in now Wood County, where he had discovered a British and Indian encampment in the opposite bottom, which was an open prairie. Presently a British officer with a few Indians came over the river on the Wood County side and when they had advanced some distance from their boat, Captain Hinkston fired upon them, and took the officer prisoner, evidently just at the foot of the Maumee Rapids. He was a captain by the name of Clarke. Having returned with him to General Tupper's camp, Clarke informed the general that there were three or four hundred Indians and about seventy-five British at the Rapids, where they had come to carry off the corn, of which a considerable quantity still remained. General Tupper immediately prepared a strong detachment consisting of six hundred and fifty men, who volunteered to go against the enemy. He notified General Winchester of the intended movement, and marched on the 10th of November, 1812, from Fort M'Arthur, with a light six pounder and with five days' provisions, in the

knapsacks of his men. The badness of the road obliged him to leave the six pounder at Hull's pack-saddle block-house (probably old Fort Necessity), and when he arrived at Portage River, twenty miles from the Rapids (just south of now Portage, Wood County), he sent his spies in advance to reconnoitre. They met him in the evening, five miles on their return, with information that the enemy remained in the same position near the foot of the Rapids (Maumee, O.). The detachment was now halted till near sunset, to avoid being discovered by the allies, (British and Indians) and then marched to a ford about two and a half miles above them at Turkey Foot rock. Here spies were again sent to ascertain their precise situation, who returned about nine o'clock, with information that they were encamped in close order, and employed in singing and dancing. Orders were now given to cross the river, with a view to attack them at the dawn of day. Colonel Stafford commanded a battalion on the left flank in single files; Colonel Miller's regiment composed the right; and Major Galloway commanded a battalion in reserve. In this order they intended to cross the river and surround the enemy's camp. Special instructions were given to each officer and every soldier who did not feel willing to cross, that he had permission to shift for himself. The men were much fatigued and the weather was very cold. General Tupper pushed into the water and crossed at the head of the first section. The others attempted to cross in double files, with their arms locked together, and when nearly two hundred had gone over, the greater part of one section were washed off their feet and lost their guns. The water was waist deep and ran very swift. The few horses belonging to the detachment were sent immediately to save the men, and happily succeeded in getting out the whole. An attempt was next made to cross on horses, but they being weak were also washed down and the riders plunged into the current. Finding it impracticable to get the detachment over at this place, those who had succeeded recrossed, and the whole retired to the woods and encamped within the bounds of now Wood County.

Concerning the capture of this British officer not far above where is now Perrysburg, General Tupper made the following report to Governor Meigs at Chillicothe:

"Camp, near McArthur's Blockhouse
November 19, 1812.

"Sir:—I have for some time thought a prisoner from near the Maumee Rapids would at this time be of much service, and highly

acceptable to General Harrison. For this purpose I ordered Captain Hinkston to the Rapids, with his company of spies, with orders to take a prisoner if possible. He has just returned and brought in with him Capt. A. Clarke, a British subject, who resides two miles above Malden, and was out with a party of about five hundred Indians and fifty British, with two gunboats, six bateaux and one small schooner at the foot of the Rapids (between Maumee and Perrysburg—Editor) to gather in and carry over to Malden the corn. Captain Clarke had just arrived with the van of the detachment. The vessels and boats had not yet been anchored when the spies surprised him as he advanced a few rods from the shore to reconnoitre, and brought him off undiscovered; and this from a number of Indians, who were killing hogs and beginning to gather corn. At the same time, several of Captain Hinkston's spies lay concealed on the bank within five rods of the place where some of the first boats were landing. Captain Hinkston has conducted this business with great skill and address. Captain Clarke was taken prisoner on the 7th instant, a little before sunsetting. . . .

"I am, Very Respectfully,
"Your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant,
"EDWARD M. TUPPER.
"Brigadier Gen. Ohio Quota."

It was the result of the information obtained from Clarke that caused Tupper's march to the Maumee down Hull's Trail.

Next morning, the 14th, after he had failed to cross the river and engage the enemy General Tupper dispatched an express up the Maumee trail to General Winchester at Defiance, stating his situation and suggesting the propriety of a reinforcement, if one had not already been sent; at the same time remarking that he could not remain there longer than another day unless he could receive a supply of provisions. He then sent his spies down the river in view of the enemy, with a design to decoy them over, but the Indians were not to be caught in this way. Only a few crossed and they would not venture far on shore, which was open ground for half a mile. Failing in this project, the general marched the whole of his troops down in the woods and showed the heads of his columns in the open ground. This alarmed the enemy considerably. The squaws ran to the woods and the British ran to their boats and escaped. The Indians more brave than their allies, paraded and fired across the river,

but without effect. The general then fell back, in hopes to entice them over, but he could neither induce them to cross nor scare them off like the British, without a fight. At last he marched back towards his camp. Some Indians were seen in the meantime to mount their horses and ride up the river, and some of Tupper's men imprudently pursued a gang of hogs about half a mile from the main body, while some others went into an adjoining corn field to gather corn. The mounted Indians, having crossed the river to the present Wood County side, came upon the latter party and killed four of them, and then boldly charged on the left flank, but were repulsed. A large body of the Indians at the same time crossed opposite the head of the column, where they were met by Major Bentley's battalion, and driven back with some loss. A noted chief by the name of Split-Log was their commander. Late in the evening Tupper's detachment retreated, leaving accidentally in the camp a sick man who was unable to march, and who fell a prey to the tomahawk and scalping knife.

On the next morning, the 15th, the express arrived at Winchester's camp, with Tupper's request for a reinforcement. A detachment of 450 men had already been organized, and marched that morning under the command of Colonel Lewis, to whom the information in Tupper's despatch was immediately forwarded. The colonel proceeded all day in a forced march down the north side of the Maumee and in the night dispatched Ensign Tod, quartermaster, to the advance of the left wing accompanied by five guides with instructions to proceed to General Tupper on the other side of the river, and agree on some point for a junction of the detachments on the north side early in the morning, with a view to attack the Indians in their encampment. At 12 o'clock in the night, Tod reached Tupper's camp on the Wood County side of the river and found that it had been abandoned, apparently with much precipitation, as the fires were extinct and two men were lying there tomahawked and scalped. He recrossed the river immediately and joined Colonel Lewis before day, who then retreated to Winchester's camp, under the impression that Tupper had been defeated.

This movement to the Rapids by Tupper was sufficiently bold and hazardous for a spirited soldier, but his conduct after his failure in attempting to cross the river is not to be commended. He should doubtless have retreated up the river to a place where he could cross, and have waited there for the reinforcement under Lewis. After sending for that reinforcement, he was

surely blamable in breaking up his camp and retreating, without communicating to it any intelligence of such a movement. His men, however, behaved well, having acted bravely in every instance except in retreating; having performed a severe march, 160 miles in all, on a road which was then a continued swamp the whole way. Though but little execution was done on this excursion, it frightened off the British without the corn they had come for, and alarmed the Indians sufficiently to induce them to fall back to the river Raisin. Shortly after this expedition by General Tupper to the Maumee Rapids, a tragical adventure occurred in the left wing of the army, which merits to be minutely recorded. Capt. James Logan, the Shawanoe chief, by the orders of General Harrison, proceeded with a small party of his tribe to reconnoitre in the direction of the Rapids. He met with a superior force of the enemy near that place, by which he was so closely pursued that his men were obliged to disperse for safety in their retreat. Logan, with two of his companions, Captain John and Bright Horn, arrived at General Winchester's camp, Defiance, where he faithfully reported the incidents of the excursion. But there were certain persons in the army who suspected his fidelity, and reproached him with being friendly, and with communicating intelligence, to the enemy. The noble spirit of Logan could not endure the ungenerous charge. With the sensibility of a genuine soldier, he felt that his honor and fidelity should not only be pure and firm, but unsuspected. He did not, however, demand a court of inquiry. Following the natural dictates of a bold and generous spirit, he determined to prove by unequivocal deeds of valor and fidelity, that he was calumniated by his accusers. On the 22nd of November he proceeded the second time, accompanied only by the two persons named above, firmly resolved either to bring in a prisoner or a scalp, or to perish himself in the attempt. When he had gone about ten miles down the north side of the Maumee, he met with a British officer, the eldest son of Colonel Elliott, accompanied by five Indians. As the party was too strong for him, and he had no chance to escape, four of them being on horseback, he approached them under the disguise of friendship for the British. He advanced with confident boldness, and a friendly deportment, but unfortunately one of them was Winemac, a celebrated Pottawatomie chief, to whom the person and character of Captain Logan were perfectly well known. He persisted, however, in his first determination and told them he was going to the Rapids to

give information to the British. After conversing some time he proceeded on his way and Winemac with all his companions turned and went with him. As they traveled on together, Winemac and his party closely watched the others, and when they had proceeded about eight miles, he proposed to the British officer to seize them and tie them. The officer replied that they were completely in his power; that if they attempted to run they would be shot; or failing in that, the horses could easily run them down. The consultation was overheard by Logan; he had previously intended to go on peaceably till night, then make his escape, but he now formed the bold design of extricating himself by a combat with double his number.

Having signified his resolution to his men, he commenced the attack by shooting down Winemac himself. The action lasted till they had fired three rounds apiece, during which time Logan and his brave companions drove the enemy some distance and separated them from their horses. By the first fire both Winemac and Elliott fell; by the second a young Ottawa chief lost his life; and another of the enemy was mortally wounded about the conclusion of the combat, at which time Logan himself, as he was stooping down, received a ball just below the breastbone; it ranged downwards and lodged under the skin on his back. In the meantime Bright Horn was also wounded by a ball which passed through his thigh. As soon as Logan was shot, he ordered a retreat; himself and Bright Horn wounded as they were, jumped on the horses of the enemy and rode to Winchester's Camp, Defiance, a distance of twenty miles, in five hours. Captain John, taking the scalp of the Ottawa chief, also retreated in safety and arrived at the camp next morning.

Logan had now rescued his character as a brave and faithful soldier from the obloquy which had unjustly been thrown upon him. But he preserved his honor, at the expense of the next best gift of Heaven—his life. His wound proved mortal. He lived two days in agony, which he bore with uncommon fortitude, and died with the utmost composure and resignation.

"More firmness and consummate bravery has seldon appeared on the military theatre," said Winchester, in his letter to the commanding general. "He was buried with all the honors due to his rank, and with sorrow as sincerely and generally displayed, as I ever witnessed," says Major Hardin, in a letter to Governor Shelby.

Captain Logan had been taken prisoner by General Logan

of Kentucky, in the year of 1786, when he was a youth. The general on parting with him had given him his name, which he retained to the end of his life. Before the treaty of Greenville, he had distinguished himself as a warrior, though still very young. His mother was a sister of the celebrated Tecumseh and the Prophet. The summer preceding his death he stated that he had talked one whole night with Tecumseh, and endeavored to persuade him to remain at peace, while Tecumseh on the contrary endeavored to engage him in the war on the side of the British. His wife, when she was young, had also been taken prisoner by Colonel Hardin in 1789, and had remained in the family till the treaty of Greenville. In the army he had formed an attachment for Major Hardin, the son of the colonel, and son-in-law of General Logan, and now requested him to see that the money due for his services was faithfully paid to his family. Before he expired Logan also requested that his family might be removed immediately to Kentucky and his children educated and brought up in the manner of the white people. He observed that he had killed a great chief, that the hostile Indians knew where his family lived, and that when he was gone, a few base fellows might creep up and destroy them.

The troops of the left wing under General Winchester were doomed to wage an inglorious war with the elements, "the power and majesty of storms, mud, mire, water, and almost impassable swamps," in preparation for their expedition against Malden. Continuing, as related by McAfee they had left the greater part of their clothing in the first instance at Piqua, when marching to the relief of Fort Wayne, and suffered considerably before they received it again. But as the winter came, an additional supply of winter clothing became necessary. The government had ordered large supplies of this kind, but there was in this stage of the war an immense difference between the ordering of supplies and delivering them on the frontiers. General Harrison and Governor Shelby had also appealed to the patriotism of the people of Kentucky for voluntary contributions, and a considerable quantity of clothing was in this way collected under the superintendence of Shelby. The ladies of Kentucky were not wanting in such patriotic services as they had it in their power to render. Of the clothing thus collected, however, but very little reached the army before Christmas, and much of it was entirely lost, owing to the misconduct of wagoners and wagonmasters, and the insuperable difficulties of transportation.

Soon after Fort Winchester was finished, the left wing moved over the river (Maumee) and encamped on the north bank, for the convenience of firewood. The situation being wet and disagreeable, they presently moved down to a second, and then to a third camp, six miles below the Auglaize. About the first of November they became extremely sickly. The typhus fever raged with violence, so that three or four would sometimes die in one day. Upwards of 300 were daily on the sick list, and so discouraging was the prospect of advancing, that about the first of December they were ordered to build huts for their accommodation. Many were so entirely destitute of shoes and other clothing that they must have frozen, if they had been obliged to march any distance. And sometimes the whole army for many days would be entirely without flour.

All these privations were caused in a great measure by the difficulties of transportation. The roads were bad beyond description; none but those who had actually seen the state of the country could have formed a correct estimate of the difficulties to be encountered. The road from Loramie's block-house to the St. Marys, and thence to Defiance, was one continued swamp, knee-deep to the packhorses and up to the hubs of the wagons. It was found impossible in some instances to get even the empty wagons along, and many were left sticking in the mire and ravines, the wagoners being glad to get off with the horses alive. Sometimes the quartermaster, taking advantage of a temporary freeze, would send off a convoy of provisions, which would be swamped by a thaw before it reached its destination. These natural difficulties were also increased by a great deficiency of funds, and inadequacy of the other resources which were requisite in the quartermaster's department. The only persons who could be procured to act as pack horse drivers, were generally the most worthless creatures in society, who took care neither of the horses nor the goods with which they were entrusted. The horses, of course, were soon broken down, and many of the packs lost. The teams hired to haul were also commonly valued so high on coming into service, that the owners were willing to drive them to deviltry and death, with a view of getting the price. In addition to this, no bills of lading were used, or accounts kept with the wagoners. Consequently each one had an opportunity to plunder the public without much risk of detection. Little wonder then, with such difficulties and the means of surmounting them, that supplies

were not more rapidly accumulated at the various places of deposit.

The following account will exhibit the difficulties of water transportation. About the first of December, Major Bodley, an enterprising officer, who was quartermaster of the Kentucky troops, made an attempt to send nearly 200 barrels of flour down the St. Marys in pirogues to Winchester's camp below Defiance. Previous to this time the water had rarely been high enough to venture on a voyage in those small streams. The flour was shipped in fifteen or twenty pirogues and canoes guarded by some twenty troopers. They descended the river and arrived about a week afterwards at Shane's crossing (Rockford), upwards of one hundred miles by water, but only twenty by land from the place where they started. The river was so narrow, crooked, full of logs, and trees overhanging the banks that it was with great difficulty they could make any progress. And now in one freezing night they were completely icebound. Lieutenant Cardwell waded back through the ice and swamps to Fort Barbee, with intelligence of their situation. Major Bodley returned with him to the flour and offered the men extra wages to cut through the ice and push forward; but having gained only one mile in two day's labor, the project was abandoned, and a guard left with the flour. A few days before Christmas a temporary thaw took place, which enabled them with much difficulty and suffering to reach within a few miles of Fort Wayne, where they were again frozen up. They now abandoned the voyage and made sleds on which the men hauled the flour to the fort and left it there.

In the meantime General Winchester's left wing was suffering the greatest privations. Trusting to this attempt to convey supplies by water, the exertions by land were relaxed. From the 10th to the 22nd of December the camp was without flour, and for some time before they had only half rations. Poor beef and hickory roots were their whole subsistence. At the same time fevers and other diseases raged in almost every tent, in which the sick were exposed not only to the hunger, but to the inclemency of the season. The necessary vigilance of the general induced him to send out reconnoitering parties very frequently, which still further exposed the men. Yet they disdained to murmur, or to utter a thought derogatory to the honor of their country. About the first of this month General Harrison had thought his supplies in such a state of forwardness that he could very soon concentrate

his forces at the Maumee Rapids; and had instructed General Winchester to proceed to that place as soon as he had provisions for a few weeks on hand. But in the circumstances above described, his condition was very different from that which would authorize him to advance.

The other divisions of the army had not been pushed out so far as the left wing, and, of course, had not to encounter such great privations. Their sufferings, however, were sufficiently great, and the difficulties of transportation with them may be understood from the details given in relation to the left wing.

General Harrison in a letter dated December 12th, 1812, at Delaware, and addressed to the War Department, said that while every exertion had been made and every engine put in motion to procure and forward supplies for the army to the advance posts, the difficulties were almost insurmountable. The greatest obstacle was forage which had to be brought all the way from Chillicothe and the loss of horses was almost beyond belief. "Five teams which arrived on December 10th at (Upper) Sandusky with artillery are entirely worn down, and two trips from McArthur's block-house (near now Kenton) our nearest deposit to the Maumee Rapids, will *completely destroy a brigade of pack-horses.*" But the General believed that a small part of the great expense being incurred in attempting the early capture of Malden and the gaining of Detroit for political reasons, could it be "devoted towards obtaining the command of Lake Erie" the following April and May, would bring the downfall of the British at Detroit, Malden and Mackinac in rapid succession.

Before the letter written by General Harrison (just quoted from) had been received at the War Department, James Monroe had become the acting secretary of war upon the resignation of Eustice and had written a long letter to General Harrison on the military situation of the Northwest. They arrived at an accord as to what should be done. Harrison was left to prosecute the campaign in pursuance to his own views and the government determined finally to adopt the most vigorous measures to obtain the command of Lake Erie the following season. Positive instructions were given to the commander on two points alone. In the event of his entering Canada, he was ordered to pledge the government to the inhabitants no further than a promise of protection to their lives, liberty and property. He was also instructed not to make any transitory acquisitions of territory, or to wrest from the British any of their possessions

with temporary views only, but to advance prepared to hold all the ground gained. Thorough preparation rather than haste was the policy adopted.

Early in December a detachment of Perkins' brigade arrived at Lower Sandusky and repaired the old stockade there which had been built to protect a government Indian supply store long established there, later Fort Stephenson. Soon after the whole of Perkins' brigade arrived at that post. On the 10th of December a battalion of Pennsylvania troops reached Upper Sandusky with twenty-one pieces of artillery which had been brought from Pittsburgh. About the 20th General Harrison established himself at the same place. But hearing from Colonel Campbell of the regulars of the serious situation at Mississiniway, he went to Chillicothe to plan with Governor Meigs another expedition to more effectually subdue the Indians in that western quarter.

Voluminous correspondence with the War Department shows the importance of the Lower Maumee Rapids, in the plans Harrison had made for coming operations, and future developments show that it was the key to the whole Northwest as the campaign progressed. Concerning his ideas, General Harrison wrote the War Department on January 4, 1813, among other things that "In order to take advantage of every situation in our favor, boats and pirogues were prepared in considerable numbers on the Auglaize and St. Marys, in the hope that when the land transportation could not be used, we might by the means of these rivers, take on large supplies to the Rapids of the Miami (Maumee). An effort was also made to procure flour from Presque Isle (Erie, Pa.) by coasting the lake with small boats. These measures were calculated on as collateral aids only. The more sure one of providing a large number of pack horses and ox teams was resorted to. * * * Considering the Miami (Maumee) Rapids as the first point of destination, provisions were ordered to be accumulated along a concave base, extending from St. Marys on the left, to the mouth of the Huron (River) and afterwards Lower Sandusky (Fremont) on the right. From this base the Rapids could be approached by three routes or lines of operation, two of which were pretty effectually secured by the posts which were established and the positions taken upon the third. St. Marys, McArthur's block-house and Upper Sandusky were selected as principal deposits. The troops, except those with General Winchester, were kept within the bounds of the local contractors, that they might not consume the provisions

procured by the United States commissaries, and which were intended to form the grand deposit at the Miami (Maumee) rapids. * * * My plan of operations has been, and now is, to occupy the Miami Rapids, and deposit there as much provisions as possible, to move from thence with a choice detachment of the army, and with as much provision, artillery and ammunition as the means of transportation will allow—make a demonstration towards Detroit and by a sudden passage of the strait upon the ice, an actual investure of Malden."

The general further believed he would need a large force, as British troops that had been released in the East by successes there, might in all probability be encountered at Malden; and again strength needed to be shown amongst the cautious and wavering Indians. In one letter he stated that it was his desire to assemble from 4,500 to 5,000 men at the Maumee Rapids, from which to make his advance against the British, but the number was always perhaps fifty per cent. less than hoped for.

Another of Harrison's letters in early January, 1813, says: "General Winchester is I hope now or will be in a day or two at the Rapids. Provisions in large quantities are progressing thither. I calculate on being there myself by the 20th with troops which are intended for the march upon Malden."

Harrison qualified his expectations with "in the event of occurrences which may induce a suspension of operations beyond the Rapids" which "occurrences" took place as will be seen, but not in the form at all anticipated. On the subject of obtaining the command of Lake Erie, Harrison wrote:

"I have no means of estimating correctly the cost of a naval armament, capable of effecting this object, but from my knowledge of the expense of transporting supplies through a swampy wilderness, I do believe that the expense which will be incurred in six weeks in the spring, in an attempt to transport the provisions for the army along the road leading from the Rapids to Detroit, would build and equip the vessels for this purpose."

The next pages will take up the story of Winchester's advance down the Maumee and the disaster following at the River Raisin.

CHAPTER XLII

WINCHESTER'S EXPEDITION TO RIVER RAISIN

HIS VARIOUS CAMPS ON THE MAUMEE—FORTIFIES HIS POSITION ABOVE WAYNE'S BATTLE GROUND—ORDERS ADVANCE TO FRENCHTOWN—SUCCESS OF COLONEL LEWIS—WINCHESTER MARCHES TO JOIN LEWIS—WINCHESTER'S DEFEAT AND CAPTURE—TERRIBLE MASSACRE OF HIS TROOPS—HARRISON'S ARRIVAL AT MAUMEE TOO LATE TO PREVENT WINCHESTER'S ADVANCE—CAUSE OF THE DISASTER.

On his arrival at Upper Sandusky about December 18th, 1812, General Harrison had expected to be met by an express from General Winchester with information of the latter's advance to the Maumee Rapids as indicated in Harrison's letter to the War Department. As no such messenger arrived, he soon thereafter dispatched Ensign C. S. Tod, division judge advocate of the Kentucky troops to Winchester's camp on the Maumee below Defiance. With Tod on his journey were two prominent men of the Michigan Territory and three Wyandot Indians. The party proceeded directly across the country and "performed the journey with a degree of secrecy and dispatch highly honorable to their enterprise and skill, having completely eluded all the scouts of the British and Indians." This would probably take them from Upper Sandusky to near where is now Findlay, then Leipsic on the high ridges and to the Maumee below Defiance some six miles. Tod was instructed to communicate to General Winchester the following plans from the Commander-in-Chief:

"That as soon as he had accumulated provisions for twenty days, he was authorized to advance to the Rapids, where he was to commence the building of huts to induce the enemy to believe that he was going into winter quarters; that he was to construct sleds for the main expedition against Malden, but to impress it on the minds of his men that they were for transporting provisions from the interior; that the different lines of the army would be concentrated at that place, and a choice detachment from the whole would then be marched rapidly on Malden; that in the meantime he was to occupy the Rapids for the purpose of secur-

ing the provisions and stores forwarded from the other wings of the army."

Repeating Winchester's movements somewhat, while at Defiance General Harrison "suggested" to General Winchester that two regiments of infantry be sent back to near the base of food and clothing supplies, and that General Tupper with the nine hundred and sixty cavalry be sent down the Maumee below old Fort Miami to disperse the Indians found, save the crops there left by the fleeing settlers and return to Fort Barbee by way of the Blanchard River Ottawa towns. There were several excuses why Tupper did not make the expedition, two being the dissatisfaction of some of the Kentucky troops with Tupper and the unfriendly relations between Winchester and Tupper. As has been noted, after the disorganized situation had somewhat changed and Tupper had been relieved of some of his troops by Winchester, instead of leading his command down the Maumee River and then to St. Marys as Winchester had ordered, he went direct to Fort McArthur by way of the Ottawa towns (Ottawa) and proceeded from there with his Maumee Rapids expedition already described. It was at this time that Winchester preferred charges of insubordination against Tupper, but his trial did not take place until after Winchester's defeat at the River Raisin, when the witnesses against him were British captives and Tupper was acquitted.

Winchester's first camp down the Maumee after Fort Winchester had been completed and garrisoned, and he had started on his expedition, was on the north side of the river in now section 19th Richland township, Defiance County; distance below old Fort Defiance, one and a half miles. The situation being too low and wet he moved his forces down the river two miles farther on higher ground, now in the north part of section 21 the same township. This camp having too much wind exposure, camp number three still two miles farther down stream in present sections 22 and 23 Richland township, was selected where the troops remained some time.

Suffering and hunger at these camps caused many breaches of discipline. Straggling soldiers wandered from camp against orders in search of fruit and for game hunting. An attempted deserter on being apprehended was sentenced to "ride the wooden horse before the whole army." This punishment consisted in the culprit being compelled to mount astride a bent sapling upon which he was subjected to a series of tossings, joltings and sway-

ings, greatly to his humility and degradation. James Givens, private in Capt. George Croghan's company, for being found apparently asleep and sitting down at his post with his gun in his hands, on the night of October 25, 1812, was tried and found guilty and was sentenced to "receive ten cobs on his bare posterior well laid on with a paddle four inches wide and one-half an inch thick, bored full of holes." Thomas Clark for altering his uniform without leave was "reprimanded while on parade."

Finally, receiving a moderate supply of provisions and clothing on December 22nd, Winchester's forces at camp number three made active preparations to proceed. As McAfee continues:

The river being frozen up, which rendered their water craft useless, they were obliged to take their baggage on sleds, many of which had to be hauled by the men. Having provided for the sick, and assigned guards to attend and protect them, the march for the Rapids was commenced on the 30th of December. At the same time, Mr. Leslie Combs, a young man of intelligence and enterprise from Kentucky, who had joined the army as a volunteer on its march from Fort Wayne to Fort Defiance, accompanied by Mr. A. Ruddle as a guide, was sent with dispatches to inform the Commander-in-Chief of this movement in order that provisions and reinforcements might be forwarded as soon as possible. General Winchester expected to be met by these at the Rapids by the 12th of January. This, however, was prevented by an immense fall of snow, which, as Mr. Combs had to traverse on foot a pathless wilderness of more than one hundred miles in extent, required four or five days longer in reaching even the first point of destination (Fort M'Arthur) than would otherwise have been necessary to perform the whole route. The supplies they had already received, and the prospects now before them afforded some comfort and encouragement to the troops; yet their appearance and their real efficiency were still very unpromising. Their progress was slow from the first, and was much retarded after a few days by the snow.

While on this march General Winchester received another dispatch from the Commander-in-Chief, recommending him to abandon the movement to the Rapids and fall back with the greater part of his force to Fort Jennings. This advice was given in consequence of the intelligence received from Colonel Campbell at Mississiniway, respecting the force of Tecumseh on the Wabash. General Harrison was apprehensive that if the left wing advanced so far as the Rapids, Tecumseh would be able to attack and destroy all the provisions left on its line of

operations in the rear. But as Winchester had already commenced his march, he did not think himself required by this advice to discontinue it and return. Harrison went immediately himself into the settlements of Ohio, to arrange with Governor Meigs the means of sending another mounted expedition against the Indians under Tecumseh, at the principal town on the Mississiniway River.

On the 10th of January, 1813, General Winchester arrived with his army at the Rapids, having previcusly sent forward a strong detachment of 670 men under General Payne, to attack a body of Indians *which General Harrison had been informed was lying in an old fortification at Swan Creek* (Evidently Fort Industry—Editor), a few miles farther down the river. The detachment went several miles below the old British fort at the foot of the Rapids (Fort Miami), and having sent their spies to Swan Creek, where they could discover no appearance of Indians, the whole returned again to the position which the army was intended to occupy.

On the north bank of the river above Wayne's battle ground, and directly opposite the point where Hull's road struck the Maumee, General Winchester established and fortified his camp, on a handsome eminence of an oval form covered with timber and surrounded with prairies (On the high ground above Turkey Foot Rock—Editor). On the day of his arrival, a recent Indian camp was discovered about half a mile from this position. Captain Williams was immediately dispatched with twenty-five men, to pursue the Indians who had left it. He soon overtook and routed them, having exchanged a few shots, by which some were wounded on both sides.

On the 11th of January a dispatch was sent to apprise General Harrison of the arrival and situation of the army at the Rapids; but it was sent by the persons who were taking in the starved and worn-out pack horses to General Tupper's camp at Fort M'Arthur, a place as distant from the Rapids as the headquarters of the general, and from which it must then pass through a swampy and pathless wilderness of forty miles to Upper Sandusky, where it did not arrive before Harrison had left that place, and was ultimately received by him at the Rapids where it started.

The time of the Kentucky troops would expire in February, and General Harrison had requested General Winchester to endeavor to raise a regiment among them to serve six months

longer; and at the same time had suggested that it would be imprudent to employ them on any other condition in the expedition against Malden. General Winchester now advised him by a letter sent on the 12th to Lower Sandusky, that no reliance could be placed on retaining any of them in service after their time had expired. This communication was simply a note respecting the above business, and had only this direction upon it:

"His excellency, General William H. Harrison."

Of course the writer did not intend that it should have a speedy passage, and inform the general of his arrival at the Rapids; nor did it answer that purpose, as it was delayed several days on its way to headquarters. On the letter sent by the pack horse conveyance of fifteen miles a day, was the following endorsement in Winchester's own hand writing:

"General Tupper will please to forward this letter by express.—J. Winchester."

From all of which it is evident that he relied on the pack horse communication alone, to apprise General Harrison that he had reached the Rapids, although the general had directed him to communicate the intelligence of that event as quick as practicable. * * *

A large store house was now built within the encampment at the Maumee Rapids, to secure the provisions and baggage. A considerable quantity of corn was also gathered in the fields, and apparatus for pounding and sifting it being made, it supplied the troops with very wholesome bread.

On the evening of the 13th, two Frenchmen arrived from the River Raisin with information that the Indians routed by Captain Williams had passed that place and gone on to Malden, with intelligence of the advance of our army. They stated that the Indians threatened to kill the inhabitants and burn their town and begged for protection from the American arms. They brought a dispatch from Mr. Day, a citizen who was friendly to our cause, and who stated that the British were seizing all suspected persons at the River Raisin and confining them in Malden prison, and that they were preparing to carry off all the provisions of every description. On the 14th another messenger arrived; and on the evening of the 16th two more came in; they all confirmed the accounts brought in by the first express and solicited protection, as they were afraid that the people would be massacred and the town burnt by the Indians whenever our army began to advance upon them. They stated the present

force of the enemy to be two companies of Canadians and about 200 Indians, but that more Indians might be expected to assemble.

The greatest ardor and anxiety now prevailed in the army to advance in force sufficient to defeat the enemy at that place. A council of officers was called by the general, a majority of whom were decidedly in favor of sending a strong detachment. Colonel Allen supported that side of the question with much ardor.

General Winchester agreed to the opinion of the majority, and on the morning of the 17th detached Colonel Lewis with 550 men to the River Raisin. A few hours afterwards he was followed by Colonel Allen with 110 more, who came up with Lewis late in the evening where he had encamped at Presque Isle (mouth of the Maumee). Early in the morning of the same day, General Winchester prepared a dispatch to inform Harrison of this movement. He stated that his principal object was to prevent the flour and grain from being carried off by the enemy; that if he got possession of Frenchtown he intended to hold it; and that of course a coöperating reinforcement from the right wing might be necessary. Before the express had started with this letter, information was received from Colonel Lewis at Presque Isle, a distance of twenty miles in advance, that there were 400 Indians at the River Raisin, and that Col. Matthew Elliott was expected from Malden with a detachment destined to attack the camp at the Rapids. This intelligence was also inserted in the letter to Harrison, which was then dispatched by the way of Lower Sandusky.

Colonel Lewis remained all night at Presque Isle and in consequence of the information noticed above, which he received by express from the River Raisin, he set out very early in the morning, intending if possible to anticipate Colonel Elliott at Frenchtown. That village was in the middle between Presque Isle and Malden, the distance from each being eighteen miles. The greater part of his march was on the ice of the Maumee Bay and the border of Lake Erie. When he had arrived within six miles of the town, he was discovered by some Indians who hastened to give the alarm to the main body of the enemy. Before the detachment left the border of the lake, a halt was called to take some refreshment. Having resumed the march, a piece of timbered land was passed, and as the troops proceeded in the open plain they were formed in three lines, each corps being in its proper place for action.

When they arrived within a quarter of a mile of the village and discovered the enemy in motion, the line of battle was formed in the expectation of receiving an attack; but it was soon evident that the enemy did not intend fighting in the open field. The detachment then broke off by the right of companies and marched under the fire of the enemy's cannon till they arrived at the river, where the small arms began to play upon them. The line of battle was then formed again on the bank of the river and the long roll beat as the signal for a general charge, which was immediately executed with much firmness and intrepidity.

The enemy were posted among the houses, and the picketting of the gardens on the north side of the river. Majors Graves and Madison were ordered to dislodge them, which they effected with great gallantry, advancing at the heads of their battalions under a heavy shower of balls. The enemy, routed and retreating from this place, were next met by Colonel Allen at some distance on the right, who pursued them about half a mile to the woods. Here they made a stand again with their howitzer and small arms, covered by some houses and a chain of fences, with a brushy wood full of fallen timber in their rear. Majors Graves and Madison were now ordered with their battalions to possess themselves of the wood on the left and move rapidly on the main body of the enemy, where they were contending with Colonel Allen. These orders were promptly executed; and as soon as they had commenced their fire Colonel Allen also advanced on the enemy, who were soon compelled to retire into the woods, into which they were closely pursued. The contest with Allen's command now became very warm, as the enemy concentrated all their forces on the right, with the intention of forcing his line. They were, however, kept constantly on the retreat, though slowly, as our men were too much exhausted to rush upon them with rapidity. In this manner they were driven to the distance of two miles, every foot of the way under a continual charge. The action commenced at 3:00 o'clock, and the pursuit was continued till dark, when the detachment returned in good order and encamped in the town.

In this warmly contested action every officer and soldier did his duty. There was not a solitary instance of delinquency. The troops amply supported "the double character of Americans and Kentuckians."

The American loss was twelve killed and fifty-five wounded.

Among the latter were Captains Hickman, Matson and Ballard. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained. They left fifteen dead on the ground where the action commenced; but the principal slaughter took place in the woods, from which in the night they carried off all their dead. From the obstinacy with which they contended so long against a force somewhat superior, from the appearances next day in the woods, and from the reports of persons who saw them after the battle, it is believed that their loss was extremely severe. They were commanded by Major Reynolds of the British army, who had about 100 British troops in the battle, and about 400 Indians.

On the night after the battle, an express was sent to carry intelligence of the success to General Winchester, at whose camp he arrived before daylight; and another was then immediately sent from that place to General Harrison by the way of Lower Sandusky, to apprise him of the event. On the morning after the battle Colonel Lewis determined with the advice of his officers, to hold the place and await a reinforcement. His first orders from Winchester had been "to attack the enemy, beat them, and take possession of Frenchtown and hold it."

He was authorized, in a dispatch sent after him, however, to exercise some discretion with respect to holding the position.

As soon as the intelligence of this success was known at the Maumee Rapids, it produced a complete ferment in camp. All were anxious to proceed to Frenchtown in support of the advanced corps. It was evident that corps was in a critical situation. They were but eighteen miles from Malden, where the British had their whole force; and it was not to be doubted that an effort would be made by them to regain the ground they had lost, or to defeat this advance of our army which at first was inconsiderable and was now much reduced by the killed and wounded. Preparations were, therefore, made to reinforce Colonel Lewis, and on the evening of the 19th, General Winchester marched himself with 250 men, which was all that could be spared from the post at the Rapids. He arrived at the River Raisin in the night on the 20th, and encamped in an open lot of ground on the right of the former detachment. Colonel Lewis had encamped in a place where he was defended by garden pickets, which were sufficiently close and strong to protect his men against an attack of small arms. Colonel Wells commanded the reinforcement, and to him the general named, but did not positively order, a breastwork for the protection of his camp. The

general himself established his quarters in the comfortable home of Colonel Navarre on the south side of the river, almost 300 yards from the lines! On the 21st, a place was selected for the whole detachment to encamp in good order, with a determination to fortify it on the next day. About sunset Colonel Wells solicited and obtained leave to return to the Rapids. Certain information had been received that the British were preparing to make an attack, and that they would make it with the utmost dispatch in their power was a matter of course. Colonel Wells reached the Rapids that night, at which place General Harrison had arrived on the 20th, and had made every exertion in his power to hasten the reinforcements.

Before proceeding to the tragedy of the 22nd, it is necessary to review the operations and exertions which in the meantime had been made in the rear. When General Winchester marched from his camp below Defiance for the Rapids on the 30th of December, he sent an express to advise General Harrison of that movement; but in consequence of a snow storm which delayed the bearer, the general did not receive the intelligence at Upper Sandusky before the 11th of January. He then immediately ordered on some droves of hogs and held the artillery in readiness to march as soon as he should be advised of Winchester's arrival at the Rapids. But no further intelligence was received until the evening of the 16th, when a letter from General Perkins at Lower Sandusky, enclosing one he had received from General Winchester of the 15th, at last informed Harrison that Winchester had arrived at the Rapids, that he meditated some movement against the enemy, and that he wanted Perkins to send him a battalion from Lower Sandusky. This intelligence alarmed General Harrison, and he immediately gave orders for the artillery to advance by the way of Portage River (from Upper Sandusky down the Sandusky River to now Fort Seneca, thence direct to the Maumee River, crossing the Portage River where is now Pemberville, Wood County, Ohio—Editor), accompanied by a guard of 300 men commanded by Major Orr. Escorts of provisions were also ordered to follow on the same route; but owing to the extreme badness of the road, very little progress could be made. Even the lighter pieces of artillery could not be forwarded with any degree of expedition. At the same time an express was dispatched to the Rapids by General Harrison for information with orders to return and meet him at Lower Sandusky, for which place he set out the next morning himself, and

arrived there on the following night. He found that General Perkins had prepared a battalion, with a piece of artillery, to be commanded by Major Cotgrove, which was ordered to march on the 18th; and the general now determined to follow it himself, and have a personal consultation with General Winchester. At 4:00 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, he received the letter in which Winchester informed him of the advance of Colonel Lewis to the River Raisin, together with the objects and prospects of the expedition. He immediately ordered the remaining regiment of Perkins' brigade to march to the Rapids (Winchester's camp above Fallen Timber battle ground), and proceeded there himself. On his way he met an express from Winchester, with intelligence of the success of Lewis in the battle of the 18th. On the morning of the 20th he arrived at the Rapids and found that General Winchester had proceeded the evening before to the River Raisin, having left General Payne in his camp with 300 men. Major Cotgrove with the piece of artillery in his train, was so retarded by a swamp on the road and other obstacles to his progress, that he had reached no further than the Maumee Bay on the night of the 21st. By marching early next morning he arrived within 15 miles of the River Raisin, before he was met by the fugitives from the massacre.

When Harrison arrived at the Rapids on the 20th, he dispatched Captain Hart, the inspector general, to Winchester at Frenchtown, with intelligence of the movements in the rear, and with instructions to the general "to maintain the position at the River Raisin at any rate."

On the next day, the 21st, a dispatch was received from General Winchester in which he stated that if his force were increased to the amount of 1,000 or 1,200 it would be sufficient to maintain the ground he had gained. On the evening of the same day the regiment of Perkins' brigade arrived at the Rapids, and the remaining Kentuckians under Payne were then ordered to march to General Winchester, which they did the next morning. The corps thus advancing under Cotgrove and Payne would make the force under Winchester considerably stronger than the number deemed by him sufficient. But they were one day too late.

On the 22nd, about 10 o'clock, the news of the attack on General Winchester's camp was received at the Rapids. General Harrison immediately ordered the regiment of General Perkins' brigade to march with all possible expedition, and proceeded him-

self after the reinforcement under Payne, which he soon overtook. Some men were presently met who had escaped from the battle, and who stated that Winchester's forces were totally defeated, and that the British and Indians were pursuing them towards the Rapids. This report only induced the General to urge on his men with more rapidity; but several other fugitives were soon afterwards met, from whom it was ascertained beyond a doubt that the defeat was total and irretrievable, and that all resistance had ceased early in the day on the part of the Americans. A council of the general and field officers was then held, by whom it was decided to be imprudent and unnecessary to proceed any further. Some parties of the most active and enterprising men were now sent forward to assist and bring in those who might escape, and the rest of the reinforcements then returned to the Rapids.

The tragical events which occurred on the 22nd and 23rd to the advanced detachment at Frenchtown are as follows: Late in the evening, after Colonel Wells had left the camp, a Frenchman (Peter Navarre) came to General Winchester from the neighborhood of Malden, with information that a large force of British and Indians, which he supposed to be near 3,000, were about to march from that place shortly after he had left it. This intelligence, however, must have been discredited alike by the officers and men, for no preparations were made by the one, nor apprehensions exhibited by the other. The most fatal security prevailed; many of the troops even wandered about the town till late in the night. Colonel Lewis and Major Madison seemed alone to be on the alert; they cautioned their men to be prepared at all times for an attack.

Guards were placed out this night as usual; but as it was extremely cold, no picket guard was placed on the road on which the enemy was to be expected. The night passed away without any alarm, and the reveille began to beat at daybreak on the morning of the 22nd. A few minutes afterwards three guns were fired in quick succession by the sentinels. The troops were instantly formed, and the British opened a heavy fire on the camp from several pieces of artillery loaded with bombs, balls, and grape shot, at the distance of 300 yards. This was quickly followed by a charge made by the British regulars and by a general fire of small arms, and the Indian yell on the right and left. The British had approached in the night with the most profound silence and stationed their cannon behind a small ravine, which

ran across the open fields on the right. As soon as the regulars approached within the reach of small arms, a well-directed fire from the pickets 'round Lewis' camp soon repulsed them on the left and center; but on the right the reinforcement which had arrived with Winchester, and which was unprotected by any breastwork, after maintaining the contest a short time, was overpowered and fell back. About this time General Winchester arrived and ordered the retreating troops to rally behind a fence and second bank of the river, and to incline towards the center and take refuge behind the pickets. These orders were either not heard or properly understood, and the British continuing to press on the retiring line, whilst a large body of Indians had gained their right flank, the troops were completely thrown into confusion and retreated in disorder over the river. A detachment in the meantime had been sent from the pickets to reinforce the right wing, which was carried with it in the retreat; and Colonels Lewis and Allen both followed it with a view to assist in rallying the men. Attempts were made to rally them on the south side of the river behind the houses and pickets of the gardens, but all the efforts of General Winchester, aided by the two colonels, were in vain. The Indians had gained their left flank and had also taken possession of the woods in their rear. In their confusion and dismay the Americans attempted to pass a long, narrow lane, through which the road passes from the village. The Indians were on both sides, and shot them down in every direction. A large party which had gained the wood on the right, were surrounded and massacred without distinction, nearly one hundred men being tomahawked within the distance of 100 yards. The most horrible destruction overwhelmed the fugitives in every direction.

Captain Simpson was shot and tomahawked at the edge of the woods near the mouth of the lane. Colonel Allen, though wounded in his thigh, attempted several times to rally his men, entreating them to halt and sell their lives as dearly as possible. He had escaped about two miles, when at length wearied and exhausted, and disdaining perhaps to survive the defeat, he sat down on a log determined to meet his fate. An Indian chief observing him to be an officer of distinction was anxious to take him prisoner. As soon as he came near the colonel he threw his gun across his lap and told him in the Indian language to surrender, and he should be safe. Another savage having at the same time advanced with a hostile appearance, Colonel Allen by

one stroke with his sword laid him dead at his feet. A third Indian who was near him, had then the honor of shooting one of the first and greatest citizens of Kentucky. Captain Meade, of the regular army, who had fought by the side of Colonel Daviess when he fell in the battle of Tippecanoe, was killed where the action commenced. Finding that the situation of the corps was rendered desperate by the approach of the enemy, he gave order to his men, "My brave fellows, charge upon them," and a moment afterwards he was no more.

A party with Lieutenant Garrett, consisting of fifteen or twenty men, after retreating about a mile and a half, were compelled to surrender and were then all massacred but the lieutenant himself. Another force of about thirty men had escaped nearly three miles, when they were overtaken by the savages, and having surrendered, about one-half of them were shot and tomahawked. In short, the greater part of those who were in the retreat fell a sacrifice to the fury of the Indians. The snow was so deep, and the cold so intense, that they were soon exhausted and unable to elude their pursuers. General Winchester and Colonel Lewis, with a few more, were captured at a bridge about three-quarters of a mile from the village. Their coats being taken from them, they were carried back to the British lines, where Colonel Proctor commanded.

The troops within the picketing, under Majors Graves and Madison, had with Spartan valor maintained their position, though powerfully assailed by Proctor and his savage allies. The British had posted a six-pounder behind a small house about 200 yards down the river, which considerably annoyed the camp till its supplies of ammunition, which were brought in a sleigh, were arrested by killing the horse and his driver. Major Graves in passing 'round the lines was wounded in the knee. He sat down and bound it up himself, observing to his men, "Never mind me, but fight on." About 10 o'clock Colonel Proctor, finding it useless to sacrifice his men in vain attempts to dislodge this little band of heroes, withdrew his forces to the woods, intending either to abandon the contest or to wait the return of the Indians, who had pursued the retreating party. The loss sustained by our men was inconsiderable; and when Proctor withdrew, they employed the leisure it afforded them to take breakfast at their posts.

As soon as Proctor was informed that General Winchester was taken, he basely determined to take advantage of his situa-

tion to procure the surrender of the party in the picketing. He represented to the General that nothing but an immediate surrender would save the Americans from an indiscriminate massacre by the Indians. A flag was then seen advancing from the British lines, carried by Major Overton, one of the general's aides, and accompanied by Colonel Proctor himself and several other officers. Having halted at a respectful distance, Major Madison, with Brigade Major Garrard, proceeded to meet them, expecting that the object of the flag was to obtain a cessation of hostilities for the British to bear off their dead. They were much mortified to find that Major Overton was the bearer of an order from General Winchester, directing officer commanding the American forces to surrender them prisoners of war. This was the first intimation they had that their General had been taken. Colonel Proctor, with great haughtiness, demanded an immediate surrender, or he would set the town on fire, and the Indians would not be restrained in committing an indiscriminate massacre. Major Madison observed "that it had been customary for the Indians to massacre the wounded and prisoners after a surrender, and that he would not agree to any capitulation which General Winchester might direct, unless the safety and protection of his men were stipulated."

Colonel Proctor then said, "Sir, do you mean to dictate to me?"

"No," replied Madison, "I mean to dictate for myself, and we prefer selling our lives as dear as possible, rather than be massacred in cold blood."

Proctor then agreed to receive a surrender on the following terms: That all private property should be respected, that sleds should be sent next morning to remove the sick and wounded to Amherstburg on the island opposite Malden, that in the meantime they should be protected by a guard, and that the side arms of the officers should be restored to them at Malden.

Major Madison, after consulting with Garrard, thought it most prudent to capitulate on these terms. Half the original force was already lost; the balance would have to contend with more than three times their number; there was no possible chance of a retreat, nor any hope of a reinforcement to save them; and worst of all, their ammunition was nearly exhausted, not more than one-third of a small keg of cartridges being left.

Before the men had given up their arms, the Indians came among them and began to plunder them. Information being

given to Major Madison of this conduct, he ordered his men not to suffer an Indian to come into the lines, and that if they persisted in doing it, or in plundering, to fire upon them and bayonet them. This decided conduct restrained the savages, and none of the men who were marched with him to Malden, were robbed or injured by the Indians. The inhabitants of the town, being much alarmed for the safety of their persons and property, united with General Winchester in soliciting safety and protection from the British.

Soon after the British forces were withdrawn, Major Reynolds (British) began to exhibit symptoms of uneasiness, often walking about and looking towards the road leading to the Rapids, and no doubt expecting the approach of General Harrison with reinforcements, which would have been a most auspicious event for the wounded. The greater part of the Indians went with the British to Stoney Creek, six miles on the road towards Malden, where they were promised a frolic by their employers. A few stragglers remained, who went from house to house in search of plunder. Some of them remained in town till late in the night; and before day the interpreters who had been left with them abandoned the houses in which they lay. Their anticipations were now gloomy; the whole night indeed was spent with feeling vibrating between hope and despair. Daylight at last appeared and their hopes began to brighten; but in a very short time they experienced a sad reversal. About sunrise, instead of sleds arriving to convey them to Malden, a large body of Indians, perhaps 200 in number, came into the town painted black and red. Their chiefs held a council in which they soon determined to kill the wounded who were unable to march, in revenge for the warriors they had lost in battle. Soon afterwards they began to yell and to exhibit in their frantic conduct, the most diabolical dispositions. They began first to plunder the houses of the inhabitants, and then broke into those where the wounded prisoners were lying, some of whom they abused and stripped of their clothes and blankets and then tomahawked them without mercy. Captain Hickman was dragged to the door where he was tomahawked and then thrown back into the house. This appeared to be the signal for consummating their destruction. The houses of Jean B. Jerome and Gabriel Godfrey which contained most of the prisoners, were immediately set on fire and the greater part of the wounded consumed in the conflagration. Many of them who were able to crawl about endeavored to get

out at the windows, but as fast as they appeared they were tomahawked and pushed back. Some who were not in those houses were killed and thrown into the flames; while others were tomahawked, inhumanly mangled, and left in the streets and highways.

The few who were judged able to march, were saved and taken off towards Malden, but as often as any of them gave out on the way, they were tomahawked and left lying in the road. Major Woolfolk, secretary to General Winchester, had found an asylum in the house of a French citizen, but he was discovered by the Indians who placed him on a horse and were carrying him away. They took him by the house of Lasalle, a fellow who had been suspected for giving intelligence to the British before the battle, to whom Woolfolk promised a large sum of money if he would purchase him from the Indians. Lasalle replied that it was out of his power, but that probably his brother would, who lived in the next house. The Indian who had taken him, being willing to sell him, had turned to go there, when another savage shot him through the head. He was then tomahawked and scalped, and left to the hogs for two days, by which he was partly devoured before the inhabitants removed him. The fate of Major Graves has never been correctly ascertained. It is believed that he was put into a cariole at the River Raisin, and taken towards Detroit; but whether he was murdered on the way to that place, or reserved for greater sufferings, is not distinctly known. Captain Hart was later killed by two Indians who divided his clothes and money.

The American army in this affair lost upwards of 290 in killed, massacred, and missing. Only thirty-three escaped to the Rapids. The British took 547 prisoners, and the Indians about forty-five. The loss of the enemy, as the Americans had no chance to ascertain it, was of course never correctly known by the public. From the best information that could be obtained, it is believed to have been, killed and wounded, between three and four hundred. The Indians suffered greatly, and the 41st British Regiment was very much cut up. Their whole force in the battle was about 2,000, one-half regulars and Canadians, commanded by Colonels Proctor and St. George; the other, composed of Indians, commanded by Round-Head and Walk-in-the-Water. Tecumseh was not there. He was still on the Wabash collecting the warriors in that quarter.

Colonel Proctor arrived at Amherstburg with his prisoners

on the 23rd, and crowded them into a small muddy woodyard, where they were exposed all night in a heavy rain, without tents or blankets, and with scarcely fire enough to keep them from freezing, many of them being very indifferently clothed. Such treatment was very severe on men who at home enjoyed all the comforts and luxuries of life, and whose humanity would have disdained to treat any conquered foe in this manner. Proctor, after he had left the battle ground, never named the guard nor sleds which he had promised for the wounded Americans; nor would he pay any attention to the subject when repeatedly reminded of it by General Winchester and Major Madison. Captain Elliott once replied to their solicitations that "the Indians were very excellent surgeons." From the whole tenor of Proctor's conduct it is evident that he was determined from the first to abandon the wounded to their fate. "What a contrast between this base perfidy of the British officers, in exposing their prisoners to massacre, after stipulating to protect them; and the noble humanity of the American tars, in sacrificing their own lives to save their foes who had surrendered unconditionally!" says McAfee.

The prisoners were detained at Amherstburg till the 26th, when they were divided into two parties; the first of which was marched on that day, and the other on the day following. Some who were badly wounded were left behind with surgeons to attend them. They proceeded up the rivers Detroit and Thames, through the interior of Upper Canada to Fort George on the Niagara strait. On this journey they suffered many hardships and indignities from the severity of the weather, the want of provisions, and from the inhumanity of their guards. At Fort George they were paroled and returned home by the way of Erie and Pittsburgh, and thence down the Ohio River. The condition of the parole was: Not to bear arms against His Majesty or his allies during the present war, until regularly exchanged. When some of the Kentuckians inquired who were His Majesty's allies, they were answered that "His Majesty's allies were known;" from which it appears that some of these tools of British baseness were ashamed of the association which their sovereign had formed. General Winchester, Colonel Lewis, and Major Madison were detained and sent by Montreal to Quebec, at which place, and at Beaufort in its vicinity, they were confined till the spring of 1814, when a general exchange of prisoners took place, and they returned home.

In the River Raisin defeat, though the detachment cut off was not large, the American cause sustained a great injury; and on the state of Kentucky the stroke was peculiarly severe. Colonel Wells immediately returned to that state, with all the information that had been collected respecting the battle and massacre. The effect on the feelings of the community was truly deplorable. Almost every family in the state had some friend or intimate acquaintance in the army, for whose fate the most anxious and distressing apprehensions were excited. The accounts given by the fugitives, on which alone the public had to depend, were altogether indefinite and extremely exaggerated. It was weeks and even months before much information was received on which a perfect reliance could be placed. The return of the prisoners at last relieved the anxious uncertainty of the greater part of the people; but some were still left in doubt, and forever were to remain in doubt, respecting the fate of their best friends and most intimate connections. Some idea of the public anxiety and distress may be formed from the facts that the army thus barbarously destroyed was composed of the most interesting and respectable citizens of the state; and that from the previous intelligence from it, the highest expectations were formed of its success and glory. A disaster so calamitous would necessarily excite much discussion with respect to its cause; and much blame was thrown upon those who committed no error, and who were not instrumental in causing the defeat of Winchester, which proved to be the great defeat of Harrison's campaign. General Harrison was blamed by his enemies for the advance of the detachment to the River Raisin; for not reinforcing it in time; or finding that impracticable for not ordering a retreat; besides many other matters of less importance.

It is evident from the statement of facts already made, that Harrison was not answerable for the advance of the detachment. It was sent by General Winchester without the knowledge and consent of Harrison and contrary to his views and plans for the future conduct of the campaign, and to the instructions communicated with his plans through Ensign Tod before the left wing had marched for the Rapids. If the advance was improper, the blame does not lie upon Harrison; if it was proper, General Winchester is entitled to the credit of having ordered it. The following extract is made at headquarters, by the first intelligence of the advance received at that place:

"This news for a moment paralyzed the army, or at least the

thinking part of it, for no one could imagine that it was possible for him (Winchester) to be guilty of such a hazardous step. General Harrison was astonished at the imprudence and inconsistency of such a measure, which, if carried into execution, could be viewed in no other light than as attended with certain and inevitable destruction to the left wing. Nor was it a difficult matter for any one to foresee and predict the terrible consequences, which were sure to mark the result of a scheme no less rash in its conception than hazardous in its execution."

With respect to reinforcing the detachment, a recurrence to facts equally proves that Harrison is not blamable, as he made every exertion in his power to support it. It was not until the night of the 16th that he received the information, indirectly through General Perkins, that Winchester had arrived at the Rapids. By the same express he was advised that Winchester meditated some unknown movement against the enemy. Alarmed at this information, he immediately made every exertion which the situation of his affairs required. He was then at Upper Sandusky, his principal deposit of provisions and munitions of war, which is sixty miles from the Rapids by the way of the Portage River (by way of later Fort Seneca and now Pemberville, to the Maumee River in nearly a bee line), and seventy-six by the way of Lower Sandusky; and about thirty-eight more from the River Raisin. He immediately sent an express direct to the Maumee Rapids, for information; gave orders for a corps of 300 men to advance with the artillery, and escorts to proceed with provisions; and in the morning he proceeded himself to Lower Sandusky, at which place he arrived in the night following, a distance of forty miles, which he travelled in seven hours and a half over roads requiring such exertion that the horse of his aide, Major Hukill, fell dead on their arrival at the fort (Fremont). He found there that General Perkins had prepared to send a battalion to the Rapids, in conformity with a request from General Winchester. This battalion was dispatched the next morning, the 18th, with a piece of artillery; but the roads were so bad that it was unable by its utmost exertion, to reach the River Raisin, a distance of seventy-five miles, before the fatal disaster.

General Harrison then determined to proceed to the Rapids himself, to learn personally from General Winchester what was his situation and views. At 4:00 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, while he still remained at Lower Sandusky, he received the information that Colonel Lewis had been sent with a detachment

to secure the provisions on the River Raisin and to occupy, with the intention of holding, the village of Frenchtown. There was then but one regiment and a battalion at Lower Sandusky, and the regiment was immediately put in motion, with orders to make forced marches for the Rapids; and General Harrison himself immediately proceeded for the same place. On his way he met an express with intelligence of the successful battle which had been fought on the preceding day. The anxiety of General Harrison to push forward and either prevent or remedy any misfortune which might occur, as soon as he was apprised of the advance to the River Raisin, was manifested by the great personal exertions which he made in this instance. He started in a sleigh with General Perkins to overtake the battalion under Cotgrove, attended by a single servant. As the sleigh went very slow from the roughness of the road, he took the horse of his servant and pushed on alone. Night came upon him in the midst of the swamp, which was so imperfectly frozen that the horse sunk to his belly at every step. He had no recourse but to dismount and lead his horse, jumping himself from one sod to another which was solid enough to support him. When almost exhausted, he met one of Cotgrove's men coming back to look for his bayonet, which he said he had left at a place where he had stopped, and for which he would have a dollar stopped from his pay unless he recovered it. The general told him he would not only pardon him for the loss but supply him with another if he would assist him to get his horse through the swamp. By his aid the general was enabled to reach the camp of the battalion.

Very early on the morning of the 20th, he arrived at the Rapids, from which place General Winchester had gone on the preceding evening, with all his disposable force to the River Raisin. Nothing more could now be done but wait the arrival of the reinforcements from Lower Sandusky.

The original force of General Winchester at his camp at the Rapids had been about 1,300, and all but 300 were now gone in advance. The battalion from Lower Sandusky was hurried on as fast as possible; and as soon as the regiment arrived, 350 strong, on the evening of the 21st, the balance of Winchester's army was ordered to proceed, which they did the next morning, under General Payne. The force now advancing exceeded by 300 the force deemed sufficient by General Winchester to maintain his position. But whether sufficient or not, it is evident from the preceding statement of facts, that no more could be sent and that greater exertions could not have been made to send

it in time. Instead of censure being due to General Harrison, he merits praise for his prudent exertions, from the moment he was apprised of Winchester's arrival at the Rapids.

"What human means," says Colonel Wood, "within the control of General Harrison, could prevent the anticipated disaster, and save that corps which was already looked upon as lost, as doomed to inevitable destruction? Certainly none — because neither orders to halt, nor troops to succor him, could be received in time, or at least that was the expectation. He was already in motion and General Harrison still at Upper Sandusky, seventy miles in his rear. The weather was inclement, the snow was deep, and a large portion of the black swamp was yet open. What could a Turenne or an Eugene have done under such a pressure of embarrassing circumstances, more than Harrison did?"

If it should be asked why detachments from the center and right wing were not sent sooner to the Rapids to form a junction with and to strengthen the advance under Winchester, the answer is obvious. The object of the advance to that place was to guard the provisions, artillery, and military stores, to be accumulated there for the main expedition, for which purpose Winchester's command, as it would daily be strengthened by the arrival of escorts, was amply sufficient; and it was important that a force unnecessarily large should not be sent there, to consume the accumulating provisions, before the main expedition was ready to move.

After the success of the detachment on the 18th, there were powerful reasons why the position it occupied should not be abandoned. The protection of the French inhabitants was now an imperative duty. The advance to their town had been made at their solicitation; and when the battle had commenced, many of them joined the American forces and fought with great gallantry; and afterwards they attacked and killed the straggling Indians, wherever they met them. Their houses were opened to our men, and they offered to give up the whole of the provisions, which yet remained to them, upon condition that they should not again be abandoned to the fury of the savages, or subjected for what they had done, to be immured in the prisons of Malden. The amount of provisions to be secured was believed to be very considerable. The duty of protecting the faithful inhabitants, however, had been so strongly impressed by their conduct, on the minds of General Winchester and his men, that an order to retreat would perhaps not have been very promptly obeyed. They proved their fidelity again, by engaging in the battle of the 22nd.

CHAPTER XLIII

TERMINATION OF CAMPAIGN FOR 1812

HARRISON RETIRES TO PORTAGE RIVER—HIS CAMP NEAR PRESENT PEMBERVILLE, OHIO—RETURNS TO MAUMEE AND LOCATES FORT MEIGS—PREPARATIONS FOR OPENING OF YEAR 1813.

On the night of January 22, 1813, after all possible information had been gathered concerning the disaster that day to the army of General Winchester at Frenchtown on the River Raisin (site of now Monroe, Mich.) a council of the general and field officers was held at Winchester's camp at the Maumee Rapids, by General Harrison. As has been stated this camp was on the high elevation just above Presque Isle hill, where is Turkey Foot Rock and overlooking below on the left or west bank of the Maumee, the battle ground of Fallen Timbers. Directly opposite on the present Wood County side of the stream was where General Hull's army reached the river, the ford being between the two points.

The question up for consideration at the council was whether it was probable that the British and Indians would now attack the 900 men with a single piece of artillery at the camp under Harrison, and if so, would Harrison's force be able to make a successful resistance. Major M'Clanahan of the Kentucky Volunteers, who had escaped from the action at the River Raisin and who was present at the council, was of the opinion that the force of the enemy in the battle had been from 1,600 to 2,000 British and Indians, with six pieces of artillery—mostly howitzers. After mature deliberation it was the unanimous opinion of the council that it would be proper to retire a short distance toward the Sandusky River on the road upon which artillery and reinforcements were approaching. For should the position at the Maumee Rapids be maintained, yet by getting in its rear, the enemy would be able to defeat the reinforcements in detail, and capture the all important convoys of artillery, military stores and provisions coming from the Sandusky. Although the enemy might not advance with his whole force against the camp at the Rapids, yet it was deemed highly probable that the Indians at least would cross the river on

the ice below that place, and endeavor to intercept the convoys, of the approach of which they must have received information.

The place which had been selected, and the camp which had been formed by General Winchester at the Rapids elevation, were also very injudicious and untenable against any formidable force. The position was on the wrong side of the river; for it frequently happened in the winter that heavy rains suddenly swelled the current and broke up the ice, so as to render the stream wholly impassable for many days together. This would prevent the convoys from reaching the camp, whilst the enemy might cross on the ice at the mouth of the bay and destroy them without opposition.

The attempt to fortify the position had also destroyed all its natural advantages. The camp was a parallelogram with its longest side on the river, corresponding to the form of the hill on which it was placed, the abrupt declivity of which afforded the enemy a better fortification at point-blank shot in the rear, than the breastwork of logs by which the lines were protected. The flanks were also at a convenient distance from the ends of the hill to be annoyed from them by the enemy. By reversing the order and making the flank lines the longest, so as to extend quite across the hill, the rear would have been rendered secure, and the flanks would have been at too great a distance to be annoyed from the extremities of the hill.

On the next morning, therefore, the army abandoned the Rapids, having first set fire to the block-houses, in which there was a quantity of provisions that would be useful to the enemy if they advanced to that place. Having retired as far as the Portage River, about eighteen miles distant, the general there established and strongly fortified his camp, to wait for the artillery and a detachment of troops under Leftwich, expecting that he would be enabled by their arrival to return in a few days to the banks of the Maumee. This camp at the Portage River was on the east bank of the right branch of that stream, not far above the junction of the two branches, and within the limits of the present village of Pemberville.

This retrograde movement was altogether unnecessary in the actual state of things, but McAfee observes here that "we are not to judge the commander of an army by the information respecting the enemy which may be found in the pages of the subsequent historian, but by that which at the time was in his possession; and in the present case we may remark that immediately after

experiencing a defeat for the want of a cautious and strict conformity to military principles, it would have been excusable in the officers of the army to have carried that virtue to excess."

General Harrison was disappointed in his expectation of returning in a few days to the Rapids by an unfortunate rain, which arrested the progress of the artillery and troops under Leftwich, at the distance of twenty-five miles from his camp at the Portage. The rain commenced on the twenty-fourth and continued several days, so that the road was rendered wholly impassable for the artillery, although it was fixed upon sleds. In the meantime spies were sent towards the River Raisin to discover the situation of affairs in that quarter; and on the thirty-first of January, Doctor M'Keehan, of the Ohio militia, volunteered at the request of the general to carry a flag to Malden, to ascertain the condition of the wounded, and to carry them a sum of money in gold to procure accommodations. His fate still further illustrates the character of the enemy. He was accompanied by two men, and furnished with an open letter to General Winchester and another addressed to any British officer, describing the character in which he went, and also with written instructions for his own conduct; all of which he was directed to show to the first British officer he met. He stopped the first night in a cabin at the Rapids, where he fixed his flag in his cariole at the door. In the night he was discovered and attacked by some Indians, who killed one of his men, and having robbed Doctor M'Keehan and the other of all they had, took them prisoners to the British Captain Elliott, who was stationed with some other Indians about twenty miles farther on. Elliott treated him politely, and sent him forward to Proctor. When he came into the presence of that magnanimous Briton, Proctor immediately began to abuse General Harrison, found fault with M'Keehan's instructions, and declared that the flag was only a pretext to cover some bad design. These insinuations were indignantly repelled by the doctor, who was told that he should be sent back, by a different route from that which he came. After some days he was recognized in his official character, and directed to attend the wounded. On the second of March he was arrested by Colonel Proctor, and accused of carrying on a secret correspondence. Without giving him even the form of a trial, he was then sent off to Fort George and thence to Kingston, and finally to Montreal, where he was imprisoned in a dungeon, and all the time, from the period of his arrest, was misused, remarks McAfee, "in the true British style." After lying in the dungeon

thirty days, he was liberated at the intercession of Lieutenant Dudley of the American navy; and by way of reparation was informed by Adjutant-General Baýnes, that the outrages he had suffered were contrary to his orders.

Concerning General Harrison's camp at the Portage River (Pemberville site), a private in the ranks wrote in his diary that the rains which detained the army there were extreme and most disagreeable. The water in the river raised so suddenly that the men were obliged to cut down trees along the banks, on the logs and brush of which they pitched their tents to keep them out of the water. The weather turned suddenly cold and the ice formed within a short time of sufficient strength to bear up the ox teams and also afford sport to the army for skating.

On the 30th of January, General Leftwich arrived at the camp with his brigade, a regiment of Pennsylvania troops, and the greater part of the artillery; and on the first of February General Harrison marched with his whole force, amounting now to 1,700 men, to the foot of the Rapids and encamped on the southeast side of the river, at a place which he deemed much stronger and more suitable in other respects than that which had been occupied by Winchester and where with Captains Wood and Gratiot, engineers, he selected the site for a fort. He still entertained a belief that he would be able to execute in the present season, the long intended expedition against Malden, and continued to exert himself in preparation. All the troops in the rear were ordered to join him immediately, except some companies which were left in the forts on the Auglaize and St. Marys. He expected he would be able by the eleventh or twelfth of February to advance towards Malden, if not with heavy artillery sufficient to reduce that place, at least with a force that could scour the whole country, disperse the Indians, destroy all the shipping of the enemy, the greater part of their provisions, and establish a post near Brownstown, till the season would permit the advance of the artillery. The Ohio and some of the Kentucky troops soon arrived at the Rapids, which rendered his advance forces 2,000 in number. The accession of all the others, would scarcely, however, raise his effective force to four thousand men, so greatly were the different corps now reduced from their nominal and original amount.

The present was the season, in common years, when the most intense frosts prevailed in this country, by which its lakes and swamps were rendered perfectly firm and secure for any kind of conveyance; yet the weather now continued so warm and rainy,

that the ice rendered it altogether unsafe. A trial of its strength on the border of the lake was effectually made on the evening of the 9th. Intelligence being received that a party of Indians were driving off the cattle from a small French village, about fourteen miles below the Rapids, General Harrison prepared a strong detachment and pursued them that night twenty-six miles on the ice so weak in many places that the horses of several officers who were mounted broke through it; and in one place the six-pounder broke through it and was nearly lost. The Indians were not overtaken; and in the morning the detachment returned to camp.

The eleventh of February, 1813, at last arrived, and still the balance of the troops with the necessary supplies had not been able to reach the Rapids; the roads by this time had also become absolutely impassable for any kind of carriage, it being scarcely possible to traverse them with a single horse. Under these circumstances General Harrison was at length constrained, with much reluctance and mortification, to abandon all thoughts of advancing this season against Malden. And thus terminated, without gaining any decisive advantage over the enemy, a campaign which was prosecuted with incalculable expense to the government, and immense labors and hardships on the part of the general and his men. The great difficulties to be encountered in the prosecution of a winter campaign through the swampy wilderness in the northwestern parts of Ohio, were sufficient to defeat all the exertions and perseverance which could reasonably be expected from human efforts; yet the indefatigable industry of the General, and the unshaken firmness of his brave compatriots, would probably have surmounted every obstacle, had it not been for the mismanagement and misfortunes of General Winchester in conducting the advance of the left wing. The apparently unimportant error of sending the intelligence of his arrival at the Rapids, by the driver of the old pack horses, would seem to have been the determining cause of the failure. The roads were then so well frozen that the artillery and convoys of provisions might have been pushed forward with considerable dispatch; but for want of that intelligence at headquarters, some delay was produced by which the critical moment for advancing was lost.

It was certainly unfortunate that a winter campaign was ever attempted, observes McAfee at this point, who writes that when General Harrison was first appointed to the command of the Northwestern Army, the precise season of the year had arrived, which had arrested the progress of the army under General

Wayne in the year 1793. Although eighteen months had then been employed in preparation, and in disciplining the troops, the prudent caution of General Washington preferred a postponement of Wayne's meditated chastisement of the Indians till another year, to the risk of attempting it at a season, which so greatly multiplied the difficulties at all times presented by the nature of the country and the peculiar activity of the enemy to be opposed. It was in compliance with Washington's instructions, that the American Army under Wayne was cantoned at Greenville in September, 1793, and the auxiliary volunteer force from Kentucky dismissed. The latter had been in part drawn from the most remote counties of Kentucky, and a considerable portion of the whole expense which would have attended their employment had already been incurred. To tread in the footsteps of Washington and Wayne could have been dishonorable to no administration and their commander. Why then was the winter campaign attempted? The orders of the government to General Harrison were indeed not positive on this head; but it is impossible that he could hesitate to believe that their wishes and expectations were decidedly in favor of recovering Detroit and taking Malden during the winter. Their letters afford ample evidence that such were their views; and their having ordered 10,000 men to the field, many of whom were from the Alleghany Mountains, whose terms of service would all expire by the end of winter, was an unquestionable evidence of their intentions. The force was much greater than was necessary merely for the defense of the frontiers. After the most mature reflection the general determined to endeavor to surmount all the difficulties which would oppose the winter campaign. He was fully apprised of their extent, and had even given a decided opinion to the government before his appointment, that in the event of the capture of Hull's army, it would be impracticable to re-establish our affairs in that quarter until the following year. After being invested with the command, he had altered his opinion so far only as to believe that a season favorable to his operations, combined with some address, and with much labor and expense, might possibly enable him to advance, either before the swamps became impassable in the fall, or in the middle of winter when they were hard frozen; and he believed that the uncommon solicitude of the government and the people made it necessary to attempt it. The preparations for the advance of the army, however, could not be completed in time for

advancing in the fall; and the openness of the winter, with other unfavorable occurrences defeated him in that season.

People who were impatient at the delay of the Northwestern Army, did not know that before it could arrive at Detroit, it had to pass a wilderness of 180 miles, and many who knew that circumstance, did not know that the greater part of that desert was a frightful swamp, and that the best of it would be considered impassable for carriages of any kind, by the people of the Atlantic States. With the knowledge which the general possessed of the country, he could not for a moment have thought of passing, in the latter part of the fall or beginning of winter, the swampy district which crosses every approach to the lake, even if his preparations for the march had been complete. But this was far from being the case. At a time when it was supposed that he might have been in full march upon Malden, some of the pieces of artillery which were intended to reduce that fortress had just been forwarded from Washington City, and a part of the timber for the carriages of the latter was still standing in the woods near Pittsburgh. The very unexpected surrender of Hull had thrown all the western arrangements of the government into confusion. Reinforcements had been ordered for his army, and during the excitement produced by his surrender, additional reinforcements were ordered into the field before any arrangements had been made to furnish them with provisions and clothing, and to supply the place of the artillery which was lost in Detroit.

The story of what may be termed the first campaign under Harrison has now been given, together with the facts of Tippecanoe, Hull's surrender at Detroit and Winchester's disaster at the River Raisin. In all this the narrative of McAfee has been followed, mostly verbatim, as the best authority. Next comes the campaign for the year 1813.

CHAPTER XLIV

HARRISON'S CAMPAIGN DURING YEAR 1813

ASSEMBLES TROOPS AT LOWER MAUMEE RAPIDS—COLONEL WOOD BUILDS FORT MEIGS—BRITISH AND INDIANS ADVANCE FROM MALDEN—FIRST SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS—ADVANCE OF FORCES UNDER GENERAL CLAY—STORY OF DISASTER TO COLONEL DUDLEY—BRITISH AND INDIANS RAISE SIEGE AFTER NINE DAYS' ATTACK—SECOND SIEGE OF FORT MEIGS—COMPLETE STORY OF THIS IMPORTANT AMERICAN POST.

After the termination of General Harrison's campaign for the year 1812 and he had assembled his troops on the east bank of the Maumee at the foot of the Rapids, the commander-in-chief directed his attention to fortifying his position there, to the distribution of the troops which would remain after the discharge of the Kentucky and Ohio contingent and to the gathering of provisions and stores at his present post for the next campaign. On February 11, 1813, from his headquarters at the foot of the Rapids he wrote the secretary of war among other things as follows:

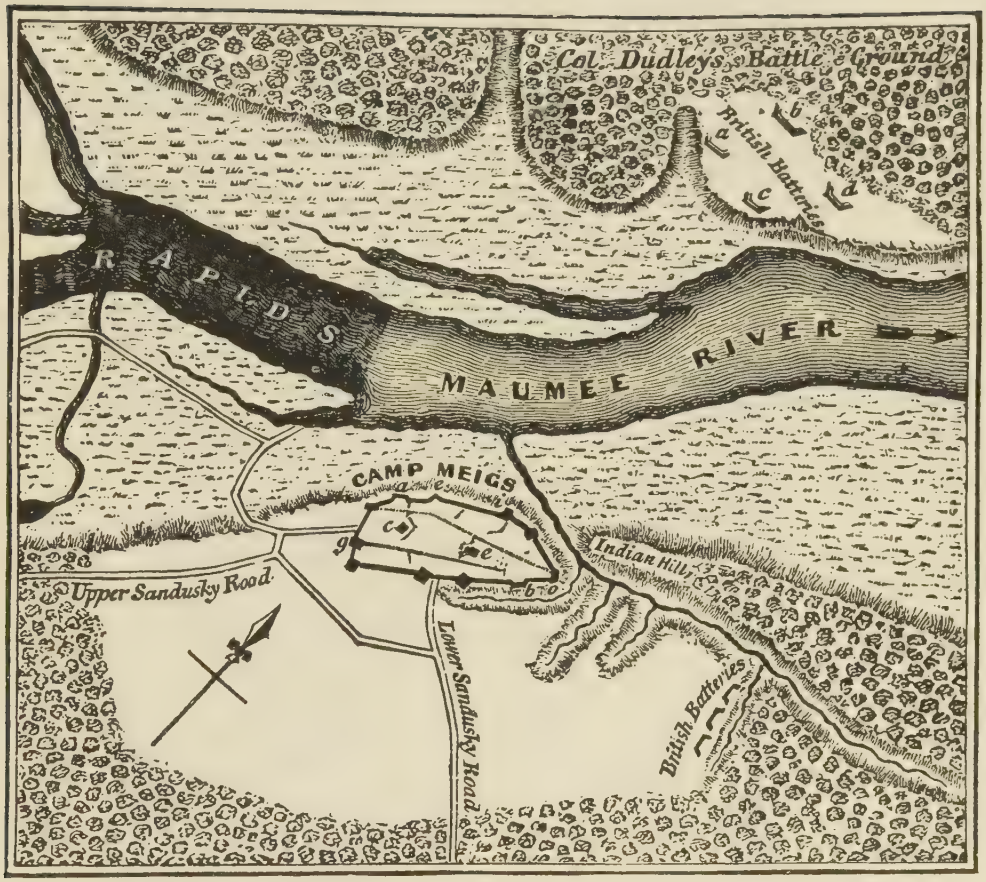
"Having been joined by General Leftwich with his brigade, and a regiment of the Pennsylvania quota at the Portage River (Pemberville) on the 30th ultimo, I marched thence on the 1st instant and reached this place on the morning of the 2d with an effective force of sixteen hundred men. I have since been joined by a Kentucky regiment and part of General Tupper's Ohio brigade, which has increased our numbers to two thousand non-commissioned officers and privates. * * * I have ordered the whole of the troops of the Left Wing (excepting one company for each of the six forts in that quarter) the balance of the Pennsylvania brigade, and the Ohio brigade under General Tupper, and a detachment of regular troops of twelve-months volunteers under command of Colonel Campbell, to march to this place as soon as possible. * * * The disposition of the troops for the remainder of the winter will be as follows: A battalion of militia lately called out from this state, with a company of regular troops now at Fort Winchester (Defiance) will garrison the posts upon the waters of the Auglaize and St. Marys. The small block-houses upon Hull's trace (M'Arthur, Necessity, Findlay, and Portage

River, south of now Bowling Green—Editor) will have a subaltern's command in each. A company will be placed at Upper Sandusky, and another at Lower Sandusky. All the rest of the troops will be brought to this place, amounting to from fifteen to eighteen hundred men.

"I am erecting here a pretty strong fort (Meigs) capable of resisting field artillery at least. The troops will be placed in a fortified camp, covered on one flank by the fort. This is the best position that can be taken to cover the frontier, and the small posts in the rear of it, and those above it on the Miami (Maumee) and its tributaries. The force placed here ought, however, to be strong enough to encounter any that the enemy may detach against the forts above. Twenty-five hundred would not be too many. But, anxious to reduce the expenses during the winter within as narrow bounds as possible, I have desired the Governor of Kentucky not to call out (but to hold in readiness to march) the fifteen hundred men lately required of him. All the teams which have been hired for the public service will be discharged, and those belonging to the public, which are principally oxen, disposed of in the settlements where forage is cheaper, and every other arrangement made which will lessen the expenses during the winter. Attention will still, however, be paid to the deposit of supplies for the ensuing campaign. Immense supplies of provisions have been accumulating along the Auglaise River, and boats and pirogues prepared to bring them down as soon as the river opens."

In the matter of assembling supplies, little could be done until the opening of the rivers in the spring to bring down by water conveyance what had been accumulated on the St. Marys and the Auglaize. From Lower Sandusky there was some progress made in transportation by going around on the ice down the Sandusky River and along the border of Lake Erie and thence up the Maumee Bay and river. The construction of the works which was named Fort Meigs in honor of the governor of Ohio was left to Col. E. D. Wood, captain of the corps of engineers, who wrote as follows:

"So soon as the lines of the camp were designated, large portions of labor were assigned to each corps in the army, by which means a very laudable emulation was easily excited. Each brigade or regiment commenced the particular portion of work allotted to it with great spirit and vigor. The camp was about 2,500 yards in circumference, the whole of which, with the exception of



FORT MEIGS AND ITS ENVIRONS

From the survey of Lieut. Joseph H. Larwill, made July 19, 1813, between the two seiges.

The erection of the fort was commenced by General Harrison about the 1st of February, 1813, and was named after the governor of Ohio. The lettering on the fort indicates: (a) Cushing's Grand Battery; (b) Mortar Battery; (c) Magazines; (g) Gaines' Battery at the second seige; (e), (i) and (o) minor batteries. The block houses are indicated by black squares, and the dotted lines show the traverses or walls which were of earth thrown up to protect the garrison against the batteries from the other side of the river. The longest had a base of twenty feet, was 900 feet long, and about 12 feet high. Originally the work covered about ten acres. It was reduced somewhat after the first seige because of reduction of the garrison.

several small intervals left for batteries and block-houses, was to be picketed with timber fifteen feet long, from ten to twelve inches in diameter, and set three feet in the ground. Such were the instructions of the engineer. To complete this picketing, to put eight block-houses of double timbers, to elevate four large batteries, to build all the storehouses and magazines required to contain the supplies of the army, together with the ordinary fatigues of the camp, was an undertaking of no small magnitude. Besides an immense deal of labor was likewise required in excavating ditches, making abatis, and clearing away the wood about the camp; and all this was to be done too, at a time when the weather was inclement, and the ground so hard frozen that it could scarcely be opened with the mattock and pick-axe. But in the use of the axe, mattock and spade consisted the chief military knowledge of our army; and even that knowledge, however trifling it may be supposed by some, is of the utmost importance in many situations, and in ours was the salvation of the army.—Colonel Wood."

Colonel Wood's meaning in this is that by great diligence, the fort was completed in time to withstand the attack of the British batteries and the attempted capture of the works.

As Wood further says, the fort was 2,500 yards in circumference or 7,500 feet; near a mile-and-a-half around. And according to his specifications, it took some 8,000 logs or picket timbers to enclose the fort, not to mention the timber for the block-houses, batteries, storehouses and army quarters. Laid end to end, the 8,000 timber pickets, fifteen feet long, would reach some twenty-three miles.

The position thus fortified was deemed the most eligible that could be selected for the protection of the frontiers and the small posts in the rear of it. In fact it was the key to all the operations in the Northwest. As a depot for the artillery, military stores and provisions, it was also indispensably necessary to maintain it, for it was now impossible to bring them away.

To notice some transactions which occurred after the defeat at the River Raisin in the states which had troops in the Northwestern Army it may be said that when General Harrison at Lower Sandusky, received the information from General Winchester, that the Kentucky troops were not disposed to remain in service after their six months had expired, he immediately addressed a letter to Governor Shelby, in which he appealed to the patriotism of that chief and the people of his state for reinforce-

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FORT MEIGS, 1813

1. East Battery.
2. Major Croghan's Battery.
3. General Cushing's Battery.
4. Mortar.
5. Meat House.
6. West Battery.
7. Block House.
8. Lookout.
9. Kentucky.
10. Magazines.
12. Britch Battery Burial Ground.
13. Well.
14. Traverse.

ments. He requested that a corps of 1,500 men might be raised and marched to the army with all possible dispatch, to supply the place of the Kentuckians then in the field. The legislature of Kentucky was in session, and the governor in a confidential message, communicated the information and request, which he had received from General Harrison. A law was immediately passed offering the additional pay of seven dollars per month to any 1,500 of the Kentucky troops who would remain in service till a corps could be sent to relieve them. This law with an address from the legislature to the troops, was immediately dispatched to them by Col. Anthony Crocket, who arrived at the Northwestern Army about the eighth of February. The men had suffered so much by the unparalleled privations which they had to encounter in a winter campaign in that rigorous climate and unfavorable country, and they were now so anxious to return to their friends at home, that they partially resisted the strong appeal to their patriotism in the address of the legislature, supported by the offer of additional pay. They would not engage for any specified length of time, but if their General was ready to advance against the enemy they would not hesitate to accompany him without any pecuniary inducement. A similar offer was made about the same time by the State of Ohio, and afterwards by Pennsylvania, to their respective troops, which was attended with similar success.

In the meantime the Legislature of Kentucky was engaged in passing an act, to authorize the governor to detach a corps of 3,000 men from the militia, of which 1,500 were intended to march immediately to General Harrison. On the second of February, they received intelligence of the victory obtained at Frenchtown by Colonel Lewis, which produced the liveliest joy at the capitol—but a sad reverse was at hand. In the evening the leading theater was unusually crowded, and the hearts of the people teemed with congratulation at the victory obtained by their fellow-citizens in arms, when Colonel Wells arrived about 8 o'clock in the night with information of the defeat and massacre at the River Raisin. What a shock to the feelings of the people, says McAfee! The flower of the Kentucky troops and of the citizens of that state were totally defeated and barbarously cut to pieces. The sad reality filled every mind with horror—the fictitious scene of public amusement was quickly abandoned for the private firesides to mourn the loss of friends and the misfortunes of the country. But the public spirit did not sink under the pressure of this calamity. Though many widows and orphans

were left to mourn the loss of husbands and fathers; yet the monstrous outrage of the twenty-second only roused the indignation of the yeomanry and one universal call for vengeance on the unprincipled foe, was heard from one extreme of the state to the other.

On the next day the governor put his approving signature to the law for calling out 3,000 militiamen; and the legislature placing the utmost confidence in the patriotism, energy and military talents of that veteran, passed a resolution in conformity with the Constitution, "advising him to command personally in the field," at any time when he could best promote the public interests by such personal service. At the Rapids on the thirteenth, the fragments of the regiments, originally commanded by Colonels Allen, Scott, and Lewis, were honorably discharged; and about the same time the original troops from Ohio were also permitted to retire. The Kentucky regiments under Barbee, Poague, and Jennings terminated their period of service on the first of March and returned home. The Virginia and Pennsylvania troops still formed a competent force at the fort, but their time was also drawing to a close.

The commanding general, considering the destruction of the enemy's vessels at Malden as an object of the greatest importance and as one which might be accomplished by an expedition on the ice of the lake, prepared in the latter part of February for an enterprise of that kind, which he entrusted to the command of Captain Langham, a young officer of great promise. The detachment with which he was to execute it consisted of 170 volunteers from the different corps at the Rapids, who were capable of any enterprise that valour and perseverance could effect. They were provided with all the combustible materials and instruments necessary for such an undertaking; and the particular party charged with setting fire to the vessels was placed under the immediate direction of Mr. Madis, conductor of artillery, a young French gentleman who had been an officer of the navy in his native country and who was distinguished for his great zeal in our cause and for his knowledge of all the duties of the artillery service. Sleighs were provided for the whole detachment and they were directed to go down the lake to Bass Islands, and proceed from one island to another in the chain running towards Malden, managing their movements so as to set out from the Middle Sister about dark that they might reach the destined scene of action some hours before day. When they came near to Malden, the

sleighs were to be left and the party to proceed on foot, being all provided with moccasins or cloth socks to prevent their feet from making a noise on the ice. Having completely fired the vessels they were to return to their sleighs which it was supposed would convey them so rapidly away as to render pursuit negligible. On the second day after their departure, General Harrison advanced with a considerable detachment for the purpose of meeting any party which might pursue them. But at the mouth of the Maumee Bay, he had the infinite mortification to meet Captain Langham returning. He had proceeded but a short distance from the Bass Islands, when he found the whole lake open, which of course put a stop to his progress. In most winters the passage of the lake on the ice is practicable at this period. Had it been so at this time, there is good reason to believe that the scheme would have succeeded, and have illuminated the setting darkness of the campaign with a blaze of glory. The subsequent conduct of Captain Langham proved that a better choice for a leader of such an enterprise could not have been made; nor could a more proper person have been selected for firing the vessels than Mr. Madis, from his intimate acquaintance with everything relating to them, and his acknowledged bravery which he had displayed in the campaign of General Hull.

There was at this time a disposition on the part of the government to cut down expenses by eliminating some of the militia service. But fortunately General Harrison before receiving instructions on this point against which he remonstrated on account of leaving the frontiers in a defenseless condition, had called for the reinforcements from Kentucky and Ohio, which even then would not be sufficient to garrison the different posts sufficiently. And Fort Meigs had been constructed for a force of 2,000 men, for the general had thought it necessary to maintain a force at that place which would be able to contend in the field with all the disposable force of the enemy, in order to prevent him from getting into its rear and destroying the weaker posts which more immediately protected the frontiers. For future understanding, it is mentioned here that Colonels M'Arthur and Cass were appointed brigadier-generals, to command the troops destined to form the Northwestern Army; and Governor Howard was appointed a brigadier, and assigned to the command of the Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri territories.

In the meantime General Harrison had left the frontiers and repaired to Cincinnati where his family resided, having entrusted

the command of Fort Meigs to General Leftwich. Upon the failure of the expedition under Captain Langham he saw that it was now impossible to annoy the enemy in any manner, and that until the lake became navigable, it would be equally impossible for the enemy to make any formidable attack on his posts. He was equally confident that as soon as the lake became completely open in the spring an attack would be made on some of his advanced positions and most probably on Fort Meigs, on the safety of which depended the success of our operations in the next campaign. At the conclusion of the last campaign, that place had become from inevitable necessity as well as from choice, the grand depot of nearly all the artillery, military stores, and provisions belonging to the Northwestern Army; for unless the provisions in the posts on the waters of the Maumee were taken to Fort Meigs while the waters were navigable in the spring, they would be rendered useless for any operations in advance of those places until midsummer, when the roads would become sufficiently dry and firm for their land transportation.

Before the period when the attack on the place was to be expected, its garrison would be reduced to insignificance by the discharge of the militia; hence the general deemed it his duty to repair to the interior and hasten out with reinforcements to take their place; and this was particularly necessary, as it was probable that they would be too late, unless their march were hastened by those extraordinary and expensive measures to which a commander-in-chief can with propriety resort, but of which few subordinate officers will take the responsibility. The general had also a powerful motive for visiting Cincinnati, in the state of his family. They had suffered and were still suffering the most unexampled afflictions of disease.

Governor Meigs had ordered two regiments to be organized, which rendezvoused at Dayton and several other points in Ohio, in the early part of March, and were placed under the command of Brig.-Gen. John Wingate, who proceeded with one of the regiments under Colonel Mills to St. Marys, to garrison the posts in that quarter. The number of men in his brigade, however, proved greatly deficient. From one division of militia, from which 250 men were to be detached, only forty appeared in the field; and the whole amount obtained was insufficient to garrison the small posts only.

The governor of Kentucky acting under the law recently passed in that state, had on the 16th of February, ordered 3,000

men to be drafted and organized into four regiments under Colonels Boswell, Dudley, Cox and Caldwell, to be commanded by Brig.-Gen. Green Clay. The two former rendezvoused at Newport about the 1st of April, at which place General Harrison had waited till the first three companies arrived, which he furnished with a pack horse for every two men, and sent them on by forced marches. He had received letters from the Maumee Rapids (Fort Meigs) informing him that the Virginia and Pennsylvania brigades would leave that place the moment their time was out, which would be on the 2nd of April. And as the openness of the season would soon render the lake navigable, and the enemy had learned from a prisoner they had taken the situation of our affairs, an immediate attack upon Fort Meigs was anticipated. This state of affairs was communicated to the War Department, and the propriety of calling out the balance of the Kentucky draft to be placed at Fort Wayne to keep the Indians in check, was pressed on the attention of the government. The general immediately set out for the Maumee Rapids, leaving the Kentucky regiments to follow him with the utmost expedition in their power. In the meantime the Virginia and Pennsylvania troops returned home, except about two hundred and thirty of the latter, who had volunteered under the influence of patriotic sentiments and the eloquence of their chaplain, Doctor Hersey, to remain till the reinforcements had arrived. When the General afterwards arrived, these patriotic men informed him through their officers, that upon reaching home in the course of a few weeks depended upon their raising crops in the ensuing season, but that they were determined never to abandon him until he thought their services could be spared without danger to the fort. The General dismissed them on the arrival of the advanced companies of the Kentucky militia.

After the building of Fort Meigs was well under way, there was, however, an unfortunate delay in its completion which might have proven disastrous. Had Proctor appeared up the Maumee and at Fort Miami a month, or even two weeks earlier, there might have been a different story to write. As above stated, when General Harrison left for Cincinnati and then the interior to speed up the organization and forwarding of troops, he left Fort Meigs in command of General Leftwich, who was to look after and hasten the completion of the works. Colonel Wood in his later writings referred to Leftwich as "a phlegmatic Dutch-

man who was not even fit for a pack horse master, much less to be intrusted with such an important command."

Wood, at the time captain of the engineers was called to look after strengthening Fort Stephenson and wrote later, that after General Harrison left camp, Leftwich "cared not what became of those who remained, nor did he do anything to get a part of his men (whose time of service had expired) to remain a few days." Continuing, Wood wrote that the conduct of Leftwich was highly reprehensible; "for instead of carrying on the unfinished works he even permitted the men to burn the picketing timber for fuel, instead of getting it from the woods." Not a single thing was done towards completing the fort until Captain Wood returned from Lower Sandusky, March 20 (1813), when he found the lines of the fort had been destroyed while Leftwich was in command, and further says that besides himself, those young patriotic officers, Croghan, Bradley and Langham, were greatly chagrined at the situation.

A saving grace, however, was the fact that after Leftwich "the old Dutchman" left the command of the camp about April 2, the command devolved upon Major Stoddard, who was a most capable officer. But that this time the forces, all told, had been reduced by enlistment expirations and other causes to 500 men —and the fort far from completion!

With Major Stoddard at the head of affairs, he seemingly went about bringing order out of chaos as fast as possible, until the return of Captain Wood and General Harrison himself. A most significant fact in this regard is shown by the original Military Order Record of the army at Fort Meigs at this important time, which book is to be found in the Toledo Public Library and the access to which the editor of this work, acknowledges to the Toledo Library force his obligations. The very first "Garrison Order" in this record dated "Fort Meigs April 2nd, 1813," gives notice that Major Stoddard as senior officer assumes the command of the troops in the garrison. Lieutenant O'Fallon was detailed to receive all reports and make the details, and "is to be respected accordingly." The guards were to be "turned off from the grand parade by the several adjutants in rotation."

"Four guards" were provided for, evidently to remain on duty six hours each. The most important points to be guarded were the boat landing, the magazines and the hospital stores. The detail of men assigned to work on the fort were "on no account to sit down."

The situation further brightened April 8, with Lieutenant-Colonel Ball's arrival with 200 dragoons, "as fine fellows as ever drew sword," said Wood, and their presence gave renewed life. Then General Harrison returned April 12, with 300 men, by way of Forts Barbee, Amanda, Jennings and Winchester, and learning of the activities of the British and Indians towards Fort Meigs, he dispatched a messenger to Governor Shelby to send the entire 3,000 men drafted by Kentucky. Captain Wood went ahead with the completion of the fort with great fervor, and following the moving of the ice from the rivers advantage was taken of the high stage of water to boat supplies to Fort Winchester and to Fort Meigs from the supply stations above. Fortunately, also, the Kentucky troops Harrison had dispatched in advance of his own return, by way of Forts McArthur and Findlay and the Portage River camp (where Portage, Wood County now is), constituting a battalion of Colonel Boswell's regiment, came down Hull's Trail and arrived at the fort without being intercepted.

Knowing that Gen. Green Clay's Kentucky troops were well on the way to Fort Meigs, General Harrison dispatched Capt. William Oliver, commissary of the fort with an oral message to hasten their coming. He found that General Clay with 1,200 men had just arrived at Fort Winchester. A part of the force under Colonel Dudley had come down the Auglaize, and the balance under Clay himself had reached there by the way of the River St. Marys, to Fort Wayne and thence down the Maumee. Clay had heard of General Harrison's dangerous situation and two days before had sent the famous Leslie Combs then a captain of riflemen scouts, with soldiers named Johnson, Paxton and two Walker brothers, and also Black Fish, Jr., a Shawnee Indian guide, to inform Harrison of their approach. The messengers were attacked by a greater number of Pottawatomies just as they had sighted the American flag floating over Fort Meigs. Paxton and Johnson after being wounded were taken prisoner. Johnson died of his wounds and Paxton was finally restored to his friends. Captain Combs and Black Fish escaped and returned to Fort Winchester about the time of the arrival there of Clay's forces and Captain Oliver. At this time the cannonading of Fort Meigs could be heard distinctly.

The last of March, before General Harrison's return from the interior, a party of citizens arrived at Fort Meigs from Detroit with the information that General Proctor had issued

orders for the assembling of his British forces at Sandwich on the Canadian side of the Detroit River, for an expedition to the lower Maumee, the capture of Camp Meigs and further invasion of American soil. During the middle and toward the last of April, small parties of the enemy were seen about the fort by the American scouts.

A cautionary order was issued by Major Stoddard, fort commander at Meigs, April 9, three days before General Harrison's return. In case of alarm, the troops were to repair immediately to their respective alarm posts. No troopers were to pass outside the picket line except by order of the commanding officer. "The gates will be shut and kept shut by the guards until they are directed to open them." And no fatigue party was to be sent from the fort "without a guide with it." One subaltern and one commissioned officer and twenty privates of the Dragoons and a like force from each corps, "will be kept in as much readiness as practicable to make a sudden pursuit of the enemy on proper occasion," and "no men are to straggle along the river more than three hundred yards either above or below the pickets without the written permission of the officer commanding." A strenuous part of this order related to keeping the enclosure and ground clean, and a police was to report the condition of the various quarters.

A garrison order dated April 11, 1813, provided that the commissary issue with the usual rations, "two days rations of salted pork to all the troops." An order of the same date provided that "the remaining punishment awarded by a court martial against John Arnold of Captain Cushing's company is hereby remitted and he will be liberated from the ball and chain and return to his duty."

The first order in this record of orders made by General Harrison himself, was issued immediately after his return and taking personal command of the fort. On account of its importance it is given in full as follows:

"Headquarters N. W. Army
"Camp Meigs, 12th of April, 1813

"The Commanding General has received from Major Stoddard a report of the good conduct of the troops in this camp since they have been placed under his command, which gives him great satisfaction. He requests the Major, the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates of his late command to accept his thanks for their past conduct as well as for the disposition they

at present manifest for the performance of their duty. Our situation indeed requires the greatest exertion upon the part of every individual attached to the army. Threatened with a siege of the enemy with our works in an unfinished state, every man must devote all his thoughts and all his strength toward their completion. Their own safety, their honor and the interests of the country demands this from them. The General confidently expects it as the result of their own reflections and of those principles (the word is written "principally") which glow in the breast of every true American.

"But he must not be disappointed, and he is determined to exact from all the most punctual performance of every duty. Inattention and neglect will be immediately noticed and punished. Situated as we are, even inactivity is a crime. The General will have no officer of this description with him, and should he discover an incorrigible disposition of this kind to exist in one whose duty requires him to set an example to others, he will make use of the authority with which he is invested, to exchange him for some of those gallant and ardent spirits who are now employed in the peaceful duties of the interior, longing to be called to posts of danger, of difficulty and honor.

"The General promises that each officer, non-commissioned officer and soldier, who distinguishes himself, not only in battle but in the discharge of those scarcely less important duties, of preparing the means of defense, shall be reported to the President, and of the militia to the executives of their respective states. The ordinary guards and fatigue will remain as heretofore. But besides this, every man must be employed. The Engineers will direct what part of the defenses each corps is to complete and the manner of doing it. The police of the camp must be strictly attended to and the orders which have been issued upon this subject punctually obeyed.

"John O'Fallon
"Acting Depty. Adjt.-General."

The Canadian Militia assembled at Sandwich April 7th and on the 23rd General Proctor's army consisting of 600 regulars, 800 militia, embarked at Malden on a brig and several smaller vessels for their attack on Fort Meigs, convoyed by two gunboats with artillery. Most of the Indians, about eighteen hundred in number, crossed the Detroit River and came by land down the usual southern route; a few came with the British in canoes. Gen-

eral Harrison was kept informed of the approach of the enemy by a small detachment of troops under Captain Hamilton who were reconnoitering along the lower Maumee and the bay, accompanied by the scout Peter Navarre as runner with other spies. Navarre was also dispatched to Lower Sandusky and Upper Sandusky and to Governor Meigs at Urbana with news of the character of the approaching British and Indian forces.

Proctor's advance with his British and Indian forces, the latter headed by Tecumseh, was discovered at the mouth of the Maumee Bay, April 26, and on April 28, their whole force was seen approaching Fort Miami across the river and below Fort Meigs. Their boats landed their guns at Miami, and as soon as their ordnance was on shore, the boats were employed to carry the Indians across the river (where Perrysburg cemetery now is) completely investing Fort Meigs, "nothing but their hideous yells and the firing of musketry was now to be heard." The situation was rapidly approaching a crisis.

Before going into the nine days' siege itself, there are some preliminary facts, which General Harrison's orders bring out, worthy of mention as the fort was being completed and strengthened for its defense. General Harrison issued a general order April 16, confirming the regulations established by Major Stoddard; except that the commanding officers on the four sides of the stockade could order the gates opened if necessity required.

"Colonel Miller is to command that part of the line occupied by the Regular Troops; Major Ball the river or front line as far as it is occupied by the Dragoons; Major Neyson (or the Kentucky officer who relieves him) the rear line from the termination of the line of the Regular Troops to the commencement of that of the Ohio Militia; and all the Batteries by Major Stoddard. The four faces of the encampment, in the future will be designated as above. * * * Major Alexander's battalion and Captain Nearing's company, will form a disposable force and will assemble on their own parade. * * * Reserves or displacable forces must not move from their positions until ordered by the General, or from the most urgent necessity by the commanding officer of one of the lines. * * * Galleries for all the sentinels will be immediately fixed and as soon as it is done, the sentinels must be made to call out 'all is well,' every fifteen minutes; to be commenced by the sentinels placed near the main guard, and proceeding along the front of the line, repeated in succession until it passes around the whole encampment. In the

event of an alarm, the men must be made to take their posts without noise and with the greatest order."

Continuing, this order recites that "ten pounds of Buckshot cartridges will be distributed this evening to each man. The officers commanding corps will each day cause all the arms to be examined and kept in the best firing order. Each corps will this day draw twelve extra cartridges per man, to be kept by the Quarter Master respectively, for distribution. A select party of men must be placed in the upper story of each block-house, and these must be furnished with an extra musket and cartridge box, filled."

This order also recites a trial by court-martial for desertion, Colonel Miller of the Thirteenth U. S. Infantry presiding. The prisoner was William Clark, a private in Captain Nearing's company and the case was an extreme one. Clark was charged with deserting three times from Lebanon, Ohio, once from Chillicothe, once from Cincinnati, and finally on April 6, 1813, for deserting "on a march to this place"—Fort Meigs. He was found guilty, the sentence being approved by General Harrison, and Clark was shot at 6 o'clock on the evening of April 16.

April 17, 1813, the detachment of Pennsylvania militia under the command of Major Nelson, was by a general order honorably discharged, that they might return to their home demands of spring work.

April 22nd order: "The firing of a single cannon, will in future be the signal for all scouts and parties of any description to repair to camp. Colonel Miller, Colonel Mills, Major Stoddard, Major Ball and Major Alexander, will form a board for fixing the price of articles sold in camp by the suttler. Their report will be made to the General and the result will be published in General Orders."

Here are the prices per pound: coffee 62½ cents, refined loaf sugar 62½, imported brown sugar 50, chocolate common 50, chocolate first quality 62½, maple country sugar 37½, tea good quality $3, tobacco 50 cents, maple and dissolved sugar molasses $1.50, molasses imported per gallon $3, whisky when sold by permission $1.25, (quantity not stated, probably per gallon), brandy spirits and rum $4.50 (probably per gallon), pepper per pound $1, soap (hard) 50 cents per pound, soap soft 25 cents per pound, butter 37½ per pound, bacon 25, moulded cotton wick candles 40 cents per pound, common dipped candles 25 cents per pound, good vinegar $3 per gallon.

Another order dated April 22, 1813, reads: "The guards will in future when relieved, be conducted to the outside of the camp and under the direction of the officer of the day, will discharge the loads in their guns at a mark. The best shot will receive a quart of whiskey; the second best a pint. A watchword will in future be given with the parole and a countersign to the officer of the day. A retreat beating it will be given by the acting Adjutant to the commanding officer of the corps; and at tattoo, the latter will distribute it to the platoon officers."[2]

In his order of April 24, General Harrison complained of the lax policing of the camp and the lack of cleanliness. It seems that the soldiers liked the fishing in the Maumee River, for in this order appears this:

"No non-commissioned officer or private is to be suffered to go to fish without taking his arms; nor any to be allowed to go farther down the river than the lower part of the first bottom below the camp; nor above more than half a mile from the landing; nor is any one to cross the river without permission from the General. No fishing will be allowed until after seven o'clock in the morning."

The order of April 26, declares that "the Redoubts and Block-houses will be known and numbered as follows, viz.: The large battery on the river front, the highest up the river, is to be called the Big Battery. The one just below it the Little Battery. The east battery built by Captain Croghan, the Croghan Battery. The block-house built by General Tupper, Wood's Battery, and that on the rear, Hukill's Battery. The block-house at the west end of the west triangle of the encampment, to be called Block-house number one. The next below it on the river number two, and so on in numbered order around the encampment in that direction to the block-house at the southwest angle, which will be called number seven." The order further provided that each of the seven block-houses be occupied by a non-commissioned officer and ten men as riflemen from the various commands.

The crisis at Fort Meigs was now at hand. Proctor was planting his batteries across the river and Tecumseh and his Indians had crossed over to the east side below the fort and were eagerly awaiting the scalps of the white men. Here is General Harrison's order issued April 29, before the cannonading began May 1.

"General Order: It is at length rendered to a certainty that the enemy is about to carry into effect their threatened attack

upon this post. The temerity of the attempt can only be accounted for by their ignorance of our strength or their reliance upon our want of resolution to defend ourselves. The General is confident that in both they will be woefully disappointed.

"Can the citizens of a free country who have taken up arms to defend its rights think of submitting to a band composed of mercenaries, of reluctant Canadians goaded to the field by the bayonet, and of wretched, naked savages? Can the breast of an American soldier when he casts his eyes to the opposite shore, the scene of his country's triumphs over the same foes, be influenced by any other feeling than the hope of victory and glory? Is not this army composed of the same materials with that which fought and conquered under the immortal Wayne? Yes, fellow soldiers, your General sees your countenances beam with the same fire that he witnessed upon that glorious occasion. And although it would be the highest of presumption to compare himself to a hero, he boasts of being that hero's pupil. To your posts then fellow soldiers! And remember that the eyes of your country are upon you! * * *"

The order closed with the direction that the whole army be furnished with a ration and a half per day until further orders.

A general order of April 30, directed that the utmost caution be paid to conserving fuel and that the commandants of corps must see that no more fuel is consumed than is absolutely necessary for cooking. A fire must not be made for any other purpose.

The British had established their camp about two miles down the river at their place of landing below Fort Miami. During the night of April 29, they planted three batteries opposite Fort Meigs on the high west bank about three hundred yards from the river, the intervening low ground being open and partly covered with water. Two were gun batteries with four embrasures and were situated nearly opposite Fort Meigs; one on the site of the present Methodist Church, Maumee. The other was a bomb battery placed also on the opposite bank a little below the fort, where stands at this writing the Presbyterian Church of the above named city. They had progressed far enough in the night to be able to work on the batteries by daylight the following day. A fire from Fort Meigs considerably impeded their progress and killed several of their men.

The enemy's mode of attack now being understood, under the direction of Captain Wood of the engineers, defense works at Fort Meigs were revised and feverishly worked upon by the

whole army, to counteract the British plans. The ground around the fort had been cleared of trees to a distance of 200 to 300 yards from the lines. Some scattering trees remained and the trunks of others remained on the ground. Behind these logs and the stumps, the Indians crept up within shooting distance and did some execution; but they suffered the most for their temerity. On the right or the down river side of the fort where standing trees were the closest, the Indians climbed to their tops and poured forth tremendous volleys of musketry. But they were at too great a distance to work much damage. A British force under Major Muir and Indians under Tecumseh also crossed to the east side of the river below the fort, where a battery was located in where is now Fort Meigs cemetery, Perrysburg, and General Harrison observed that "they probably intended to amuse us with their batteries while they would attempt to storm the fort."

William Christy of Kentucky, acting quartermaster, was directed by the General to nail an American flag on each of the batteries, where they remained during the siege.

The British batteries opened fire May 1. But under the direction of Captain Wood, a "grand traverse," the lines of which can yet be seen today, twelve feet high, upon a base of twenty feet and 300 feet long, on the most elevated ground, was completed through the middle of the fort. This embankment could not be penetrated by the enemy's shots, and behind it the American army was reasonably secure. The five days' almost continuous cannonading by the British did little damage. Two were killed and three or four wounded. One great loss was that of Maj. Amos Stoddard heretofore mentioned, who was wounded and died of lockjaw. The British completed a third battery of three twelve-pounders between the first two, on the night of May 1, and on the 3rd a battery of several mortars was put in operation near the river. Additional traverses of earth rendered the shots ineffective.

Now as to General Clay at Fort Winchester, approaching with his 1,200 Kentuckians. Captain Oliver, the express sent by General Harrison to hurry Clay along with his troops, had arrived at the Auglaize with the commander-in-chief's message. On May 4th General Clay was ready to descend the Maumee in eighteen flatboats, the sides of which were raised high enough to cover his men from the fire of the Indians along the river banks. Major Trimble, who had accompanied Clay from Kentucky, vol-

unteered to precede the detachment in a large barge with fifteen men, accompanied by Captain Oliver, to apprise Harrison of Clay's approach. Trimble knew of the fate of the attempt of Captain Combs, but notwithstanding the hazards of the journey he reached Fort Miegs in safety about midnight and told General Harrison that Clay with 1,100 men would probably arrive about daylight May 5.

And now let McAfee tell the story: Harrison immediately determined to make a general sally against the enemy on General Clay's arrival, for which he made preparations at camp, and dispatched Captain Hamilton and a subaltern, with the necessary orders to General Clay. Captain Hamilton proceeded up the river in a canoe, and met the detachment five miles above the fort after daylight, in consequence of their pilot having detained them till morning instead of descending in the night as at first was intended. The captain immediately delivered the following orders to General Clay:

"You must detach about 800 men from your brigade and land them at a point I will show you, about a mile, or a mile and a half above Camp Meigs. I will then conduct the detachment to the British batteries on the left bank of the river. The batteries must be taken, the cannon spiked, and carriages cut down; and the troops must then return to their boats and cross over to the fort. The balance of your men must land on the fort side of the river, opposite the first landing, and fight their way into the fort through the Indians. The route they must take will be pointed out by a subaltern officer now with me, who will land the canoe on the right bank of the river, to point out the landing for the boats."

General Clay was also informed, that the British force at their batteries was inconsiderable, the main body being at their camp a mile and a half further down, and that the Indians were chiefly on the same side with the fort. General Clay's order of descending the river was the same as in the line of march in solid column, each officer taking position according to his rank. Colonel Dudley being the oldest colonel led the van. As soon as Captain Hamilton had delivered the orders, General Clay who was in the 13th boat from the front, directed him to go to Colonel Dudley, with orders to take the twelve front boats and execute the plans of General Harrison on the left bank, and to post the subaltern with the canoe on the right bank, as a beacon for his landing. General Harrison intended, while the detachment

under Dudley was destroying the batteries on the north side, and General Clay was fighting the Indians above the fort, to send out a party to destroy the batteries on the south side, but his plans were marred in the execution.

General Clay ordered the five boats remaining with the one he occupied, to fall into a line after him; and in attempting to do it they were driven on shore and thus thrown half a mile in the rear. The General kept close to the right bank, intending to land opposite to the detachment under Dudley, but finding no guide there and the Indians having commenced a brisk fire on his boat, he attempted to cross to Dudley's detachment. The current, however, was so swift that it soon carried him too far down for that project; he therefore turned back and landed on the right bank further down. Capt. Peter Dudley with a part of his company was in this boat, making the whole upwards of fifty men, who now marched into camp without loss amidst a shower of grape from the British batteries and the fire of some Indians. The boat with their baggage and four sick soldiers was left as the General supposed, in the care of two men who met him at his landing, and by whom he expected she would be brought down under the guns of the fort. In a few minutes, however, she fell into the hands of the Indians. The attempt which he had made to cross the river induced Colonel Boswell with the rear boats to land on the opposite side, as Clay had attempted; but as soon as Captain Hamilton discovered the error under which he acted, he instructed him to cross over and fight his way into camp. When he arrived at the south side his landing was annoyed by the Indians; and as soon as his men were on shore he formed them and returned the fire of the enemy; at the same time he was directed by Captain Shaw from the commanding general, to march in open order through the plain to the fort. As there was now a large body of Indians on his flank, General Harrison determined to send out a reinforcement from the garrison to enable him to beat them.

Major Alexander's battalion, composed of the Pittsburgh Blues, the Petersburgh volunteers, etc.; Major Johnson with a part of his battalion, and the companies of Captains Nearing and Dudley were ordered to prepare for this service. They were ready to join the Kentuckians as they arrived at the gates of the fort. Colonel Boswell then formed his men on the right; Major Alexander on the left; and Johnson in the centre. In this order they marched against the Indians and drove them at the point

of the bayonet, though much superior in numbers, to the distance of half a mile into the woods. The greatest ardor was displayed by the troops, and when it became necessary to return, it was with the utmost difficulty that the officers of the Kentucky detachment could restrain their men from the pursuit. General Harrison had taken his position upon a battery to watch with a glass the various operations which at this moment claimed his attention. He discovered a body of British and Indians filing along the edge of the woods to fall on the rear and left of the corps under Boswell. He immediately dispatched John T. Johnson, Esq., his volunteer aide, to recall them from the pursuit. Johnson's horse was killed under him before he could reach the detachment. The order was then repeated by Major Graham, and the reluctant though necessary retreat was at last commenced. The Indians then rallied and pursued them some distance, doing more execution while our men were retreating, than they had done in all the rest of the contest.

The detachment under Colonel Dudley in the meantime had made their appearance at the batteries on the other side of the river, and were performing their share in the operations of this eventful day. But before attention is directed to them, the occurrences on the south side will be told. General Harrison now ordered a sortie from the fort, under the command of Col. John Miller of the regulars, against the batteries which had been erected on that side (in now Perrysburg Cemetery). This detachment was composed of the companies and parts of companies commanded by Captains Langham, Croghan, Bradford, Nearing and Elliott and Lieutenants Gwynne and Campbell, of the regulars; the volunteers of Alexander's battalion, and Captain Sebree's company of Kentucky militia. The whole amounted only to 350 men. Colonel Miller, accompanied by Major Tod, led on his command with the most determined bravery, charged upon the British and drove them from their batteries; spiked their cannon and took fourteen prisoners including an officer, having completely beaten and driven back the whole force of the enemy. That force consisted of 200 British regulars, 150 Canadians, and 500 Indians, being considerably more than double the force of the brave detachment which attacked them; but our troops charged with such irresistible impetuosity that nothing could withstand them.

In this sortie, in which all the troops engaged were distinguished for their good order and their intrepid, impetuous

bravery, the militia company of Captain Sebree was particularly noticed by the general for its uncommon merit. With characteristic ardor the Kentuckians rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy and were for some time entirely surrounded by the Indians. They still bravely maintained their ground against more than four times their number, but must ultimately have been cut to pieces, had not Lieutenant Gwynne of the Nineteenth Regiment boldly charged upon the Indians with a part of Captain Elliott's company and released them from their desperate situation. The British and Indians suffered severely, and were routed in great confusion. A few more men would have enabled the General to disperse and capture the whole force of the enemy remaining on the south or east side of the river. Colonel Miller now returned to the fort with his prisoners, having lost many brave men on the field, and had several of his officers wounded. As he retired the enemy rallied and pressed hard on his rear, till he arrived near the breastwork.

The operations on the north side of the river will now claim the attention. The detachment under Dudley effected a landing in tolerably good order considering the roughness of the Rapids and the swiftness of the current, and were immediately marched off through the open plain to the hill which was covered with timber. (Dudley's landing was evidently some distance above Winchester's old camp on the high ground above the battle ground of Fallen Timbers). No specific orders were given by the colonel; even his majors were left to conjecture the object of the enterprise. After marching some distance the troops were formed into three columns. Colonel Dudley commanded at the head of the right; Major Shelby on the left, and Captain Morrison, acting as major, in the centre. The right column kept the edge of the woods on the brow of the hill, which was in some places half a mile from the river across the open bottom. The centre column marched parallel to the first at the distance of 150 yards in the woods; and the left, a similar distance still further back. The distance to the batteries of the enemy was two miles, but they were in full view from the ridge on which Winchester before his march to the River Raisin had encamped, and above which the Colonel marched unperceived by the enemy into the woods. When the detachment arrived within half a mile of the batteries, which were cannonading Fort Meigs, Major Shelby was ordered on the suggestion of Captain Hamilton to march the left forward as expeditiously as possible till its rear passed the head of the other

two columns, and then to wheel to the right and march towards the river. The batteries were thus to be surrounded, and the whole of the British force captured and destroyed; but while the other columns were still several hundred yards from the batteries, they raised the Indian yell, charged upon them at full speed and carried them without the loss of a man; having frightened off the few artillerists who were serving them, almost without knowing by whom they were assailed.

The most complete success was thus achieved as respected the great object of the enterprise. The British flag was cut down, and the shouts of the fort garrison announced their joy at this consummation of their wishes. General Harrison was standing on the grand battery next the river, and now called to the men and made signs to them to retreat to their boats—but all in vain. They remained at the batteries for some time, viewing the curiosities of the place without destroying the carriages or magazines, or even spiking the whole of the cannon. The general at last offered a reward to any person who would cross the river and order them to retreat. Lieutenant Campbell undertook to perform this service, but before he could get over, the fate of the detachment was decided. About the time the batteries were taken, a body of Indians lying in ambush had fired on a party of spies under Captain Combs, who had marched down on the left of Major Shelby. Presently, Colonel Dudley gave orders to reinforce the spies and the greater part of the right and centre columns rushed into the woods in confusion, with their colonel among them, to fight the Indians whom they routed and pursued near two miles from the batteries. The left column remained in possession of the ground till the fugitive artillerists returned with a reinforcement from the main British camp and attacked them. Some of them were made prisoners at the battery, others fled to their boats, and a part who were rallied by the exertions of their major, were marched by him to the aid of Colonel Dudley. The Indians had also been reinforced, and the confusion in which Major Shelby found the men under Dudley, was as great as to amount to a cessation of resistance, while the savages skulking around them continued the work of destruction in safety. At last a retreat commenced in disorder, but the greater part of the men were either captured by the Indians, or surrendered to the British at the batteries. Colonel Dudley after being wounded was overtaken and dispatched by the tomahawk. The number of all those who escaped and got into the fort from the whole

detachment, was considerably below 200, out of a force of 850. Had the orders which Colonel Dudley received been regarded, or a proper judgment exercised on that occasion, the day would certainly have been an important one for the country, and a glorious one for the army. Everything might have been accomplished agreeably to the wishes and instructions of the General, with the loss of but few men.

When the approach of the detachment under Dudley was reported to Proctor, he supposed it to be the main force of the American army; from which he was apprehensive that he might sustain a total defeat. He, therefore, recalled a large portion of his troops from the opposite shore. They did not arrive in time, however, to partake in the contest on the north side. Tecumseh was among them.

The prisoners were taken down to headquarters, put into Fort Miami, and the Indians permitted to garnish the surrounding rampart, and to amuse themselves by loading and firing at the crowd, or at any particular individual. Those who preferred to inflict a still more cruel and savage death, selected their victims, led them to the gateway, and there under the eye of General Proctor, and in the presence of the whole British army, tomahawked them and scalped them. This work of destruction continued nearly two hours, during which time upwards of twenty prisoners, defenseless and confined, were massacred in the presence of the magnanimous Britons to whom they had surrendered, and by the Indian allies too with whom those Britons had voluntarily associated themselves, knowing and encouraging their modes of warfare. The chiefs at the same time were holding a council on the fate of the prisoners, in which the Pottawatomies who were painted black were for killing the whole, and by whose warriors the murders were perpetrated. The Miamies and Wyandots were on the side of humanity and opposed the wishes of the others. The dispute between them had become serious when Colonel Elliott and Tecumseh came down from the batteries to the scene of carnage. As soon as Tecumseh beheld it, he flourished his sword and in a loud voice ordered them "for shame, desist. It is a disgrace to kill a defenseless prisoner."

His orders were obeyed to the great joy of the prisoners, who had by this time lost all hopes of being preserved. In this single act Tecumseh displayed more humanity, magnanimity, and civilization, than Proctor with all his British associates in com-

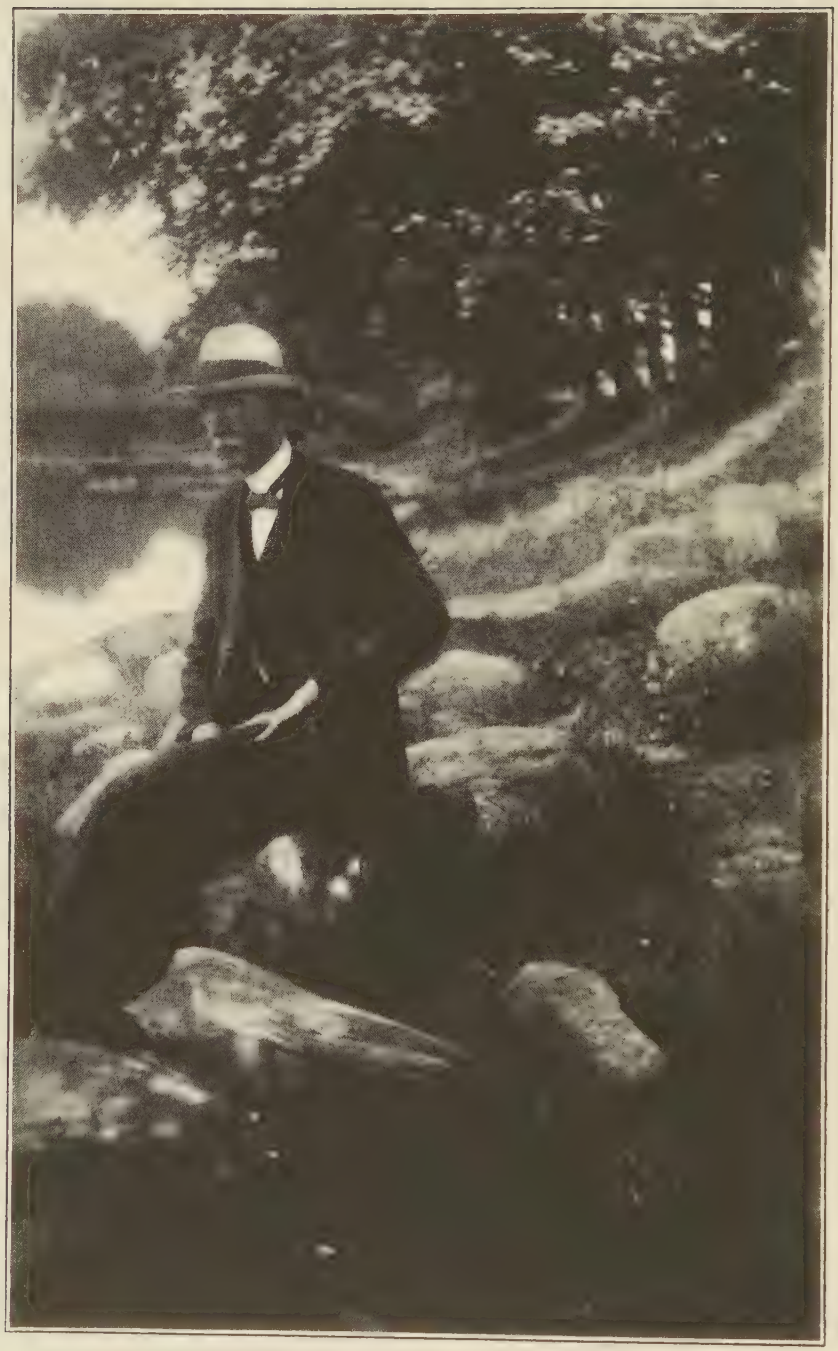
mand, displayed through the whole war on the Northwestern frontiers.

The prisoners were kept in the same place till dark, during which time the wounded experienced the most excruciating torments. They were taken into the British boats and carried down the river to the brig *Hunter* and a schooner, where several hundred of them were stowed away in the hold of the brig, and kept there for two days and nights. Their sufferings in this situation are not to be described; it is left to be imagined by those who can feel for the wrongs of their country. They were finally liberated on parole and landed at the mouth of Huron River below the Sandusky Bay. General Proctor made a proposition to exchange the Kentucky militia for the friendly Indians residing within our frontiers—men who were not prisoners to us, but our friends who had taken no part in the war. Whether he made this proposal by way of insult, or for the purpose of recruiting his allies, is known only to himself. General Harrison through courtesy told him he would refer the subject to the consideration of the President.

A general order issued by General Harrison dated May 6, 1813, after the five days' bombardment, reads as follows:

"The General cannot pass by the opportunity which the events of yesterday afforded, of expressing to the troops his high sense of the distinguished valor which they manifested in each of these severe conflicts in which they were engaged. The attack made by the Indians on the left flank, (above and back from the fort) was repelled by Captain Nearing's company, Major Alexander's volunteers and the Kentucky militia, in the most gallant manner. Colonel Miller and Major Tod, with the detachment of the 19th Regiment, and Croghan's and Bradford's companies of the 17th, and Major Alexander with the volunteers, attacked the enemy's batteries on the right flank, carried them, drove off a superior force of the enemy and killed or took prisoners the greater part of the two best companies in the British service.

"Before the attack was made on this side, the General had ordered taken the enemy's batteries on the opposite shore by the Kentucky militia. This was executed under the orders of Colonel Dudley at the head of about eight hundred men with great gallantry. The four batteries were stormed, all the guns but one spiked and every object that the General had intended effected. It is truly painful that this operation so eminently successful in the commencement should have been brought to an unfortunate



CHARLES SUMNER VAN TASSEL

The editor of this work at Honey Creek Springs while on one of his Ohio Rambles.

issue by temerity and disobedience of our troops. The possessing of the batteries and destroying the cannon, was the sole object of the enterprise; and having done so, the troops should have returned to their boats which they could all have reached in safety. This, however, was not done. They remained upon the ground scattered and disordered, suffered a feint skirmishing to draw them into the woods beyond the cover of our batteries, where they were surrounded by the enemy and the greater part made prisoners. Such is the terrible effects of disobedience and inattention, and that fatal confidence which is so apt to prevail with militia upon a success."

Concluding this long order with a statement that "an almost unprecedented fire from the enemy batteries of five days continuance" did little harm; expressing his contempt for the enemy and encouraging his forces with the information that large bodies of relief troops were on their way from the interior, although the force within the lines was amply sufficient for the defense, his closing words praised again the army for its bravery and efficiency.

The nine days' British and Indian siege of Fort Meigs directed by General Proctor terminated May 9, 1813. The cannonading during the siege was returned from Fort Meigs with effect, though sparingly with the large guns, for the supply of 18-pound shot was very meager, there being only 360 of that size in the fort when the siege opened, and about the same number of 12-pound shot. The supply of this size balls had failed to arrive from Pittsburgh with the artillery. The batteries of the British supplied the fort with 12-pound shot which were gathered up after being fired into the fort. Hundreds of shot were gathered by the American troops, but the heaviest guns of the British were 24-pounders.

After the termination of the fighting on the 5th, no more occurred worthy of notice while the enemy continued the siege. Immediately after the firing had ceased on that day, General Proctor sent Major Chambers over to demand the surrender of the fort. Harrison replied to the proposition that he considered it an insult, and requested that it might not be repeated. The demand was made as a finesse to prevent the Americans from molesting him in the retreat which he meditated. Intelligence of the capture of Fort George by the American forces under General Dearborn, was now received at the British camp, which considerably alarmed General Proctor. His situation appeared to

be hazardous, for the wind now blew constantly up the river. Harrison's forces he expected would soon be reinforced, and the Indians began to desert his standard in great numbers. He had flattered them with the hopes of splendid success and rich rewards. The Prophet and his followers were to have the Michigan territory for their services in capturing the fort and General Harrison was to be delivered into the hands of Tecumseh. But their prospects were now completely reversed; and it is a rule with Indians to follow the fortunate and adhere to the strong. Proctor now saw that if he delayed much longer he would probably be captured and leave Upper Canada unprotected, as reinforcements were not to be expected there, while the American arms were successful below. He therefore made his arrangements to retreat as soon as possible. Nearly all the Indians had left him very much dissatisfied; and during the night of the 8th a considerable stir was apparent in his camp. Early next morning his troops were seen to be moving off. A sloop and several gunboats were near the camp receiving the artillery and baggage, and on them our batteries were opened as long as they remained in that situation. Major Chambers had promised on the part of General Proctor to furnish us with a list of prisoners in his possession; but he retreated with too much precipitation to comply. He left a quantity of cannon ball with a fine sling carriage, and several other valuable articles. He had, however, shared with the Indians in the plunder of the boats in which the Kentucky militia had descended, after a few of them had been brought over to the fort by those who escaped from the Dudley defeat.

The whole force of the enemy at the siege was about 600 regulars, 800 Canadian militia, and 1,800 Indians. The force in Fort Meigs did not much exceed 1,200, and perhaps not more than 1,000 effectives, who had to defend a fortification large enough for three times that number.

The General Order issued by General Harrison the day Proctor abandoned the first siege is deemed worthy of production here in full and is as follows:

"Headquarters Camp Meigs, May 9, 1813.

"General Orders:

"The information received by the General and the movements of the enemy, indicate their having abandoned the siege of this Post. The General congratulates his troops upon having completely foiled their foes and put a stop to their career of victory

which has hitherto attended their arms. He cannot find words to express his sense of the good conduct of the troops of every description and of every corps; as well as in sustaining the heavy fire of the enemy as far as their assiduity and patience in the performance of their laborious duties which the occasion called for. Where merit is so general, indeed almost universal, it is difficult to discriminate.

"The General cannot omit to mention the names of those whose situation gave them an opportunity of being more useful. From [on account of] the long illness of Captain Gratiot of the Corps of Engineers, [the] arduous and important duties of fortifying the camp, devolved on Captain Wood of that Corps. In assigning to him the *first palm of merit* as far as relates to the termination within the works, the General is convinced that his decision will be acceded to by every individual in the army who witnessed his indefatigable exertions; his consummate skill in providing for the safety of every point and in foiling every attempt of the enemy and his undaunted bravery in the performance of his duty in the more exposed situation. An unfortunate wound in the commencement of the siege deprived the General after that time, of the able services of Major Stoddard of the artillery. Captain Gratiot in the revision of a serious illness, took charge of a battery and managed it with ability and effect. Captain Cushing of the artillery and Captain Hall of the 17th Infantry, but doing duty with the former corps, were extremely active and attentive to their post. Colonel Miller and Major Tod of the 19th U. S. Infantry, Major Ball of the Dragoons and Alexander of the Volunteers, Colonel Mills, Major Lodwich and Major Pitger of the Ohio Militia and Major Johnson of the Kentucky militia, rendered most important services. To each of the above gentlemen, as well as to each captain, subaltern, noncommissioned officer and private of their respective commands, the General gives his thanks; and expresses his warm appreciation also of Adjutant Brown, Mr. Timerlin, Mr. Peters, conductor of ordnance, Mr. Lyons, principal artificer, and to Sergeants Henderson and Toms and Meldrum, who severally had charge of batteries or block-houses. The battery managed by Sergeant Henderson, was as the enemy confessed, managed with peculiar efficiency and effect with respect to the sorties which were made on the 5th inst.

"The subsequent information which has been received from the prisoners, has given the gallant troops which were employed

upon that occasion (the onslaught upon the British batteries) additional claim upon the gratitude of the General. It is ascertained that in both instances, the enemy far outnumbered our troops. The General gives his thanks to Brigadier-General Clay for the promptitude with which the detachment of his Brigade were landed (from up the river). And the assistance given him in forming them for the attack on the left (when the British battery was captured by Colonel Miller and others). To Colonel Boswell and Major Fletcher for their gallantry and good conduct in leading them in the charge made upon the enemy; and to Captains Dudley, Simmonds, and Medcalf, their subalterns, non-commissioned officers and privates, for the distinguished valor with which they defeated the enemy.

"The General has in the order of the 6th inst., expressed his sense of the conduct of the regular troops and volunteers which were engaged in the sorties upon the left flank, but he omitted to mention Captain Brown of the Kentucky militia, whose gallantry was not surpassed by any of those of the companies which fought by their sides. The Pittsburg Blues led by Lieutenant McGee, sustained the reputation which they had acquired at Mississiniway, and their gallant associates the Pittsburg Volunteers, and Lieutenant Drum's detachment, discovered equal intrepidity. To the detachment from the companies from the 17th and 19th Regiments, under their respective commanders, Captains Cranahan, Bradford, Langham, Elliott and Nearing, the honorable task was assigned of storming the British battery defended by two hundred British grenadiers, flanked by a host of Indians and two companies of Canadian militia. This service was completely performed, two officers and forty regulars taken, the rest killed or dispersed. Colonel Miller speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of the subalterns, Campbell, Gwynne, Lee, Kestcheval and Rees, and of ensigns Ship, Hawkins, Anderson, Mitchell and Stockdon. The General requests Colonel Miller, Major Tod and each of the above named officers, together with all the officers, non-commissioned officers and privates who were engaged on the 5th inst., to accept of his thanks.

"The General is under the highest obligation to his staff as well for their conduct in the action of the 5th, as for assistance which he received from them throughout the siege, Major Hukill the acting Inspector General, distinguished himself by his assiduity in forwarding the part of our works which were most necessary and most exposed to the fire of the enemy. From Major

Graham his aide-de-camp, his volunteer aide-de-camp John T. Johnson, Esqr., Lieutenant O'Fallon Acting Adjt.-General, as well as from Deputy Qr. Master Mr. Eubanks, he received the greatest assistance.

"It rarely occurs that a General has to complain of the excessive ardor of his men, yet such always appears to be the case whenever Kentucky militia are engaged. It is indeed the source of all their misfortunes. They appear to think that valor can alone accomplish everything. The General is led to make this remark from the conduct of Captain Dudley's company (not Colonel Dudley) of the ——— regiment, as he understood that that gallant officer was obliged to use his espantoon against his company to oblige them to desist from a further pursuit of the enemy, in compliance with an order from the General. Such temerity although not so disgraceful, is scarcely less fatal than cowardice. And in the instance above, had it been persisted in, would have given a different result to the action; as the whole of the enemy's force which were placed near the batteries, would have been projected on the rear of our detachment. The pursuit being stopped, allowed time for a new disposition under cover of our cannon and the enemy's batteries were attacked and carried without difficulty. Three rounds will be fired from the principal batteries this day at 12 o'clock in honor of our brethren who have fallen during the siege." Colonel Miller, mentioned prominently all through this Fort Meigs story, was at the time editor of the *Steubenville Herald.*

Rev. A. M. Lorraine who was within Fort Meigs during the siege, in the March issue, 1845, of *The Ladies' Repository*, wrote the following:

"One of our militia-men took his station on the embankment, and gratuitously forewarned us of every shot. In this he became so skillful that he could in almost every case predict the destination of the ball. As soon as the smoke issued from the muzzle of the gun he would cry out 'shot' or 'bomb' as the case might be. Sometimes he would exclaim 'block-house No. 1' or 'look out, main battery;' 'now for the meat-house;' 'good-by, if you will pass.' In spite of all the expostulations of his friends, he maintained his post. One day there came a shot that seemed to defy all his calculations. He stood silent, motionless, perplexed. In the same instant he was swept into eternity. Poor man! he should have considered that when there was no obliquity in the issue of the smoke, either to the right or left, above or below, the fatal messenger would travel in the direct line of his vision. * * *

"The Aborigines, climbing up into the trees, fired incessantly upon us. Such was their distance that many of their balls barely reached us but fell harmless to the ground. Occasionally they inflicted dangerous and even fatal wounds.

"The number killed in the fort was small considering the profusion of powder and ball expended on us. About eighty were slain, many wounded, and several had to suffer amputation of limbs. The most dangerous duty which we performed within the precincts of the fort was in covering the magazine. Previous to this the powder had been deposited in wagons and these stationed in the traverse. Here there was no security against bombs; it was therefore thought to be prudent to remove the powder into a small block-house and cover it with earth. The enemy, judging our designs from our movements, now directed all their shot to this point particularly from their twenty-four-pounder battery. Many of their balls were red-hot. Wherever they struck they raised a cloud of smoke and made a frightful hissing. An officer passing our quarters said, 'Boys, who will volunteer to cover the magazine?' Fool-like away several of us went. As soon as we reached the spot there came a ball and took off one man's head. The spades and dirt flew faster than any of us had before witnessed. In the midst of our job a bomb-shell fell on the roof and, lodging on one of the braces, it spun round for a moment. Every soldier fell prostrate on his face and with breathless horror awaited the vast explosion which we expected would crown all our earthly sufferings. Only one of all the gang presumed to reason on the case. He silently argued that, as the shell had not burst as quick as usual, there might be something wrong in its arrangement. If it burst where it was, and the magazine exploded, there could be no escape; it was death anyway; so he sprang to his feet, seized a boat-hook and, pulling the hissing missile to the ground and jerking the smoking match from its socket discovered that the shell was filled with inflammable substance which, if once ignited, would have wrapped the whole building in a sheet of flame. This circumstance added wings to our shovels; and we were right glad when the officer said 'That will do; go to your lines.' "

The editor of this work has always contended that Col. E. D. Wood of the Engineers, who planned Fort Meigs and supervised its construction, has never been credited in history with the prominence he deserved in the successful defense of that post. This point of view has been substantiated by General Harrison

himself, who above everything else gave Captain, later Colonel Wood, credit for the successful repulse of the British at the siege by his manner of the construction of the fort and especially in the construction of the "Grand Traverse" after the siege opened. Colonel Wood is therefore worthy of equal honors with General Harrison, and is also entitled to a share in the honors at Fort Stephenson, which place he strengthened before the attack of Proctor and Croghan's successful defense of that fort.

On the 10th of May, 1813, the day after the British retreated down the Maumee River, a detachment of General Harrison's troops were sent over the river from Fort Meigs to collect and bury the dead, slain in the disaster of Colonel Dudley's attack on the British batteries on the 5th. After a diligent search, forty-five bodies were found and buried. Among them was Colonel Dudley, whose body was badly mutilated. Including those massacred at Fort Miami by the Indians under the eye of Proctor, Dudley's total loss in killed was about seventy. The Indians themselves also carried off thirty to forty prisoners.

When General Harrison ascertained that the British had for the present abandoned the hope of reducing Fort Meigs and had retreated, his attention was turned toward organizing his army for later operations in Canada and also to watch the further movement of the British and affairs at Fort Stephenson. Therefore, he turned over the command of Fort Meigs to Gen. Green Clay and repaired to Lower Sandusky on May 12th, with an escort of Major Ball's squadron whose horses had been kept at Fort Meigs during the siege.

Before he left Fort Meigs, General Harrison issued a general order on the 10th, relating to camp regulations and on May 11th, issued his order appointing "Brigadier-General Clay of the Kentucky militia" to the "command of the troops in this camp (Fort Meigs) and *to the posts of McArthur, Findlay, Portage, and Upper and Lower Sandusky.* The commandants of these posts are to report to him." It is well to remark here that this order fixes the important fact that there was at this time a "post" at the Portage River, just south of present Portage, Wood County, and that this post had a commandant. Fort McArthur was located near present Kenton, Ohio, and Lower Sandusky is now Fremont.

To resume, this order of General Harrison appointed "Capt. George Croghan of the 17th Regiment of Infantry, aide-de-camp to the Commanding General of the Northwestern Army." Gen-

eral Clay was also invested with the powers of ordering general courts-martial and to decide upon sentences in all cases except capital punishment and the dismissal of an officer, which cases were to be referred to the Commander-in-Chief.

Immediately after General Clay assumed command of Fort Meigs, he was taken ill and his first order dated May 16, reads that "the command of the garrison and its dependent posts during my indisposition is hereby yielded to Col. John Miller." In this order Clay, however, took measures to secure and preserve all boats and rafts of every description on the river. The boats left above and below the fort were to be collected, also the bottoms of the flat-boats remaining, and "kept constantly guarded by day." A general cleanup of the fort was ordered, including the parade ground for the drilling of the troops. Special care and comfort was to be given the sick and wounded.

"The first person found without the limits prescribed by general orders for the sporting ground of the troops without being on duty or having special permission, shall be made an example" reads one paragraph. The success of General Dearborn at Fort George and thereafter was also referred to.

Col. John Miller, the temporary commander, May 17, issued an order for a general inspection of the regimental hospital and company books, by Major Hukill, Inspector General of the Northwestern Army. "All cooking and wood-cutting must hereafter be done in the ditches" was another clause and regulations established for the camp's health. In addition to the picket guard, one sentinel was to be posted on the river bank 300 yards above the fort and one sentinel 200 yards down the river, "who will let no one pass without a written permission."

Colonel Miller's general order dated May 23, provided for an inspection of all troops on May 30, by which time muster rolls of all troops must be completed. This list showed that "the forces at Fort Meigs taken from the regimental reports of May 30, 1813," developed the "total strength of officers and soldiers" to be two thousand and four.

It is proper here to insert the fact that when General Harrison occupied Camp Meigs before the siege, he had called upon the governor of Kentucky for further forces which Governor Shelby of that state promptly organized. When it was known that these forces were not required, Governor Shelby disbanded them at Frankfort. In Ohio also the most active exertions had been made to raise reinforcements for the relief of Fort Meigs by

Governor Meigs. There was great alarm throughout the Buckeye state and patriotism was at a high pitch and some three thousand mounted troops were raised in three days, besides the advance toward the lower Maumee of other troops with Governor Meigs at the front, who reached Lower Sandusky May 11. They were intending to advance to Fort Meigs the next day, but General Harrison arrived there with the news of the withdrawal of the enemy from the siege. Measures were taken to stop the advance of the troops in the rear, and those who had arrived were disbanded. There was some dissatisfaction in Ohio and Kentucky at this, for they were impatient for a summer campaign into Canada and did not understand Harrison's policy of acting on the defensive until the Americans obtained control of Lake Erie.

Returning again to the immediate situation at Fort Meigs, on June 15, an order was issued organizing a General Court-Martial to consist of seven members. The meetings were to be held in Block-house No. 2. One culprit to be tried was Lieut. S. Lee, Quartermaster to the 17th Regiment, U. S. Infantry, also several other prisoners. The result of these trials will appear later. It was now the beginning of summer, when despite the strife of war, wild fruit and vegetation flourished along the river banks and in the surrounding forests. The troops no doubt felt the need of a diet consisting of something besides bacon and coffee and army bread. Therefore, a general order was issued June 16, stating that "the commandants of companies will hereafter be permitted on each day to send one and no more than four men from their companies respectively to gather *salad* beyond the picket guard;" evidently meaning edible, wild vegetable "greens."

A general order dated at Camp Meigs, June 15, 1813, says that on account of the "various duties of the officer commanding the post and which can only be discharged by a General Officer, has induced General Clay to resume the command when his indisposition enables him to do so." Clay had been incapacitated by illness since May 12. In this order General Clay acknowledges the able services rendered him by Colonel Miller and the other officers of the garrison "for their politeness and attention during his late illness." From the opening of the gates of the fort until 7:00 o'clock in the morning, bathing and swimming in the river was to be allowed, but swimming to the opposite shore was positively forbidden. This would indicate, it being June, that the average stage of the water in the Maumee 115 years ago was

much higher than now. This order also recites that "at seven o'clock in the morning, four men from each company will be permitted to pass the sentinels accompanied by a commissioned officer, to gather fruit and 'sallads', the men to go out armed and return by 12 o'clock." A gill of whiskey was issued daily with each trooper's rations. Then follows in the record, several orders relating to courts-martial. An order dated June 20th says: "The troops have permission to fish and haul the sein on this day and tomorrow."

There were now rumblings, however, of the return of the British and Indians to the attack of the fort. An order of the same date as above, June 20, says "the information recently received as to the movements of the enemy render it necessary that the forces under Col. R. M. Johnson should with all possible speed march to Fort Meigs." Colonel Johnson was at the head of a regiment of some seven hundred mounted troops from Kentucky, who did great service during the campaign. They were on their way from Fort Wayne and arrived down the west side of the Maumee at 10 o'clock in the evening of June 22nd, and "encamped in the open plain between the river and the hill upon which the British batteries had been erected." The boats with baggage were left at the head of the Rapids. At daylight when the morning gun was fired at Fort Meigs opposite Colonel Johnson's camp of the night, the horses of the regiment were frightened and stampeded through the camp, running over some of the men and injuring them badly. The runaways were caught down the river after much risk. At 10 o'clock the day after their arrival, Johnson and his regiment crossed to the fort and camped above it, "in a handsome plain of blue grass."

Since Clay had been in command at Fort Meigs, he had caused to be repaired all damage to the fort sustained during the siege and had cleared off the timber to a greater distance from the fort; burning the logs strewn outside the lines and had also erased the works on the west side where the British batteries stood. One serious feature was the excessive sickness at the fort during June and early July, when there was nearly two hundred deaths among the troops, caused, it was said, by malaria and bad water.

The apprehension of General Clay of another attack was caused by the arrival of a Frenchman, and a private of Colonel Dudley's regiment who had been a prisoner and who arrived from Detroit on June 20th. The force of the Indians was placed

at 4,000, and reinforcements from Niagara of 1,000 British regulars were expected. The news was immediately communicated to General Harrison at Franklinton (Columbus), who set out immediately for Lower Sandusky where he believed the enemy would strike. On the evening of June 26, General Harrison overtook the 24th Regiment on its way to Lower Sandusky, and immediately selected all the men able to make a forced march, about 300 in number, which troops were pushed forward to Fort Meigs under command of Colonel Anderson. General Harrison arrived at Fort Meigs in the evening of June 28, a few hours before Anderson's forces came in.

General Harrison ordered a detachment of Colonel Johnson's mounted regiment to proceed the next day to River Raisin, to gain intelligence of the enemy. Colonel Johnson took command of the detachment in person, and on the following day returned to the fort without learning of anything alarming. Consequently, General Harrison returned to Lower Sandusky. His further movements are not at this point pertinent to this story, so the narrative will resume the daily life at Fort Meigs, going back to June 20th, when General Clay became apprehensive of another attack of Proctor. At this date a clause in Clay's order read as follows:

"The commandants at Upper Sandusky and Lower Sandusky, Forts Findlay and McArthur and at Block-house (carrying river), will without one moment's loss of time cause their respective commands to be placed in the best possible situation to repel any attack which may be made on them by the enemy. The commandants at Fort Winchester (Defiance) and Wayne, will without one moment's loss of time cause the garrisons under their respective commands to be placed in the best possible situation to repel any attack. * * * Capt. E. D. Wood of the Engineers is appointed aide to General Clay." One of the important features of this order is that the block-house "at the carrying river," meaning the Portage River, at the old Hull camp just south of the present village of Portage, Wood County, is given such prominence again. It shows that this block-house was occupied by troops all during the War of 1812.

June 20th, was also a busy day for courts-martial sentences. The trial of Solomon Cook, a private in Captain Nearing's company, charged with desertion, had begun on the 15th. He was sentenced to carry a six-pound ball fastened to his ankle with a chain, for 39 days; his whiskey rations to be stopped for the

same time; he was to be put to hard labor for that period; ride a wooden horse for six evenings during the evening parades; half his pay to be stopped for 39 days and that he be drummed from the parade ground to the upper gate and back, with half his head shaved, at the expiration of the sentence. Nathan Osborn, a private in Captain Chunn's company, who deserted from Lower Sandusky on the night of June 2, was given practically the same sentence. Robert Burkley, a private of the U. S. Infantry, a sentinel who slept at his post near block-house No. 1, was put to hard labor for ten days and his rations of whiskey stopped for that period. Other convictions were for disobedience of orders, unofficer-like conduct, ungentleman-like conduct, breach of trust, etc. There were others who were found not guilty and were returned to duty.

Here follows in the record of orders a long list of promotions and orders concerning inspection and stricter police duty. Then came the glorious Fourth of July with the following order under that date:

"The General announces to the troops under his command the return of this day, which gave Liberty and Independence to the United States of America, and orders that a national salute be fired under the superintendence and direction of Captains Gratiot and Cushing. All the troops reported fit for duty shall receive an extra gill of whiskey, and those in confinement, and those under sentence attached to this camp, be forthwith released and ordered to join their respective corps. The General is induced to use this lenity, alone from the consideration of this ever memorable day, and flatters himself that in future the soldiers under his command will better appreciate their liberty by a steady adherence to duty and prompt compliance to the orders of their officers, by which alone they are worthy to enjoy the blessings of that Liberty and Independence, the only real legacy left us by our Fathers. All court-martials now constituted in this camp are hereby abolished. There will be no fatigue this day."

From continued reports it was evident that Proctor was organizing a more formidable army for another attack somewhere in this territory, consequently General Clay kept vigilant watch and himself well informed, although he was handicapped by illness all through the campaign. The records of orders show that on July 14, Clay issued an order providing for the selection of forty men requisitioned from the various corps to act as scouts

and rangers, with Wiley Martin appointed their commander. Rigid restrictions were also placed upon soldiers leaving the fort and other precautions taken. On July 20, a party was sent down towards the Maumee Bay by land and another by boats, which proceeded a few miles out into the lake. All returned without making any discovery, except that they heard heavy firing towards Malden. On the same evening, however, Lieutenant Peters, conductor of artillery, who was returning with a few men from Lower Sandusky, was pursued by a party of Indians, and late in the evening men from the British army were distinctly seen down the river.

Early on the morning of the 21st, a picket guard from Fort Meigs was sent below the fort about 300 yards, where they were surprised by Indians and seven were either killed or captured. A large army of British and Indians were now seen encamped below Fort Miami on the west side of the river, and soon thereafter a large force of Indians took possession of the woods back of Fort Meigs. They drove off some horses and oxen before being discovered.

The original Record of Military orders at hand, contains an order issued by Commanding General Clay and dated July 21, which reads as follows: "The enemy having again presented themselves, it will be necessary to repel them with every exertion in our power. The indisposition and lameness of the General precludes his general attention throughout the garrison, and has compelled him to impose additional duties on the field officers. Colonel Miller, Major Johnson, and Captain Butler commanding the Independent Battalion of Volunteers, will take immediate command of so much of the encampment as has already been designated and laid out to them. Colonel Miller will take immediate command of the Regular Troops from their junction with Major Johnson's Battalion and to block-house No. 2; Colonel Boswell will take command of the troops from block-house No. 2, to block-house No. 1. The disposition of the troops will be as during the former siege as to guard."

The troops were ordered to "sleep upon their arms," and the general felt that he would receive every aid and support from the officers "that his ill health may require." The order states that while reinforcements were at hand the present force was "ample for defense."

"The preservation of the lives of helpless thousands, the honor of the American character and army, depend on the maintenance

of this post. * * * Strolling about the garrison when not on business is most positively forbid. * * * Fires and lights must be extinguished from sunset until sunrise." These are the most important points of this long order.

On the 23rd, a large body of mounted Indians some eight hundred strong, was seen passing up the west side of the river with the supposed intention of attacking Fort Winchester (Defiance). It was only a ruse. The important points of an order issued by General Clay dated July 24, said "the movements of the enemy indicate an attack of some description. We have with little loss once repulsed the enemy with a force far inferior to our present. No one can doubt but we are more than competent to do it again. In case of an attack, to make the destruction of the enemy more complete, the most perfect silence will be enforced by the officers. No one will speak or attempt to give an order but those vested with commands. To fight is to conquer; to abandon our posts is to suffer disgrace and the most shocking massacre. * * * Should there, however, be any one so lost to every sense of honor as shamefully to abandon his post or order a retreat without proper authority, he shall suffer death."

On the evening of the day this order was issued, as everything was quiet about the fort, Colonel Gaines with 200 men went out to the edge of the woods and made a circuit of the fort to ascertain if any batteries had yet been planted by the British. A strong detachment of the enemy was sent across the river to attack Gaines, but he returned to the fort before being intercepted. On July 25, the British removed their camp from below Fort Miami across to the east side of the river and located behind a point of woods which partly concealed them from the American garrison. This caused a belief that they would attempt to take the fort by storm.

When General Harrison at Lower Sandusky, on his return from Cleveland, learned of the arrival of the British and Indians at Fort Meigs, he removed his headquarters to Senecatown, nine miles up the Sandusky River, where he constructed a fortified camp called Fort Seneca and left Major Croghan with 160 regulars at Fort Stephenson (Fremont site). Harrison's force at Seneca was about six hundred, and he was soon joined by 500 regulars from Kentucky. From here he could protect his left flank, or if necessary take a secret route to join General Clay at Fort Meigs. Harrison believed the movement of the Indians toward Fort Winchester was a feint to draw the attention of

the Americans from an attack upon Fort Stephenson, which proved correct.

An order of General Clay at Fort Meigs dated July 26, shows that Generals Harrison and Clay kept well in touch with each other. This order among other things says: "The intelligence just received from the Commander-in-Chief is of the most favorable character. Large bodies of troops are rapidly collecting and whenever it is necessary, we shall receive reinforcements. The Commander-in-Chief puts great confidence in the troops here and feels that they are fully able to repulse any force which the enemy may bring against us. * * * The enemy are still around us and in large bodies. Let every one continue to be firm and vigilant at his post for a few days more. * * * The battery recently erected near block-house No. 7 will be called the Tennessee battery, that near the Wood Battery, will be called the Henderson battery. Every officer and soldier of the garrison should know the names and numbers and situations of the different batteries and block-houses."

On the evening of the same day that the foregoing order was issued by General Clay, a heavy firing began on the military road towards Lower Sandusky about a mile east from Fort Meigs. The discharge of rifles and musketry, accompanied by Indian yells could be clearly heard, as the apparent battle gradually approached towards the fort then again receded. General Clay pronounced it a sham battle intended to draw out the troops from Fort Meigs to relieve probable approaching reinforcements for the fort coming by way of Lower Sandusky. The sham was well staged and lasted about an hour. But to the chagrin of Proctor and Tecumseh, it failed to delude the alert Americans.

The next day the British and Indians moved over to their old camp below Fort Miami, and on the 28th of July, embarked in their vessels and abandoned the siege. The British and Indian forces at this second siege, numbered about five thousand and the American army at Fort Meigs under General Clay numbered something near twenty-five hundred. Proctor and Tecumseh now turned their attention to Lower Sandusky.

The orders issued by General Clay, commander of the post, following the departure of the enemy complimented the American officers and men for their display of patriotism and bravery. This was followed by an order dated August 1, calling for a general cleanup of the camp, including the draining of the ditches of stagnant water, and the surplus guns cleaned and returned to

the ordnance department. No one was permitted to cross the river "or go to the Islands, without written permission of the General." The prisoners taken from the guard house on the appearance of the enemy were to be returned there. There were evidently some women at the fort, as a clause in this order reads that "*any married woman who has or shall abandon her husband and be found strolling about camp, or lodging in the tents of other men, shall be drummed out of camp.*"

August 2nd, 1813, the day of the British and Indian attack and their defeat at Fort Stephenson, General Clay at Fort Meigs issued an order of much importance at the present day, which concerns the status of the block-house heretofore referred to, situated on the west branch of the Portage River and just south of the present village of Portage, in Wood County. When Gen. Wm. Hull, in June 1812, marched from Dayton to Detroit with his army, his advance forces in cutting a road through the wilderness, established Fort McArthur (near present Kenton), Fort Findlay at the site of Findlay, and established a fortified camp on the south, or rather east side of the Portage River as above indicated, and at a point where the river runs nearly north, before it makes a sharp bend to the east. Little has been known of this military post, always referred to as Hull's Camp. There is still a well there some twenty feet deep, walled with stone, dug by Hull's or later troops. This order of General Clay's, above referred to, indicates that there was a block-house at this camp and that the post, situated on an elevation, was recognized as a strategical point. Here is the order referred to:

"Camp Meigs, Aug. 2nd, 1813

"General Order:

"Captains Hatfield and Simonton of the Ohio line, will immediately march their respective companies to Portage Block-house. Should that post be entirely destroyed by the enemy, Captain Hatfield will return to this garrison and Captain Simonton proceed to Fort Findlay and take command of that post.

"Should Portage Block-house not be destroyed, Captain Hatfield will maintain that post until further orders. Captain Simonton will, in that event, also proceed to Findlay and take command until further orders. Should Captain Hatfield remain at Portage, Captain Simonton will immediately on his arrival at Findlay, cause a supply of provisions to be brought to Portage, and from time to time continue to send on such supplies under proper escort, as Captain Hatfield may require.

"Any pack horses at the Portage or Findlay, will be sent on to this post, except such as may be necessary for the transportation of provisions; and the commandants at Portage and Findlay, will cause, if practicable, weekly returns to be made to the commanding officer here of the state of their commands.

"In this separation of troops which this General has for some time had the honor to command, it is due to Captains Hatfield and Simonton and their subaltern officers and men, to assure them that their services while at this post entitles them to the thanks and confidence of the General and that of their country.

"By order of G. Clay Com. Gen'l.
"J. H. Hawkins A. D. C."

As there is no record of any British or Indian attack this far south on the old Hull's Trail after Tecumseh with a force of Indians, in August 1812, pursued a relief party to near Fort Findlay on their return from near Detroit, the block-house at Portage River was no doubt found intact by Captain Hatfield and his company and by them occupied until at least late in 1813. Orders following that concerning the occupation of the posts at the Portage River and the Blanchard Forks, treated of courts-martial and matters of detail. While this story of operations about Fort Meigs is being told, although out of chronological order, it is believed proper to continue it through until its abandonment, and take up the operations at Fort Stephenson, the battle of Lake Erie and Harrison's defeat of Proctor in their order, later.

Late in the evening of August 2nd, after Croghan's gallant defense of Fort Stephenson, General Harrison received word at his headquarters at Fort Seneca, that the British and Indians under Proctor were preparing to retreat, and also learned that Tecumseh with some two thousand warriors was somewhere in the direction of Fort Meigs. General Harrison immediately issued a combination order dated August 2nd at Fort Seneca, in which he complimented General Clay and his officers and men for their conduct in defending Fort Meigs. Harrison said that "nothing but the firm and undaunted courage exhibited by the (Fort Meigs) garrison prevented an attempt to storm the post." The General, however, observed that what the result would have been could only be judged by a "similar attempt upon a smaller, weaker and worse managed garrison at Lower Sandusky." This later affair, continued Harrison's order, "reflects the highest honor on Major Croghan, the commandant, his officers and non-

commissioned officers and soldiers." Following, the General pays honor to Captain Hunter and other under officers in the defense of Fort Stephenson, "for the skill and coolness manifested by them in the management of a piece of artillery (the old cannon 'Betsey'), which contributed so largely to the defeat of the enemy."

Up to this time General Harrison's plan of campaign had been defensive, awaiting the control of Lake Erie by the American fleet, before his advance upon Lower Canada. The General now began active preparations for this invasion and kept in close touch with Commander Perry whose engagement with the British was soon expected. Even the orders to the commissary at Fort Meigs show this preparation, General Harrison issuing an order dated August 21st, requiring "the baking of biscuit to be carried on to the greatest amount and with the greatest expedition." Seventy extra men were requisitioned to assist in this work to serve two weeks. Brig.-Gen. Duncan McArthur was sent about this time to relieve General Clay and to take the command of Fort Meigs, with instructions to "draw in the pickets and construct the fortifications on a smaller scale and also make arrangements for embarking the heavy artillery, with such military stores as might be found necessary." This order of the 21st, also ordered the deputy quartermaster, to "procure as many waggoners as the public service may require during the building of the new fort at Camp Meigs."

The first order in the Record of Military Orders, from which this portion of this story was in the main taken, signed by General McArthur, is dated at Fort Meigs Sept. 3, 1813. It relates simply to camp regulations.

Seven days after this came Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie, the news of which was received by General Harrison at his headquarters at Fort Seneca, on the Sandusky River, September 12, two days after the battle. General Harrison with all speed now marshalled his forces for his invasion of Canada and an engagement with the British forces under Proctor, for which project Perry was ready at the mouth of the Portage River to embark Harrison's troops. The projected route was by way of Bass Island (Put-in-Bay), to the mouth of the Detroit River and Malden.

On the evening of September 16, 1813, Gen. Duncan McArthur who had superseded General Clay in the command at Fort Meigs, received orders there from General Harrison, Comman-

der-in-Chief, to embark the main artillery, military stores and provisions at that place in vessels, which were sent from the south shore of the lake to receive them; also to march the regular troops at Fort Meigs across the country to rendezvous at the mouth of the Portage River, preparatory to their embarkation with the rest of the army. General McArthur had according to orders, already rebuilt Fort Meigs, reducing its size to a much smaller post in the up-river corner of the old works which had enclosed some eleven acres. The orders for the march of the troops to the mouth of the Portage was speedily executed. The remaining Kentucky troops at Fort Meigs under General Clay, had determined to accompany General Harrison on the Canadian campaign, although their term of service had nearly expired; and General Clay had particularly solicited Governor Meigs of Ohio for leave to accompany Harrison, in case his men were not permitted to go. Clay and his suite and a number of his men embarked in the transport vessels which had come to Fort Meigs for the stores.

The Kentucky mounted regiment under Col. R. M. Johnson mentioned previously, which was also at Fort Meigs, received orders from General Harrison to camp under the guns of the fort and await further orders. All troops were anxious to accompany Harrison on his campaign into Canada, and while all could not be taken, there was much "uneasiness" for the honor. In bringing down the military stores from the posts on the Sandusky River, to prevent the extra carriage of some forty miles from the mouth of the Sandusky around the lake to the mouth of the Portage where the forces were to embark, a land carriage was made across the isthmus between the Sandusky and the Portage. This was accomplished between September 15th and the 20th, while the army was making other necessary arrangements. One important move was the construction of a brush fence across the narrow part of the isthmus from the Sandusky to the Portage. Upon the peninsula of some sixty thousand acres, the horses of the army were turned loose for pasturage, until the return of the army from Canada. After the successful campaign, these horses were taken up after some difficulty in the roundup. Following General Harrison in his campaign into Canada, while outside the real story of Fort Meigs itself, concerns the General and force who were at the fort during the operations there.

On September 20th, 1813, General Harrison embarked with the regular troops under Generals Cass and McArthur, and

Perry's boats landed the army the same day at Middle Bass Island, Put-in-Bay. The next day Governor Shelby of Kentucky followed with the troops under his command. The whole army remained on Bass Island September 24, awaiting further stores. During this stay on the island the Kentucky militia left by General Clay at Fort Meigs arrived at the mouth of the Portage to join the expedition. Their services not being required, they were discharged and returned to their homes.

The Orderly Book or Record of Military Orders which has several times been referred to, evidently sailed with General Harrison's army. For it contains the order of General Harrison made at "Headquarters Bass Island," prescribing the plan of debarkation of the army on their landing at Malden on the Canadian side of the Detroit River, and of the order of march and of battle. Among the officers mentioned, are Governor Shelby of Kentucky acting as Major-General, Lieutenant-Colonel Ball, Brigade Commanders Generals McArthur and Cass, the riflemen under Colonel Simrall, General Calmes, Major-General Henry, and the artillery under Major, later Colonel Wood, the builder of Fort Meigs.

While General Harrison is proceeding to Malden with most of his army, attention will be turned again to Col. R. M. Johnson and his mounted regiment of 700 Kentuckians, General Harrison caused to remain at Fort Meigs, to await future orders, and straining to be unleashed against the enemy. On September 20th, a Lieutenant Griffith who had been sent by Colonel Johnson with a scouting party to the River Raisin (Monroe site), returned to Fort Meigs with an Indian prisoner named Misselemetaw, a chief counsellor to Tecumseh and uncle to the celebrated Logan. He had been head chief at the Massacre of Pigeon Root and his story to Colonel Johnson is worth the space in the telling. He said that the Indians had been watching the movements of Johnson's mounted army and had seen them arrive at Fort Meigs and that they believed his forces amounted to near twenty-five hundred. The chief further stated that the Indians about Brownstown (on the American side of the Detroit River) amounting to about seventeen hundred and fifty warriors, had determined to give Johnson's troops battle at the (Michigan) River Huron, and that they were still ignorant of the defeat of the British fleet. This captive's story reached back to the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, and he said the British had supplied the Prophet's warriors with ammunition before the battle of Tippe-

canoe—Harrison's early success; that Tecumseh's plan of a common property in the Indian lands had been strongly recommended and praised by the celebrated British Colonel Elliott, and that the British had used every means in their power since 1809, to secure the aid of the Indians in the event of war with the United States. Lastly, that the Indians were to receive British aid to drive the Americans over the Ohio River, after which they should live in the white men's houses.

Captain Coleman who had been sent from Fort Meigs to Harrison's headquarters at the mouth of Portage River, returned with the information that Colonel Johnson and his regiment would soon be called upon for duty, and on September 25th, an express arrived at Fort Meigs ordering the regiment to march immediately to the River Raisin and that Harrison's army the next day would probably land in Canada. Early on the morning of September 26th, the mounted troops left Fort Meigs, Colonel Johnson taking with him four pieces of light artillery, as he expected to meet the Indians near Brownstown. At Frenchtown (Monroe), were only a few French families, and the bones of the Kentuckians massacred in Winchester's defeat, were found scattered and bleaching for three miles on this side of the River Raisin, having been torn up after their previous burial. Soon after the Raisin was passed, an express arrived from General Harrison with information that Proctor had burned Malden and that his army had fled into the interior. On October 1st, Johnson and his mounted troops caught up with General Harrison's main army in pursuit of Proctor and the forces of the British and the Indian warriors under Tecumseh.

It will be only briefly mentioned that the British and Indians finally made a stand at the River Thames, October 5, 1813, that Proctor's army was cut to pieces, Chief Tecumseh slain, and in his flight, General Proctor himself narrowly escaped capture. The battle broke the back of British militarism in the West and their attempted control of the Maumee country with the rest.

Going back a step in this story, when General Harrison crossed over into Canada after Proctor, it was necessary that a considerable force be left at Detroit to protect the citizens of Michigan Territory from the depredations of the Indians, with which Proctor had threatened them before his retreat. Therefore, after crossing Lake Erie with Harrison's army, the brigade of General McArthur was left at Detroit and their place in the

lines was supplied by the forces of General Calmes, although McArthur himself kept on with the main army.

Following General Harrison's annihilation of the British army and the forces of the Indian warriors, and the flight of Proctor, Harrison early on October 7, left the American army at the Thames River under the immediate command of Governor Shelby of Kentucky and returned to Detroit. The different army corps soon followed, having embarked the immense quantity of captured property, including the British artillery, a great variety of military stores and 5,000 stands of small arms, in boats upon the Thames. On October 10th, all troops arrived with the British prisoners at Sandwich on the Detroit River and on the 12th, Colonel Johnson's mounted troops crossed over the river to American soil at Spring Wells, and the next day the Kentucky infantry crossed over at the mouth of the River Rouge. The latter troops complained at not having water transportation back to the point of embarkation on the south shore of Lake Erie (at the mouth of Portage River, where is now Port Clinton), but when General Harrison explained that the fleet was required for other important duty they were reconciled to return on foot by way of the River Raisin. At the Maumee Bay they received a supply of provisions from Fort Meigs, and crossing the lower Maumee, arrived at the mouth of the Portage River October 19, after suffering greatly from cold and fatigue. During the different movements, two American schooners, the *Ohio* and *Chippewa*, with supplies, were so nearly wrecked in a storm on Lake Erie, that a large part of the baggage and supplies were thrown overboard.

General Harrison now being ordered by the government to take part in the campaign directed at Fort George, he left General Cass in command at Detroit and sailed across the lake with some thirteen hundred troops and October 22, 1813, arrived at Erie (Pa.) where Perry's fleet was built. The presence of General Cass being required at the trial of Gen. William Hull, at Albany, N. Y., the command at Detroit devolved upon Col. Anthony Butler who was appointed governor of Michigan Territory.

The attention of the reader will here be turned again to the post at Detroit. An order in this old record of orders dated October 21, 1813, provided for the sale of the property captured from the enemy, at 2 o'clock that day, under the direction of Colonel Wells and two other officers. This order also says that

the conduct of the soldiers in the town (Detroit) "outrages common decency."

A designated "After General Order" was issued from the Brigade Major's Office, dated at Detroit October 21, which reads as follows:

"After General Order:

"The following has been received from the office of the Adjt. General.

"Extract from an after general order dated Headquarters on board the U. S. schooner *Ariel*, 18th October, 1813:

"It is the intention of the General (Harrison) that Brig.-General Cass should possess as it regards that part of Upper Canada that is in our possession, all the power that appertained to the executive authority established by the British government in said Province.

"Signed by Command
"E. P. Gaines, Adjt. Gen."

This order was evidently issued by General Harrison while on Lake Erie enroute for Erie (Pa.) with his troops and bound for the Niagara campaign.

An order dated October 27, says that General Harrison directs that "those persons who have been driven from their homes by the enemy in consequence of their attachment (loyalty) to our government and whose families are in distress for provisions," should be assisted from the public stores.

Orders dated at Detroit November 15th prohibited the "distillation of Grain" on account of its scarcity, and threatened severe punishment for the practice. Numerous orders dated at Detroit from late in October 1813, up to January 1814, show that on account of the rigors of war having subsided and the enemy subdued, the reaction brought the troops to the verge of insubordination, and being out from under the influence of their Commander-in-Chief, they were kept under reasonable control with difficulty. The guard house was evidently filled with prisoners to its capacity. However, the underlying spirit of patriotism prevailed and the pages of this old order record are closed to follow Fort Meigs in the closing days of its career.

Fort Meigs evidently was garrisoned by troops for some time after the Treaty of Ghent, in December 1814. The Indians along the Maumee were still in an ugly mood, committed many depredations and murdered a few of the settlers who returned after

the war. Some of the old fort timber and planks from scows used in bringing army supplies down the river were utilized by the settlers in building homes. In the summer of 1815, two vessels carried a greater part of the government supplies and ordnance to Detroit. The schooner *Blacksnake,* Capt. Jacob Wilkinson, took off a cargo of guns and stores the same season and the fort which had been garrisoned by Lieut. Almon Gibbs and about forty men, was abandoned. For the convenience of the fort and sparse surrounding settlement, Gibbs had in May 1814, been appointed postmaster and the office was named Fort Meigs.

All the lower Maumee country for some time went under the general name of Fort Meigs. Incoming settlers, many of them, until they could establish themselves in their own cabins, lived in the old block-houses. The palisades and other timber served for many useful purposes as long as it lasted. Finally strife arose about the right to occupy the block-houses and they were burned to the ground. From their ashes there arose peace.

This narrative will now revert to the detailed account of Colonel Croghan at Fort Stephenson, Perry on Lake Erie and Harrison's advance into Canada.

CHAPTER XLV

STORY OF FORT STEPHENSON

ATTACK BY BRITISH AND INDIANS—HARRISON'S MOVEMENTS AND ORDERS TO CROGHAN—COLONEL CROGHAN'S GALLANT DEFENSE OF THE POST —BRITISH UNDER PROCTOR RETIRE TO MALDEN—OLD "BETSY"—HARRISON PREPARES ADVANCE AGAINST BRITISH—LOCAL STORIES OF FORT STEPHENSON—FINAL TRIBUTE TO CROGHAN.

The forces which Colonel Proctor and Chief Tecumseh brought against Fort Meigs at the so called second siege of that important defense, numbered in British and Indians 5,000, in which the latter predominated about three to one. It was the largest number of Indians collected in one body during the whole war.

After the siege had been raised on July 28, 1813, Proctor with his British army sailed around into Sandusky Bay, while a large complement of his savage allies marched across through the swamps of the Portage River to coöperate on a combined attack against Lower Sandusky and Fort Stephenson. They evidently expected that on account of the Indian demonstration towards Fort Winchester, General Harrison's attention would be chiefly directed towards the latter place and the upper Maumee. The General, however, had calculated on their taking the course they did, and had been alert in keeping patrols down the Sandusky Bay opposite the mouth of the Portage River, where he believed their forces would mostly land.

Continuing the story as told by McAfee, several days before the British had invested Fort Meigs, General Harrison with Major Croghan and some other officers, had examined the heights which surrounded Fort Stephenson; and as the hill on the opposite or southeast side of the river was found to be the most commanding eminence, the General had some thoughts of removing the fort to that place, and Major Croghan declared his readiness to undertake the work. But the General did not authorize him to do it, as he believed that if the enemy intended to invade our territory again they would do it before the removal could be completed. It was then finally concluded that the fort which

was calculated for a garrison of only 200 men could not be defended against the heavy artillery of the enemy, and that if the British should approach it by water, which would cause a presumption that they had brought their heavy artillery, the fort must be abandoned and burned, provided a retreat could be effected with safety. In the orders left with Major Croghan it was stated:

"Should the British troops approach you in force with cannon, and you can discover them in time to effect a retreat, you will do so immediately, destroying all the public stores. You must be aware, that the attempt to retreat in face of an Indian force would be vain. Against such an enemy your garrison would be safe, however great the number."

On the evening of the 29th, General Harrison received intelligence by express from General Clay, that the enemy had abandoned the second siege of Fort Meigs; and as the Indians on that day had swarmed in the woods round his camp, General Harrison entertained no doubt but that an immediate attack was intended either on Sandusky or Seneca. The General, therefore, immediately called a council of war, consisting of M'Arthur, Cass, Ball, Paul, Wood, Hukill, Holmes, and Graham, who were unanimously of the opinion that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery, and that, as the enemy could bring with facility any quantity of battering cannon against it, by which it must inevitably fall, and as it was an unimportant post containing nothing the loss of which would be felt by us, that the garrison should therefore, not be reinforced but withdrawn and the place destroyed. In pursuance of this decision the General from his position at Fort Seneca, nine miles up the Sandusky from Fort Stephenson, immediately dispatched the following order to Major Croghan:

"Sir—Immediately on receiving this letter, you will abandon Fort Stephenson, set fire to it, and repair with your command this night to headquarters. Cross the river and come up on the opposite side. If you should deem and find it impracticable to make good your march to this place, take the road to Huron and pursue it with the utmost circumspection and dispatch."

This order was sent by Mr. Connor and two Indians who lost their way in the dark, and did not arrive at Fort Stephenson before 11 o'clock the next day. When Major Croghan received it he was of the opinion that he could not then retreat with safety as the Indians were hovering round the fort in considerable force.

He called a council of his officers, a majority of whom coincided with him in opinion that a retreat would be unsafe, and that the post could be maintained against the enemy, at least till further instructions could be received from headquarters. The major, therefore, immediately returned the following answer:

"Sir—I have just received yours of yesterday, 10 o'clock, P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was received too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens, we can."

In writing this note, Major Croghan had a view to the probability of its falling into the hands of the enemy, and on that account made use of stronger language than would otherwise have been consistent with propriety. It reached the General on the same day, who did not fully understand the circumstances and motives under which it had been dictated. The following order was, therefore, immediately prepared, and sent with Colonel Wells in the morning, escorted by Colonel Ball with his corps of dragoons.

"July 30, 1813.

"Sir—The general has just received your letter of this date informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the order issued from this office and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over, but I am directed to say to you that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his General, can no longer be entrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and repair with Colonel Ball's squadron to this place. By command, etc.

"A. H. Holmes, Asst. Adjt. Gen."

The squadron of dragoons on this trip, consisting of 100 horses, met with a party of Indians near Lower Sandusky and killed eleven out of twelve. The action is known as "Ball's Battle." The Indians had formed an ambush and fired on the advanced guard consisting of a sergeant and five privates. Upon

seeing the squadron approach they fled, but were pursued and soon overtaken by the front squad of Captain Hopkins' troops. The greater part of them were cut down by Colonel Ball and Captain Hopkins with his subalterns, whose horses being the fleetest overtook them first. The loss of the squadron was two privates wounded and two horses killed.

Israel Harrington, a resident of Lower Sandusky at the time of the engagement and one of the first associate judges of Sandusky County told a somewhat different story than McAfee's account. He related that three days after the battle he passed over the scene and counted thereon thirteen dead Indians fearfully cut up and mangled by the dragoons. The scene of the engagement was about a mile and a half southwest of Fremont on the west bank of the river. There is a section in that part of the city known as Ballville. There was an oak tree on the site of the action, known to old residents up to within a few years, said to have shown seventeen notches in it to indicate the number of Indians killed. Another account says the squadron was moving toward the fort when it was suddenly fired upon by the Indians from the west side of the road, whereupon Colonel Ball ordered a charge and he with his suite and the right flank being in advance, first came into action. The Colonel struck the first blow. He dashed in between two savages and cut down the one on the right. The other being slightly in the rear, struck a blow with his tomahawk at Ball's back, when by a sudden spring of the latter's horse, it fell short and was buried deep in the cantel and pad of his saddle. Before the savage could repeat the blow he was shot by Corporal Ryan. Lieutenant Hedges, later General Hedges of Mansfield, following in the rear and mounted on a small horse, pursued a giant Indian and just as he had come up with him, his stirrup broke and he fell headfirst off his horse knocking the Indian down. Both sprang to their feet, when Hedges struck the Indian over the head and as he was falling, buried his sword up to its hilt in his body. At this stage Captain Hopkins was seen on the left side in pursuit of a powerful savage, when the latter turned and made a blow at the Captain with his tomahawk, at which Hopkins' horse sprang to one side. Cornet Hayes then came up and the Indian also struck at him, his horse in like manner causing the blow to be evaded. Sergeant Anderson now arriving, the Indian was soon dispatched. By the time the skirmish was over, the Indians who were about twenty in number, according to this story, being nearly all cut down, an

order was given to retreat to the main squadron. Colonel Ball formed his men ready for a charge, should the Indians appear in force and moved down to the fort without further molestation, where they arrived about 4 P. M. (Among Colonel Ball's troopers was a private, James Webb, the father of Lucy Webb Hayes, whose old flint-lock rifle and hunting horn are among the Spiegel Grove collections, donated by Col. Webb C. Hayes.)

Colonel Wells being left in the command of Fort Stephenson, Major Croghan returned with the squadron to headquarters at Fort Seneca. He there explained his motives for writing such a note, which were deemed satisfactory, and having remained all night with the General who treated him politely, he was permitted to return to his command in the morning, with written orders similar to those he had received before.

A reconnoitering party which had been sent from Harrison's headquarters to the shore of the lake, about twenty miles distant from Fort Stephenson, discovered the approach of the enemy by water on the evening of the 31st of July. They returned by the fort, after 12 o'clock the next day, and passed it but a few hours, when the enemy made their appearance before it. The Indians showed themselves first on the hill east over the river, and were saluted by a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery in the fort, which soon caused them to retire. In half an hour the British gunboats came in sight, and the Indian forces displayed themselves in every direction, with a view to intercept the garrison should a retreat be attempted. The six-pounder was fired a few times at the gunboats, which was returned by the artillery of the enemy. A landing of their troops with a 5½-inch howitzer, was effected about a mile below the fort; and Major Chambers, accompanied by Dickson, was dispatched towards the fort with a flag, and was met on the part of Major Croghan by Ensign Shipp of the Seventeenth Regiment. After the usual ceremonies, Major Chambers observed to Ensign Shipp that he was instructed by General Proctor to demand the surrender of the fort, as he was anxious to spare the effusion of human blood, which he could not do, should he be under the necessity of reducing it by the powerful force of artillery, regulars, and Indians under his command. Shipp replied that the commandant of the fort and its garrison were determined to defend it to the last extremity; that no force, however great, could induce them to surrender, as they were resolved to maintain their post or to bury themselves in its ruins. Dickson then said that their immense body of Indians could not

be restrained from massacring the whole garrison in case of success, of which we have no doubt, rejoined Chambers, as we are amply prepared. Dickson then proceeded to remark that it was a great pity so fine a young man should fall into the hands of the savages. "Sir, for God's sake surrender, and prevent the dreadful massacre that will be caused by your resistance." Mr. Shipp replied, that when the fort was taken there would be none to massacre. "It will not be given up while a man is able to resist." An Indian at this moment came out of the adjoining ravine, and advancing to the Ensign took hold of his sword and attempted to wrest it from him. Dickson interfered, and having restrained the Indian, affected great anxiety to get Shipp safe into the fort.

The enemy now opened fire from their six-pounders in the gunboats and the howitzer on shore, which continued through the night with but little intermission, and with very little effect. The forces of the enemy consisted of 500 British regulars, and about eight hundred Indians commanded by Dickson, the whole being commanded by General Proctor in person. Tecumseh was stationed on the road to Fort Meigs with a body of 2,000 Indians, expecting to intercept a reinforcement on that route.

Major Croghan through the evening occasionally fired his six-pounder, at the same time changing its place occasionally to induce a belief that he had more than one piece. As it produced very little execution on the enemy, and he was desirous of saving his ammunition, he soon discontinued his fire. The enemy had directed their fire against the northwestern angle of the fort, which induced the commandant to believe that an attempt to storm his works would be made at that point. In the night Captain Hunter was directed to remove the six-pounder to a block-house from which it would rake that angle. By great industry and personal exertion Captain Hunter soon accomplished this object in secrecy. The embrasure was masked and the piece loaded with a half charge of powder, and double charge of slugs and grapeshot.

Early in the morning of the 2nd, the enemy opened their fire from their howitzer and three six-pounders, which they had landed in the night and planted in a point of woods about two hundred and fifty yards north from the fort. In the evening, about 4 o'clock, they concentrated the fire of all their guns on the northwest angle, which convinced Major Croghan that they would endeavor to make a breach and storm the works at that point. He

therefore immediately had that place strengthened as much as possible with bags of flour and sand, which were so effectual that the picketing in that place sustained no material injury. Sergeant Weaver with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg Volunteers and Pittsburg Blues, who happened to be in the fort, was entrusted with the management of the six-pounder.

Late in the evening when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the fort, the enemy proceeded to make the assault. Two feints were made towards the southern angle, where Captain Hunter's lines were formed: and at the same time a column of 350 men were discovered advancing through the smoke within twenty paces of the northwestern angle. A heavy, galling fire of musketry was now opened upon them from the fort, which threw them into some confusion. Colonel Shortt who headed the principal column soon rallied his men and led them with great bravery to the brink of the ditch. After a momentary pause he leaped into the ditch, calling to his men to follow him, and in a few minutes it was full. The masked port hole was now opened and the six-pounder at the distance of thirty feet, poured such destruction among them, that but few who had entered the ditch were fortunate enough to escape. A precipitate and confused retreat was the immediate consequence, although some of the officers attempted to rally their men. The other column, which was led by Colonel Warburton and Major Chambers, was also routed in confusion by a destructive fire from the line commanded by Captain Hunter. The whole of them fled into the adjoining wood, beyond the reach of our small arms. During the assault which lasted half an hour, the enemy kept up an incessant fire from their howitzer and five six-pounders. They left Colonel Shortt, a lieutenant, and twenty-five privates dead in the ditch, and the total number of prisoners taken was twenty-six, most of them badly wounded. Major Muir, famous with the British at Fort Meigs, was knocked down in the ditch and lay among the dead, till the darkness of the night enabled him to escape in safety. The loss of the garrison was one killed and seven slightly wounded. The total loss of the enemy would not be less than 150 killed and wounded.

When night came on, which was soon after the assault, the wounded in the ditch were in a desperate situation. Complete relief could not be brought to them by either side with any degree of safety. Major Croghan, however, relieved them as much as possible. He contrived to convey them water over the picketing

in buckets, and a ditch was opened under the pickets through which those who were able and willing, were encouraged to crawl into the fort. All who were able preferred of course to follow their defeated comrades, and many others were carried from the vicinity of the fort by the Indians, particularly their own killed and wounded; and in the night about 3 o'clock, the whole British and Indian force commenced a disorderly retreat. So great was their precipitation that they left a sailboat containing some clothing and a considerable quantity of military stores; and on the next day seventy stand of arms, and some braces of pistols were picked up, 'round the fort. Their hurry and confusion was caused by the apprehension of an attack from General Harrison, of whose position and force they had probably received an exaggerated account.

It was the intention of General Harrison, should the enemy succeed against Fort Stephenson, or should they endeavor to turn his left and fall on Upper Sandusky, to leave his camp at Seneca and fall back for the protection of that place. But he discovered by the firing on the evening of the 1st, that the enemy had nothing but light artillery, which could make no impression on the fort; and he knew that an attempt to storm it without making a breach could be successfully repelled by the garrison. He therefore determined to wait for the arrival of 250 mounted volunteers under Colonel Rennick, being the advance of 700 who were approaching by the way of Upper Sandusky, and then to march against the enemy and raise the siege, if their force was not still too great for his own. On the 2nd, he sent several scouts to ascertain their situation and force; but the woods were so infested with Indians that none of them could proceed sufficiently near the fort to make the necessary discoveries. In the night a messenger arrived at Fort Seneca with intelligence that the enemy were preparing to retreat. About 9 o'clock, Major Croghan had ascertained from their collecting about their boats, that they were preparing to embark, and had immediately sent an express to the commander-in-chief with this information. The General now determined to wait no longer for the reinforcements, and immediately set out with the dragoons, with which he reached the fort early in the morning, having ordered Generals M'Arthur and Cass, who had arrived at Seneca several days before, to follow him with all the disposable infantry at that place, and which at this time was about seven hundred men, after the numerous sick, and the force necessary to maintain the position, were left

behind. Finding that the enemy had fled entirely from the fort so as not to be reached by him, and learning that Tecumseh was somewhere in the direction of Fort Meigs with 2,000 warriors, he immediately ordered the infantry to fall back to Seneca, lest Tecumseh should make an attack on that place, or intercept the small reinforcements advancing from the south.

In his official report of this affair, General Harrison observes that, "It will not be among the least of General Proctor's mortifications, to find that he has been baffled by a youth, who has just passed his twenty-first year. He is, however, a hero worthy of his gallant uncle, General George Rogers Clarke.

"Captain Hunter of the 17th regiment, the second in command, conducted himself with great propriety; and never was there a set of finer young fellows than the subalterns, viz: Lieutenants Johnson and Taylor of the 17th, Anthony of the 42nd, Meeks of the 7th, and Ensigns Shipp and Duncan of the 17th." Lieutenant Anderson of the 24th was also noticed for his good conduct. Being without a command, he solicited Major Croghan for a musket and a post to fight at, which he did with the greatest bravery.

"Too much praise," reported Major Croghan, "cannot be bestowed on the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates under my command for their gallantry and good conduct during the siege."

The brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel was immediately conferred on Major Croghan by the President of the United States, for his gallant conduct on this occasion. The ladies of Chillicothe also presented him an elegant sword, accompanied by a suitable address. Among the scouts sent down the bay, after the enemy had retreated from Fort Stephenson, was a little party of Wyandot Indians, who surprised and captured a few British soldiers, who had been left behind in the retreat. The Indians brought them to camp without doing them any injury; and conscious that they had done their duty, they were frequently seen telling the story to their brother warriors, and laughing at the terror which had been manfested by the soldiers, who no doubt expected to be massacred or carried off and destroyed by torture. But the Indians who followed the American standard had not, like those in the British service, been encouraged to commit the most horrible barbarities.

Col. Webb C. Hayes has obtained from Washington the fol-

lowing list of officers and men who were in the fort when the British assault was made:

Major George Croghan, Seventeenth U. S. Infantry, commanding.

Captain James Hunter.

First lieutenant, Benjamin Johnson; second lieutenant, Cyrus A. Baylor; ensign, Edmund Shipp; ensign, Joseph Duncan, all of the Seventeenth U. S. Infantry.

First lieutenant, Joseph Anthony, Twenty-fourth U. S. Infantry.

Second lieutenant, John Meek, Seventh U. S. Infantry.

Petersburg Volunteers.

Pittsburg Blues.

Greensburg Riflemen.

Captain Hunter's Company—Sergeants, Wayne Case, James Huston, Obadiah Norton. Corporals, Mathew Burns, William Ewing, John Maxwell. Privates, Pleasant Bailey, Samuel Brown, Elisha Condiff, Thomas Crickman, Ambrose Dean, Leonard George, Nathaniel Gill, John Harley, Jonathan Hartley, William McDonald, Joseph McKee, Frederick Metts, Rice Millender, John Mumman, Samuel Pearsall, Daniel Perry, William Ralph, John Rankin, Elisha Rathbun, Aaron Ray, Robert Row, John Salley, John Savage, John Smith, Thomas Striplin, William Sutherland, Martin Tanner, John Zett, David Perry.

Captain Duncan's Company—First lieutenant, Benjamin Johnson, commanding. Second lieutenant, Cyrus A. Baylor.

Sergeants—Henry Lowall, Thomas McCaul, John M. Stotts, Natley Williams.

Privates—Henry L. Bethers, Cornelius S. Bevins, Joseph Blamer, Jonathan C. Bowling, Nicholas Bryant, Robert Campbell, Samuel Campbell, Joseph Klinkenbeard, Joseph Childers, Ambrose Dine, Jacob Downs, James Harris, James Hartly, William Johnson, Elisha Jones, Thomas Linchard, William McClelland, Joseph McKee, John Martin, Ezekiel Mitchell, William Rogers, David Sudderfield, Thomas Taylor, John Williams.

Detachment Twenty-fourth U. S. Infantry—First lieutenant, Joseph Anthony, commanding.

Privates—William Gaines, John Foster, ——— Jones, Samuel Riggs, Samuel Thurman.

Greensburg Riflemen—Sergeant, Abraham Weaver.

Petersburg Volunteers—Private, Edmund Brown.

The war records at Washington do not show the names of the

volunteers who were detached and assigned to the service, hence out of the 160 Americans in the fort at the time, only seventy-eight names are of record.

To show the English viewpoint on the assault, the following is taken from the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, an English publication, and is an extract from a dispatch forwarded by Sir C. Provost:

"St. Davids, Niagara Frontier, August 25 (1813)—Major-General Proctor having given away to the clamor of our Indian allies to act offensively, moved forward on the 20th ult. with about three hundred and fifty of the Forty-first Regiment, and between three thousand and four thousand Indians, and on the 2nd inst. attempted to carry by assault the block-houses and works at Sandusky where the enemy had concentrated a considerable force. The Indians, however, previous to the assault, withdrew themselves out of reach of the enemy's fire. The handful of His Majesty's troops employed on this occasion, displayed the greatest bravery; nearly the whole of them having reached the fort and made every effort to enter it; but a galling and destructive fire being kept up by the enemy from within the block-houses and from behind the picketing which completely protected them and which we had not the means to force, the major-general thought it most prudent not to continue longer so unavailing a combat; he accordingly drew off the assailants and returned to Sandwich with the loss of twenty-five killed, as many missing, and about forty wounded. Amongst the killed are Brevet Lieutenant Shortt and Lieut. J. C. Gordon, of the Forty-first Regiment."

Basil Meek's "History of Sandusky County" (1909) has this:

"In the published plan of the environs of Fort Sandusky, the spot where the British officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Shortt and Lieutenant Gordon, were buried, is marked. The high school building now covers this spot; and in 1891, while excavations for the building were being made, graves and bones of two soldiers were found. Metallic buttons were also found in these graves, bearing the number of the regiment, 41, stamped on them, which appeared on buttons usually belonging to the uniform of British officers.

"Mr. H. S. Dorr, of Fremont, has in his possession these buttons.

"Colonel Shortt was the commanding officer of the Forty-first Regiment of British Regulars, and Lieutenant Gordan was an officer in the regiment.

"Further indications that these bodies were those of officers appeared in the fact that they had been buried in caskets, remains of which were also found in the graves.

"Mr. Dorr, soon after finding these buttons, was showing them to President Hayes, who informed Mr. Dorr that he had read in some book of a foreign bishop named Gordon, who was reported as saying that the sorrow of his life was the loss of a son in a battle in an obscure point in North America, called Fort Sandusky, by which name the British designated the fort.

"From an English work, the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' the following facts are gathered:

"The father of Lieutenant Gordon was James Bentley Gordon (1750-1819), of Londonderry, Ireland, who graduated from Trinity College, Dublin, in 1773, took Holy Orders, and subsequently was presented with the living, first of Cannaway in Cork and finally that of Killegney in Wexford, which he retained till his death in April, 1819. He was a zealous student of history and geography and a voluminous writer of books on such topics, among which were 'Terraquea, or a New System of Geography and Modern History,' 'A History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798,' 'A History of the British Islands,' 'An Historical and Commercial Memoir of the North American Continent.' He married in 1779, a daughter of Richard Bookey, of Wicklow, by whom he had several children. His eldest son, James Geo. Gordon, entered the army and was killed at Fort Sandusky in August, 1813, and Meek further says:

"The fort was built on what became River Lot No. 9, fifty-seven acres, according to the plat by the United States Government, of the historic two-mile square tract made in 1816. The body of the fort was about three hundred feet long east and west and 150 feet in width north and south, and situated on that part of the Park ground nearest to what is now Croghan Street, and lengthwise covered more ground than now lies between Arch and High streets, which is only 264 feet. It will be remembered that when the fort was built, and when the battle occurred, there were no streets there. The fort projected into what is now High Street, about two rods, its northwestern angle, where the assault was made, reaching a point near the ravine which passed in a northeasterly direction through what is known as the Doctor Wilson property, lately purchased for a high school building, and thence along what is now Croghan Street, and being the ravine between the rising ground of the fort and that immediately north of Croghan Street.

"In 1881, when the west retaining wall of the Park ground was built indications of the locality of the water well of the fort were found, which would support the above statement as to its western extremity.

"As to the name Fort Stephenson, it appears from the military records that Colonel Stevenson at one time commanded the post, for, on May 14, 1813, the following order was issued:

" 'Headquarters, Lower Sandusky, May 14, 1813.

" 'The troops which form the garrison at Lower Sandusky will be relieved today by a detachment furnished by his excellency, General Meigs, to the senior officer of which Colonel Stevenson will deliver the post and public property in his possession.

" 'R. Graham, Adjutant.'

"And in the report of the adjutant to Governor Meigs, furnished under the preceding order, we find the name Fort Stephenson first appearing officially:

" 'Fort Stephenson, May 22, 1813.

" 'May it Please Your Excellency:

" 'Sir: Agreeably to your orders I have forwarded all the articles specified therein. Considerable manual labor has been done on the garrison since you left this place and improvements are daily making. One person has been buried since you left this place. He came from Fort Meigs with a part of the baggage of Major Tod.

" 'R. E. Post, Adjutant.' "

The following recollections of the fort and reference to the cannon, are taken from proceedings of the "Ninety-third Anniversary of the Battle of Fort Stephenson," published in Vol. XVII, Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, and contributed by J. P. Moore:

"James Kirk and a man named Figley, both of whom worked on the old fort before the battle of August 2, 1813, have visited me here in Fremont and while visiting the fort and going over the ground in its vicinity have graphically described to me the location and construction of the fort and many incidents connected with its building and its defense against the British and Indians.

"The old soldier, Figley, of Columbiana County, came here early in February, 1813, and worked on the fort until mustered out at Cleveland on June 1st of that year. He related to me how the pickets were drawn by oxen from the vicinity of Stony

Prairie to the fort and points sharpened and the posts set in the ground close up one against the other. Many of the oxen engaged in drawing them died of starvation or were devoured by the wolves howling around the fort.

"The company to which James Kirk belonged came to the fort June 1, 1813, and worked here until the arrival of the British and Indians the day before the battle. James Kirk himself had been detailed to carry dispatches to Fort Seneca the day before the battle so that he was not present but came down early on the morning of August 3d and helped bury the British dead. He distinctly heard the firing of the British cannon and howitzers and noticed that some discharges were louder than others.

"Kirk was 25 years old at that time and after his discharge opened a blacksmith shop in Lower Sandusky in 1818 and in 1828 went to Port Clinton. He said that the well in the fort was not a good one, so that the garrison got their water from a spring at the foot of Garrison Street, bringing it through a small gate on the east side of the fort, for which gate Kirk made the hinges.

"I sent my son Theodore to visit James Kirk in 188— and get a description of the fort. Kirk said, 'Mark off a square plat of ground containing half an acre with a block-house on the northeast corner and one in the northwest corner; this was the original fort.' In June, 1813, when we came here the fort was found to be too small. He said, 'Mark off another square on the west side of the old square and this you will see will place the northwest block-house in the center of the north line of the enlarged fort. This was the block-house from which "Old Betsy" cleared the ditch when it was filled with Colonel Shortt's men. There was a sealed log house in the new part filled with biscuit for Perry's fleet. This house was knocked down level with the pickets by the British cannon balls. The northeast block-house was in the center of Croghan and Arch streets. The center block-house was about opposite the monument. The northwest angle of the fort extended out about fifteen feet into High Street. There were many extra guns in the fort, as a company of Pennsylvania soldiers had deposited their guns there a few days before the British brought their cannon up this ravine. They (the British) would load their cannon and then run them up out of the ravine and after discharging them, back them down again to reload out of range of the guns of the fort. The next ravine south of this ran up Croghan Street, turning to the southwest at High Street, thence northwest through the northwest corner of the Presbyte-

rian Church lot. This ravine formed the north boundary of the plateau or ridge on which Fort Stephenson was located and on which ridge ran the Harrison trail to the southwest up through Spiegel Grove and on to Fort Seneca. The next ravine south of this extended between Birchard Avenue and Garrison Street, one branch ran towards the Methodist Church through the Dorr and McCullock property. It was from this last named ravine that the British Grenadiers made a feint against Captain Hunter's company just before Colonel Shortt made his assault on the northwest corner of the fort.'

"Lieutenant Colonel Shortt and Lieut. J. G. Gordon, of the Forty-first Regiment, were buried near the south entrance of the high school building."

The first mention of the gun (Betsy) is upon the occasion of the first Fourth of July celebration ever held at the stockade, related by McAfee, which occurred in 1813. On the 3d, a mounted regiment under Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, "the man who it was said killed Tecumseh" and a future vice president, marched from Fort Meigs to Lower Sandusky to recruit their horses here.

After the war in which the gun did such valiant service it was removed to the Pittsburg arsenal. Later Congress ordered its return to Lower Sandusky. The ingenious Thomas L. Hawkins, commissary officer at Fort Stephenson during the campaign, identified the gun in Pittsburg, recognizing it by the scar on its breach which he believed was made by a cannon ball while in action, during the old French and Indian war. Owing to the duplication of the name Sandusky the cannon was sent to Sandusky City, which for many years after the battle was called Ogontz's Place, and of course had no claim to the gun. The authorities there tried to keep it, and for better concealment buried it under a barn. Mayor B. J. Bartlett, of Lower Sandusky, traced the gun and sent men and a wagon to take it home. This home-coming of Old Betsy was just prior to the 2d of August celebration of 1852, when the Tiffin Fire Department marched down to join in the festivities. William H. Gibson, clad in the red shirt and white trousers of the fire brigade uniform, delivered the stirring address of the day, in the woods back of the Rawson House on State Street.

It is not pertinent here to follow in detail the subsequent career of Colonel Croghan. He again took the field in the Mexican war and was present at the assault of Monterey. He was

then stationed at New Orleans where he died of cholera, January 8, 1849, and where it was supposed for many years that his remains were somewhere buried. It remained to Col. Webb. C. Hayes of Fremont to obtain the facts. Through his efforts the Quartermaster General at Washington took up the matter, but there was failure in that direction of results. The Colonel still persevered, and in February, 1906, received a letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Croghan Kennedy, granddaughter of Col. George Croghan, which resulted in the discovery that Colonel Croghan's remains were buried in the family burial plot of the Croghan estate, Locust Grove on the Ohio River not far from Louisville, Kentucky. An overturned headstone at the grave bore the inscription—"Col. G. C." In the disinterment, within what was left of a mahogany casket was found a leaden casket well intact. Arrangements having been made for the removal of the remains, they were taken to Fremont where they lay in state in a room in the city hall decorated with flowers and mrytle and evergreen by the Daughters of the American Revolution, brought from the Kentucky estate. With due and elaborate ceremonies, the final burial took place in Oakwood Cemetery, Fremont, June 13, 1906. Five veterans of the Mexican war preceded the casket in the procession, which marched down the old Harrison Trail through Spiegel Grove.

CHAPTER XLVI

PERRY'S VICTORY ON LAKE ERIE

OHIO PATRIOTISM AROUSED—KENTUCKY RESPONDS WITH MORE TROOPS—PERRY BUILDS FLEET—MEETING OF AMERICAN AND BRITISH SQUADRONS—VICTORY GIVES AMERICANS LAKE CONTROL—SCENES AFTER THE ENGAGEMENT.

The second invasion of Ohio territory by the British and Indians, as at the first siege of Fort Meigs, "brought the patriotism of the state into vigorous action." As soon as Governor Meigs received positive information that the enemy had again entered his precincts he issued orders for the militia to rise en masse and repel the invaders. The division which had been under the command of General McArthur obeyed the call literally. Every man prepared himself to march against the British and Indians and the greatest military activity and ardor prevailed throughout the whole state. It was estimated that at least ten thousand men were under arms and marching to the Maumee and Sandusky frontiers. The enemy, however, did not wait for their arrival. The foremost corps of mounted Ohio volunteers were not able to reach headquarters until General Proctor had rendered their services practically unnecessary by his precipitous flight down the river and to Canada from Lower Sandusky. It then became necessary as had been done before to disband them again, without their having an opportunity to fight; which again produced much discontent and chagrin among them. Many of them were even highly exasperated against the General for not retaining and employing them against the enemy.

They had volunteered not only with the expectation of being opposed to the invaders of their State, but also of being employed in the main expedition against Upper Canada which it was now evident would soon be carried into execution. When a considerable number of them arrived at Upper Sandusky, and the retreat of the enemy was known, Governor Meigs addressed a letter to General Harrison respecting the course to be pursued with them. The General immediately repaired to that place for the purpose of explaining his situation and views to the Governor, and reconciling the volunteers to the measures he would be

obliged to adopt. After a personal interview with the Governor, he committed his explanations to writing on the 6th of August, which he addressed to that officer, as follows:

"Your excellency's letter of the 4th inst. was handed to me yesterday morning by Colonel Brush. The exertions which you have made and the promptitude with which your orders have been obeyed, to assemble the militia to repel the late invasion, is truly astonishing and reflects the highest honor on the State. Believing that in a personal interview I could best explain to you the intentions of the government and my own views, I determined to come to this place to see you. I now have the honor to repeat to you in this way the result of my determination on the employment of the militia, and most of the facts on which my determination is founded. It has been the intention of the government to form the army destined for operations on Lake Erie, exclusively of regular troops, if they could be raised. The number was limited to 7,000. The deficiency of regulars was to be made up from the militia. From all the information I at present possess, I am convinced there will be a great deficiency in the contemplated number of troops, even after the militia now in service and whose time of service will not expire immediately, have been added to the regulars. I have, therefore, called on the Governor of Kentucky for two thousand effective men. With those there will still be a deficiency of about 1,200. Your excellency has stated to me that the men who have turned out on this occasion have done it with the expectation of being effectually employed, and that should they be sent home, there is no prospect of getting them to turn out hereafter should it be necessary. With my utmost exertions, the embarkation cannot be effected in less than fifteen or eighteen days, should I even determine to substitute them for the regular troops which are expected. To keep so large a force in the field, even for a short period, would consume the means which are provided for the support of the campaign, and which are only provided for the number above stated. Under these circumstances, I would recommend a middle course to your excellency, viz: to dismiss all the militia but two regiments of ten companies, each of 100 men, and the usual proportion of field, platoon, and non-commissioned officers, etc.; that the corps be encamped at or near this place until it is ascertained whether their services will be wanted. A short time will determine the question. Permit me to request your excellency to give

your countenance and support to the exertions which General M'Arthur will make to fill the 26th regiment of twelve months' troops. It appears that the venerable Governor of Kentucky (Shelby) is about to take command of the troops of that State. Could your excellency think proper to follow his example, I need not tell you how highly grateful it would be, dear sir, to your friend.

"W. H. Harrison."

Governor Meigs soon afterwards proceeded to disband the volunteers from his State, very much to their displeasure and mortification. They believed that their services were slighted and that General Harrison intended to stigmatize them as unfit to be led against the enemy. His explanations were deemed unsatisfactory; and persons inimical to him were ready to encourage the popular discontent, by misrepresenting his motives in this case, and his conduct in relation to the affair at Lower Sandusky. A considerable number passed resolutions in which they depreciated his military talents and declared that they would never repair to his standard again. The publication of these resolves produced an explanatory letter from Major Croghan, in which he contradicted the misrepresentations which had been made, and declared his high respect for the General and confidence in his military talents. A meeting of the General and field officers of the regular troops at Fort Seneca was also held, and a public address prepared by them, in which they declared their confidence in the General, and their entire approbation of his conduct; and that his late plans and movements had been taken with the advice of all the general and field officers under his command. The public confidence in the General, so necessary to the commander of militia troops, was thus preserved at a critical moment against the attacks of those who were discontented and inimical to his fame. The retained regiments of the Ohio volunteers were encamped at Upper Sandusky, but Governor Meigs did not think proper under all the circumstances of the case to continue to command them in person.

General Harrison returned again to Fort Seneca to superintend the arrangements for the expedition against Upper Canada. On the 9th of August at Lower Sandusky, a British boat was discovered coming up the river with a flag. When it landed below the fort Captain Hunter was sent to meet the commander, who proved to be Lieutenant Le Breton, accompanied by Doctor Banner, with a letter from General Proctor to the commandant at

Lower Sandusky, their object being to ascertain the situation of the British wounded and afford them surgical aid. Captain Hunter invited them to the fort. Le Breton seemed to hesitate as if he expected first to be blindfolded as usual in such cases; but Captain Hunter told him to come on, that there was nothing in the fort which there was any occasion to conceal; and when he introduced him to Major Croghan as the commandant of the fort, he appeared to be astonished at the youthful appearance of the hero who had defeated the combined forces of his master.

As the letter of General Proctor also contained a proposition for the paroling of those prisoners who might be in a condition to be removed, the flag was sent by Major Croghan to headquarters at Seneca. General Harrison replied to the letter of Proctor, that "Major Croghan conformably to those principles which are held sacred in the American army, had caused all possible care to be taken of the wounded prisoners that his situation would admit and that every aid which surgical skill could give was afforded."

Also that he had already referred the disposal of the prisoners to his government and must wait for their determination. Doctor Banner in the meantime had examined the situation of the wounded, and was highly gratified with the humane treatment they had received. He informed Major Croghan that the Indians were highly incensed at the failure of the late expedition, and were kept together with the utmost difficulty.

Attention will now be given to the preparations for the expedition against Malden. The progress of the naval preparations had been very slow, the building of the fleet was not completed till a much later period than that originally fixed by the War Department; and after its completion still further delay was caused by the want of seamen. Yet, after all this delay on the part of the fleet, the regular forces enlisted for the expedition into Canada, were very far short of the calculations made at the war office. The whole regular force of the Northwestern Army in July, did not much exceed two thousand men; and it was not until the 20th of that month, that General Harrison was authorized by the government to make his call on the adjoining states, for the militia necessary to complete the intended army. On that day at Lower Sandusky, he received a letter from the secretary of war informing him that Commodore Perry was instructed to communicate with him respecting naval movements and coöperation, and that he was authorized to take of the militia what in

his judgment would be necessary. He then immediately addressed a letter to Governor Shelby of Kentucky asking him for a maximum of 2,000 men and inviting the Governor to take command of them in person.

The response of the Kentucky patriots was prompt and under command of Governor Shelby, their movements later will be detailed. The mounted regiment of Colonel Johnson was also ordered to the Ohio service from the Illinois section.

Turning to the naval affairs on Lake Erie, the situation at an early period in the year 1813 claimed the attention of both the Americans and British. The British, however, had command of the lake, and had had for the fifty years past, as told in the article written by Mr. M. M. Quaife.* They had a considerable fleet on Erie, while the Americans had not a single armed vessel above the falls of Niagara. Great industry and exertion were hence necessary on the part of the Americans to enable them to meet the enemy on equal terms in the present campaign. With this view, workmen were employed and the keels of two brigs and several schooners were laid early in March at Erie, to which place Commodore Perry was sent to superintend their construction and equipment. There was abundance of timber convenient, but every other article had to be transported from other places, mostly from Pittsburgh and Philadelphia; and such were the difficulties which had to be encountered, that the progress in fitting out the fleet did not keep pace with the expectations formed by the government. The young Commander in fact was obliged to hew his fleet out of the wilderness and the matter of assembling his equipment was a prodigious task. The cannon balls used in the action were made in a crude furnace by a Scotchman named Grant, near Steubenville, Ohio, on the east side of the Ohio and were conveyed to the lake on pack mules. The cordage and equipment were contracted for under adverse circumstances. The proprietor of the rope-walk was a woman who took charge of the factory at the death of her husband. When Perry made the trip to give his order, he was so young and boyish looking that he was obliged to identify himself before the madam would talk business. The material, fortunately, was completed on time.

One regiment of militia and a few regulars were employed for the protection of the workmen and the vessels they were

*Author of "Wisconsin: Its History and Its People."

building. No attempt, however, was made to molest them, till the 20th of July, when the undertaking was nearly completed. The enemy had this season built a twenty-gun brig at Malden, and with this addition to their force, they probably deemed their naval superiority so decided as to be careless about the progress of the American labors, or perhaps it was their policy to let the latter spend their time and labor in the completion of their vessels, before they paid them a destroying visit. The manner in which they conducted the campaign, however, appears reprehensible. Had General Proctor proceeded with his regulars, militia, and Indians, supported by a train of heavy artillery against the preparations at Erie, instead of wasting his time and strength in vain attempts on Fort Meigs, he might have done much greater injury, and perhaps have defeated the Americans in the campaign completely, by preventing the erection of a navy competent to command the lake. If he had only destroyed the boats prepared at Cleveland, he would have caused more serious difficulties than any Harrison experienced from his formidable invasions. But it has been stated that his Indians were not disposed to leave terra firma, and hazard themselves in a cruise so far down the lake.

However, about the 20th of July, while the land forces were sent on a demonstration against Fort Meigs, the larger vessels of their fleet proceeded down the lake to reconnoitre at Erie; in sight of which they remained two or three days, apparently threatening, and perhaps really intending to attack the place; but without having made an attempt, they at last stretched over the lake towards Long Point. Their menace excited a considerable hustle and alarm at Erie, lest the vessels in their present advanced state should be destroyed, and the flattering prospects of the campaign be thus blasted. Major-General Meade who commanded the militia of the adjacent country, immediately issued an order to the contiguous brigade of his division, to repair en masse to Erie for the protection of the fleet. The order was promptly obeyed, and in a few days upwards of fifteen hundred men were assembled at the place appointed. Captain Perry in the meantime, in order to amuse the British, had sent out two of his gunboats which gave them a few shot; but they kept at so great a distance that no damage was done.

Commodore Perry now redoubled his exertions to finish his equipments, which he at last completed about the 2nd of August, and on the two following days succeeded in getting his heaviest

vessels over the bar at the mouth of the harbor. The water being but six or seven feet deep, it was necessary to buoy them up with his light vessels and scows; all of which was accomplished in the face of the enemy, who had returned in his fleet on the evening of the 3rd, and remained in sight all the next day, but without offering any molestation to the progress of this work. As soon as our fleet was completely over the bar, the enemy again left us and sailed towards Long Point. A sufficient number of sailors not having yet arrived to man our vessels, the Commodore now proposed to receive volunteers for forty-eight hours from the Pennsylvania militia, and a sufficient number accepted his invitation to enable him to sail next morning in pursuit of the enemy. He crossed the lake to Long Point, and then proceeded up the British shore some distance without discovering their fleet, which had in fact returned to Malden for their new brig and other reinforcements, on discovering the force which Perry was able to bring against them. Our fleet then returned to Erie to discharge the militia volunteers that were on board, and supply their place with sailors. In the meantime General Meade had discharged all the militia who had come forward at his call to meet the menaced descent of the British. The fleet being equipped for action, and able to give the enemy chase, "their services were no longer required in the field of Mars, but were much needed in their harvest fields at home."

Lieutenant Elliott brought ninety sailors from the fleet under Commodore Chauncey on Lake Ontario to man the fleet on Erie. Boats were sent down the lake to meet them which brought them up in safety and enabled our Commodore to spread his canvas again, and proceed up the lake. He arrived off Sandusky Bay on the 5th, and Captain Richardson, who had been sent by General Harrison to Erie, and had now returned in the fleet, came out immediately to headquarters to announce its arrival and request a company of soldiers to act as marines. General Harrison accompanied by several officers went down to the fleet, taking with him a company commanded by Captain Stockton of the Twenty-eighth Regiment of twelve months' regulars under Colonel Owings from Kentucky, including all the seamen that could be found in the army; and also about twenty volunteers under Lieutenant Coburn from Payne's company of Johnson's regiment. The Kentuckians, some of whom had probably never seen a ship before, relying on their skill to shoot, were thus ready to meet the enemy on any grounds, however novel the intended

enterprise might be to them. In the consultation between the land and naval commanders, it was agreed that the Commodore should proceed immediately off Malden to brave the enemy's fleet, and if possible bring them to action before he should take our troops on board to transport them over the lake. It was apprehended, however, that the enemy would be prudent enough to decline the contest until our fleet was encumbered with our land forces.

As soon as our Commodore had displayed his canvas before Malden, a considerable bustle took place on board the British fleet, but no attempt was made to come out and engage him, although Perry did not fail to challenge them to the combat. Finding that they did not intend to fight, he sent the *Ariel* as near as she could proceed with safety, to examine them more minutely. Their new brig which they called the *Detroit*, was launched; and the two fleets were apparently of equal force. The British, however, had the superiority; their vessels were larger than those of the Americans, were better manned, and carried a greater number of guns. The following were the vessels, and number of guns in each fleet:

AMERICAN

	Guns
Brigs:	
Lawrence	20
Niagara	20
Caledonia	3
Schooners:	
Ariel	4 (1 burst)
Scorpion	2
Somers	2, and 2 swivels
Tigress	1
Perenpine	1
Sloop:	
Trippe	1
American Total	54, 2 swivels

BRITISH

	Guns
Ships:	
Detroit	19, and 2 hwt's.
Queen Charlotte	17, and 1 hwt'r.
Ser.:	
Lady Prevost	13, and 1 hwt'r.

Brig:	
Hunter	10
Sloop:	
Little Belt	3
Schooner:	
Chippeway	1, and 2 swivels
British Total	63, 4 hwt's., 2 swivels
American Total	54, 0 hwt's., 2 swivels
British Superiority	9, 4 hwt's., 0 swivels

The Commodore did not remain long off Malden, but finding the enemy not inclined to meet him, returned to Put-in-Bay, in Bass Island, where he is left for a few days, to watch the sailing of the British fleet under Commodore Barclay, as some other occurrences are noticed.

General Harrison having learned that much dissatisfaction prevailed among the British Indians since the repulse of the allies at Lower Sandusky, determined to make use of means to detach them completely if possible from the British cause. He sent some friendly Wyandot chiefs in whom he had confidence, to confer with the warriors of their tribe who had joined the British under Walk-in-the-Water, and also with the other hostile tribes in general, with a view to negotiate a peace and reconcile them to a neutral course in the approaching contest. When these commissioners arrived at Brownstown, information of their business was immediately communicated to the British Elliott, and they were obliged to deliver their talk, which should have been addressed to the Wyandots alone, to a general council of all the hostile chiefs, at which Elliott and the notorious McKee were present. They were answered by Round Head, who was entirely in the British interest, and who spoke what Elliott pleased to dictate. A private message, however, was sent by Walk-in-the-Water, that he would use his best exertions to detach the Indians from the British, and that he had determined not to fight us, but on the advance of our army he would seize the Huron Church at Sandwich with all the warriors he could engage to assist him, and defend himself there against the British and their adherents. The general was thus convinced that no material defection was to be expected among the allies of the British.

General McArthur was sent about this time to take the command at Fort Meigs, with instructions to draw in the pickets and construct a fortification on a smaller scale, as already told,

and to make arrangements for embarking the heavy artillery with such military stores as might be found necessary.

The mounted regiment under Colonel Johnson assembled in pursuance of his orders at the places appointed for their rendezvous, bringing with them a great accession of strength in new recruits. Every company in the regiment had more than its legal complement of men. Captain McAfee (from whose writings this story is adapted) had 152, including officers and privates; Captains Combs and Davidson had each upwards of 130. The colonel received orders from General Harrison to march immediately to the frontiers for the purpose of escorting provisions from the posts on the St. Marys and Auglaize to Fort Meigs, preparatory to the embarkation of the troops for their main expedition. The regiment marched by companies, and on the 20th arrived at Dayton, where the colonel received information that the Indians had recently killed two men and a woman, some distance within the frontiers near Piqua, and that the citizens, much alarmed and enraged, had assembled in considerable numbers, with a determination to take revenge on the friendly Shawnees and Delawares residing near that place, whom they accused of committing the murders. Colonel Johnson immediately pushed forward in advance of the regiment with Captain Coleman's company, and on arriving at Piqua, was informed by John Johnson, Esq., the Indian agent, that he had called on the chiefs for an explanation, and had been assured by them with much candor and promptitude, that the British were attempting to embroil them with their white brethren by sending hostile Indians to commit depredations in their vicinity, in the expectation that the whites would charge it to them. Two murders had also been committed near Manary's block-house (on the southern border of the Indians' lands and north of now Bellefontaine) and the Shawnees at Wapakoneta had informed the agent that a hostile party had previously passed that place, by whom it was evident the murders must have been committed. It was with great difficulty, however, that the citizens could be pacified. The circumstances being made known to General Harrison, he published an address to the frontier inhabitants, assuring them that he had received satisfactory evidence that the murders were committed by the hostile Indians, and entreating the people not to take redress into their own hands, but to rely on the government which would certainly inflict exemplary punishment for any aggression committed by the friendly Indians. This address with the

arrival of the mounted regiment, quieted the minds of the people, and reconciled them to trust for safety and satisfaction to the army and the government.

As the means for transportation were not yet in readiness, the regiment was separated into several detachments and stationed at different posts, where the companies were all diligently drilled under the superintendence of the field officers.

About the 1st of September, the troops were enabled to proceed in the business of transportation, about twenty wagons and a brigade of pack horses having arrived for that purpose. The greater part of the regiment had arrived at Fort Winchester on the 9th of September, a day which had been appointed by the President at the request of Congress as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer (Thanksgiving). Those who chose to observe it in that manner were encouraged to do so; and although there is in general but little religion to be found in an army, yet on the evening of this day a number of little parties were seen in different parts of the lines paying their devotions to the God of armies and chanting His praises with plainness, sincerity, and zeal; whilst their less pious, but moral and orderly compatriots, preserved around them the strictest order and decorum. A pleasing tranquillity pervaded the ranks, and the patriot soldier seemed to feel a cheering confidence that the God of battles would shield him in the hour of danger. Quoting McAfee literally at this point he says: "The author of this history could not but feel that the special protection of heaven would be enjoyed by the American army, while nobly fighting in the cause of justice and humanity. Such were the harmony and good order constantly prevailing in this regiment, and the mutual confidence and good will between the officers and men, that there is scarcely an individual among them (now) who does not look back to those days as the happiest of his life, and who did not love and respect his commandant as an elder brother.

"The next day, the 10th of September, an important and memorable day in the campaign, was spent by the regiment in training, and in fighting sham battles, the exact miniature of that which they were soon to fight in reality. A line of infantry was formed, and the horses were practiced to charge through it at full speed; and such was the tractability and the force of custom in this noble animal, that in a little time there was scarcely a horse in the regiment that would flinch at a line of infantry enveloped in a blaze of fire and smoke. Those who are unac-

quainted with the docility of this animal, would scarcely believe that he could be brought to have so much contempt for danger, to understand so well the different sounds of the trumpet, and seemingly to participate in the sentiments and views of his rider. The beautiful description of the horse, which is given in holy writ, was fully verified in our trainings.

" 'He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his strength; he goeth on to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted; neither turneth he back from the sword. The quiver rattleth against him, and the glittering spear, and the shield. He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage; neither believeth he that it is the sound of the trumpet.' "

A few days afterwards the regiment proceeded towards the Maumee Rapids, using the precaution to march in a body, as several straggling parties of Indians had lately been discovered and it was known that Tecumseh had a considerable mounted force with which it was probable he might attempt some enterprise in that quarter of the country. Governor Shelby was also now advancing towards the frontiers with a strong corps of mounted volunteers. On the 1st of September, about three thousand five hundred men, all sturdy Kentuckians, had crossed the Ohio, with their venerable governor at their head, like an ancient oak still green, strong, and majestic; for although he had now reached the sixty-third year of his age, yet the vigor of his person and the decisive energy of his mind, were such as are rarely found in those who had numbered half his years.

The organization was not entirely completed at Springfield, forage being scarce it became necessary to move on towards Urbana, to which place Major Walker and Col. Joseph M'Dowell were sent in advance to make preparations.

About the 9th of September the volunteers marched from Urbana, and on the 12th arrived at Upper Sandusky, where Tahe, the ancient Wyandot chief, was introduced to Governor Shelby; he had expressed a great desire to see the Governor of Kentucky. The following letter from General Harrison was received at this place:

"Headquarters, Seneca, 12th September, 1813.

"You will find arms at Upper Sandusky; also a considerable quantity at Lower Sandusky. I set out from this place in an hour. Our fleet has beyond all doubt met that of the enemy. The day before yesterday an incessant and tremendous cannonading was heard in the direction of Malden by a detachment of troops

coming from Fort Meigs. It lasted two hours. I am all anxiety for the event. There will be no occasion for your halting here. Lower Sandusky affords fine grazing. With respect to a station for your horses, there is the best in the world immediately at the place of embarkation. The Sandusky Bay, Lake Erie, and Portage River form between them a peninsula, the isthmus of which is only one mile and a half across. A fence of that length, and a sufficient guard left there, would make all the horses of the army safe. It would enclose fifty or sixty thousand acres, in which are many cultivated fields, which having been abandoned, are now grown up with the finest grass. Your sick had better be left at Upper Sandusky or here.

"Harrison."

Within half an hour after the above letter was written the General received the following laconic note from the Commodore, by express from Lower Sandusky:

"U. S. Brig *Niagara*, off the Western Sister, etc.,
"September 10, 1813, 4 P. M.

"Dear General—We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner and a sloop.

"Yours with great respect and esteem,
"Oliver Hazard Perry."

This exhilarating news set Lower Sandusky and Camp Seneca in an uproar of tumultuous joy. The General immediately proceeded to the former place, and issued his orders for the movement of the troops and transportation of the provisions, military stores, etc., to the margin of the lake (where is Port Clinton), preparatory to their embarkation. An encampment had already been formed there, which was now enlarged and some block-houses commenced. Governor Shelby on the receipt of the letter from Harrison at Upper Sandusky, had proceeded with his unit in advance of his troops, and met the news of the naval victory at Fort Ball (site of Tiffin); from which place he addressed a hasty note to Maj.-Gen. William Henry, who had been left in command at Upper Sandusky, informing him of the glorious result on the lake; that the army would consequently pass into Canada without loss of time, and that he must use his best exertions to reach the point of embarkation as soon as possible. General Henry, a veteran of the Revolution, well knew the importance of despatch and pressed forward on bad roads, through deep swamps, at the rate of thirty miles a day with all

the forces, until he arrived at headquarters (Port Clinton) on the margin of the lake, on the 15th and 16th of September, at which place Governor Shelby had previously arrived on the 14th, a few minutes before the fleet had made its appearance, returning from its victorious battle. On the 15th, upwards of 300 British prisoners were landed from the fleet, and placed under the care of the infantry. A few days afterwards they were escorted by a guard of Kentucky militia under Quartermaster Payne to Franklinton and Chillicothe.

Here, the movements of the American fleet is again taken up. After remaining a few days at Put-in-Bay, Commodore Perry had returned in full view of Malden and offered battle again to the British fleet, which they again declined; but they now appeared to be making great exertions to get ready for a contest. The Commodore then withdrew and came down the lake off Sandusky Bay, in hopes that the enemy would follow him, or at least come out on the lake. While at this station, three American citizens who had made their escape from Detroit arrived at the fleet in an open boat, from whom it was ascertained that the enemy (on land and water) had been greatly straitened for provisions since our fleet had been on the lake. They had previously brought up a considerable portion of their supplies on the lake from Long Point. By the same persons the land force of the enemy was stated to be 800 regulars, 1,000 militia, and nearly two thousand Indians. On the 5th of September, the Commodore informed General Harrison in a letter from Sandusky Bay, that his men were suffering very much by sickness, and that his fleet could not transport more than 3,000 men, with which number he would be so crowded as to be unable to use any of his guns. A few days afterwards he returned to Put-in-Bay to wait the sailing of the British fleet.

At sunrise on Friday morning, the 10th of September, the enemy were discovered standing out from Malden. The American squadron immediately weighed anchor and proceeded to meet them. It was the intention of Commodore Barclay to engage his opponent before he could clear the islands near the head of the lake; and the wind being in the southwest was favorable to his plan. But before 10 o'clock the American fleet had gained the open lake between the islands and the mouth of the River Detroit. About the same time the wind changed to the southeast and thus brought the American squadron to the windward. Commodore Perry then formed his line of battle, and bore up

against the enemy. An hour of awful suspense ensued. All hands stood ready, as soon as the winds could bring the hostile fleets together, to commence the desperate conflict which was to decide the command of the upper lakes, and sink or save a large portion of American soil. The fleets were new and traversed a new theater of war. The British commodore, however, was old in experience and well advanced in years. He had bled in the battle of Trafalgar, and had imbibed the naval tactics of Nelson. The American was young and had never heard the thunder of a hostile ship; but skilled in the theory of naval war and teeming with the courage and enterprise of an American freeman, he was ready for the contest with a foe superior in force and experience.

At fifteen minutes before twelve, the enemy opened his fire, but it was not returned for ten minutes by the American fleet which was much inferior in long guns. The battle then commenced on both sides; but owing to the superiority of the British in long guns their fire was found to be the most destructive. And being chiefly directed against the *Lawrence*, the foremost ship, in which Perry sailed, he was induced to make every exertion to close with the enemy, directing the other vessels to follow his example. In a short time every brace and bowline of the *Lawrence* was shot away and she became unmanageable, notwithstanding the great exertions of her sailing master. In this situation she sustained the conflict with the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte* upwards of two hours within cannister distance, until every gun was rendered useless and the greater part of her crew either killed or wounded. The Commodore now finding that she could no longer annoy the enemy, conceived the bold design of leaving her and passing in an open boat to the *Niagara*, which the lowness of the wind had long prevented, with the lighter vessels from coming into close action. At half past two the wind increased and enabled Captain Elliott to bring up the *Niagara* in gallant style. Commodore Perry then consigned the *Lawrence* to the command of Lieutenant Yarnall, whose bravery already displayed was a sure pledge that he would do everything in his power for the honor of the flag, and proceeded towards the *Niagara*. Standing erect in an open boat, a fair mark for the musketry of the enemy, within the range of which he had to pass, he bore his flag with the motto

"Don't Give Up the Ship."

His men, more careful of his life, pulled him down by force from

the dangers of an incessant fire directed at him by the enemy. When safe on board the *Niagara*, the remnant of his crew in the *Lawrence* gave three cheers for joy at his success. He then expressed his fears to Captain Elliott that the victory was lost, by the lighter vessels remaining at so great a distance in the rear. The captain replied that he hoped not, and immediately tendered his services to bring them up to a position where they could render more effectual service. The *Niagara* was now at the head of the lines and Captain Elliott had to proceed on this service down the whole line of the enemy in a small boat exposed to their incessant fire; yet he accomplished the perilous enterprise uninjured, though completely soaked with the water thrown upon him by the balls which struck around him. He brought up the remotest gun boats and placed them under the sterns of the heaviest vessels of the enemy, where they were enabled to do much execution. In the meantime Perry in the *Niagara*, which had been but little injured, made the signal for close action and determined to pass through the enemy's line. He bore up and ran ahead of their two ships and the brig, giving a raking fire to them from his starboard guns, and to their large schooner and sloop on the starboard side, at half pistol-shot distance. By this bold project of breaking through the line of the enemy, all the guns of the *Niagara* were brought at the same moment to bear on Barclay's vessels in the most effectual manner; and at the same time the gunboats were brought by Captain Elliott to pour destruction into the sterns of his large ships, and the other small vessels to play upon them within grape and cannister distance. Such a galling, destructive fire, could not be long sustained by the British, and their two ships, a brig and a schooner, quickly surrendered. The sloop and the other schooner attempted to escape by flight, but the American schooners soon compelled them to strike their colors. The whole squadron was thus captured, not a vessel having escaped to carry the dismal news to Malden.

Soon after Commodore Perry had left the *Lawrence*, he had the extreme mortification to see her flag come down. But he was perfectly satisfied that she had been defended to the last extremity, and that a show of further resistance would have been a wanton sacrifice of the remnant of her brave crew. The enemy, however, were so shattered at that time that they were unable to take possession of her, and her brave commander soon hoisted her flag again. Though several times wounded, Lieutenant Yar-

nell refused to quit the deck, and had the satisfaction to see the whole fleet of the enemy surrender, while his flag was flying over the shattered hulk of the *Lawrence*. Many other instances of individual heroism were displayed, too numerous, indeed, to be noticed in a general story.

On the evening after the battle, the Commodore announced his victory to the secretary of the navy, by the following modest and much admired letter:

"Sir—It has pleased the Almighty to give the arms of the United States, a signal victory over their enemies on this lake. The British squadron, consisting of two brigs, two ships, one schooner, and one sloop, have this moment surrendered to the force under my command, after a sharp conflict.

"Perry."

It was indeed a sharp conflict, and even late in the battle the victory was extremely doubtful. During the first two and a half hours the American squadron fought to a great disadvantage, the action being chiefly sustained all that time by the *Lawrence*. The fresh breeze which sprung up about the time that vessel was entirely disabled, turned the fortune of the day in the American favor by enabling all of Perry's vessels to press on the enemy, break through his line, and rake him effectually in every direction.

The loss on board the *Lawrence* was twenty-two killed and sixty-four wounded; and the vessel was so completely cut up that it was absolutely necessary to send her immediately into a safe harbor. The loss in the whole fleet was twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded. The *Niagara* had only two killed, the *Caledonia*, *Somers* and *Trippe* had none. The loss of the enemy was seventy-two killed, about double that number wounded, and upwards of three hundred prisoners. Commodore Perry, in his first accounts of the battle, in the above letters to General Harrison and the secretary of the navy, committed a trifling error in styling the *Lady Prevost* a brig; he afterwards reported her a schooner. Her commander, Captain Barclay, the senior officer in the British fleet, was severely wounded. The captain of the *Queen Charlotte* was killed, and also the first lieutenant of the *Detroit*.

In the surrender the British officers were forced by Commodore Perry to retain their swords and every exertion was made to render the prisoners and wounded of the enemy as comfortable in their captivity as were the victorious troops. Such

generous conduct made a lasting impression on the gratitude of the brave and gallant Captain Barcley. Immediately after the action the slain of the seamen of both squadrons were consigned to the waters of Lake Erie.

On the day after the battle the funeral obsequies of the British and American officers who had fallen, were performed in an appropriate and affecting manner. An opening on the margin of Put-in-Bay was selected for the interment of their remains. The crews of both fleets attended. "The day was fine and pleasant. Nature seemed hushed in silence, and a dead calm prevailed on the lake. The solemn looks of the officers and men, the procession of boats keeping time with their oars to the funeral dirge that was playing, the mournful waving of the flags, the deep-toned peals of minute guns, all gave the scene a melancholy grandeur which may be felt but cannot be described. How different from the scene of the day before. Now all united as brothers to perform the last honors due to the departed brave of both Nations. Three Britons had fallen, Captain Finnis and Lieutenants Garland and Stockoe, and two Americans, Lieutenant Brooks and Midshipman Lamb." They were consigned to rest on a lonely beach, where future travellers have paid tribute to their humble graves.

The American people who delight to honor their brave and magnanimous defenders, bestowed many marks of their gratitude and admiration, on Commodore Perry and his brave associates. The following resolutions were passed in Congress and carried into execution:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the thanks of Congress be, and the same are hereby presented to Captain Oliver Hazard Perry, and through him to the officers, petty officers, seamen, marines, and infantry, serving as such, attached to the squadron under his command, for the decisive and glorious victory gained on Lake Erie, on the 10th of September, in the year of 1813, over a British squadron of superior force.

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause gold medals to be struck, emblematic of the action between the two squadrons, and to be presented to Captain Perry and to Captain Jesse D. Elliott, in such manner as will be most agreeable to them; and that the President be further requested to present a silver medal, with suitable emblems and devices, to each of the commissioned officers, either of the navy or

army, and a sword to each of the midshipmen and sailing masters, who so nobly distinguished themselves on that day."

This brilliant victory at once immortalized the heroes who achieved it, and opened Upper Canada to the American arms. The captured vessels were safely towed into Put-in-Bay, the *Lawrence* was sent to Erie to be dismantled, and Commodore Perry was ready, after he had landed his prisoners at the mouth of Portage, to transport the Northwestern Army to Malden.

Today a most imposing shaft, adorned by a beacon light of liberty and freedom, which casts its rays over the scene of the action and visible over the lake in all directions to a great distance, stands as a memorial to the heroism and achievement of Commodore Perry and his gallant sailors. Viewed by future generations of Americans, it is hoped this monument may kindle in their breasts afresh, the love of home and country and honor and loyalty to a free Republic founded upon justice to all.

OLD PERRY'S WILLOW, PUT-IN-BAY

Original burial place of some of Commodore Perry's officers.

CHAPTER XLVII

HARRISON'S CANADIAN CAMPAIGN

ASSEMBLES ARMY AT LAKE ERIE—CROSSES TO MALDEN—MARCH AGAINST THE BRITISH—DEFEAT OF PROCTOR AT RIVER THAMES—DEATH OF TECUMSEH—PROCTOR'S ESCAPE—AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE A REALITY.

With the Maumee and Sandusky region now clear of the British and the greater portion of their Indian allies, and Lake Erie in possession of the Americans for the first time in her history, the Commander-in-Chief of the Northwest Army, General Harrison, prepared for the invasion of Canada by his march against the forces under the British General Proctor.

On the evening of the 16th of September, General M'Arthur received orders at Fort Meigs to embark the artillery, military stores and provisions at that place, in vessels which were sent from headquarters (where is Port Clinton, Ohio) to receive them, and to march the regulars of the garrison across the country to the rendezvous at the mouth of Portage, preparatory to their embarkation with the rest of the army. General M'Arthur had already reduced Fort Meigs to a small post in the upper corner of the old works, and quickly executed the orders for his removal. The remaining Kentuckians at that place, under General Clay, had determined to accompany General Harrison though their term of service had nearly expired; and the General himself had particularly solicited Governor Meigs for leave to accompany him, in case his men were not permitted to go. He now embarked with his suite and a number of his men, in the transport vessels which had come for the stores.

The mounted regiment under Colonel Johnson, which was now also at Fort Meigs, received orders from General Harrison to encamp under the guns of the fort and wait for further orders. The company of Captain Warfield had gone from Piqua with the Governor's troops to Portage, and the captain had obtained permission from General Harrison for his company to cross with him to Canada. This circumstance connected with some others, and with the orders received from the General, produced much uneasiness in the balance of the regiment, lest it might

have been determined at headquarters to leave them on this side of the lake.

In concentrating his forces for the invasion of Canada, General Harrison had notified the Wyandot, Shawanee, and Seneca Indians near Upper Sandusky, that they would be received into his service, and about two hundred and sixty had in consequence joined him at Fort Seneca and accompanied him to the point of embarkation, under their chiefs Lewis, Blackhoof, and Snake. The two regiments of Ohio militia which had been left at Upper Sandusky, were subsequently discharged.

In bringing down the military stores and provisions from the posts on the Sandusky River to the vessels on the lake, a short land carriage became necessary to expedite the embarkation. The peninsula formed by the Sandusky Bay on the right, and by Portage River and Lake Erie on the left, extended between fifteen and twenty miles from the anchorage of the shipping in the mouth of Portage, at which place the isthmus on which the army was encamped was less than two miles across from one river to the other. The boats had to travel upwards of forty miles, and to be exposed to the dangers of the lake navigation. It was therefore deemed the most safe and expeditious to transport the stores and drag the boats across the isthmus, which was accomplished between the 15th and 20th of the month, whilst the army was detained in making other necessary arrangements.

The Kentucky troops were encamped across the narrowest part of the isthmus, above the place of embarkation, and each regiment was ordered to construct a strong fence of brush and fallen timber in front of its encampment, which extended, when finished, from Portage (Port Clinton) to Sandusky River. Within this enclosure their horses were turned loose to graze on ample pastures of excellent grass. The preparations for the expedition being nearly completed, it became necessary to detail a guard to be left for the protection of the horses. The commandants of regiments were ordered by the Governor to detach one-twentieth part of their commands for this service, and Col. Christopher Rife was designated as their commander. In furnishing the men, many of the colonels had to resort to a draft, as volunteers to stay on this side of the lake could not be obtained. The Kentuckians had no constitutional scruples about crossing the boundary line of the United States, and no greater insult could be offered to one of Shelby's volunteers, than to insinuate that he did not desire to cross into Canada.

This, however, was not exactly the case with all the militia assembled at the mouth of Portage. When the order for embarking was issued, the gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Regiment from Erie, were unfortunately seized with constitutional scruples. General Harrison personally addressed them and requested the officers for the honor of their State, to endeavor to prevail on their men to embark. After making an attempt to persuade them, one of the captains returned to General Harrison, and observed in a pusillanimous tone: "I believe the boys are not willing to go, General."

Harrison eyed him with contempt, and replied: "The boys, eh? I believe some of the officers, too, are not willing to go. Thank God, I have Kentuckians enough to go without you." However, about one hundred and fifty of them were prevailed on to embark, under the lieutenant-colonel and major, the commandant of the regiment being sick.

On the 20th, General Harrison embarked with the regular troops under Generals M'Arthur and Cass, and arrived the same day at Put-in-Bay, in Bass Island, about ten miles distant from the point of embarkation. Next morning the Governor sailed with a part of his troops, having ordered Major-General Desha to remain at Portage and bring up the rear, which he performed with great alacrity and vigilance. On that and the succeeding day all the militia arrived at Bass Island. Colonel Rife was left in command at Portage, with Doctor Maguffin as his surgeon, and with instructions to pay particular attention to the bashful Pennsylvanians who ought for their backwardness to be disowned by their State. The whole army remained on Bass Island on the 24th, waiting for the arrival of all the necessary stores and provisions at that place.

"The winds and the weather were as favorable for this movement as Heaven could make them. It seemed as if all the elements had conspired to favor the expedition. The felicity of the troops in this respect was the subject of general remark, and indeed the finest season had been enjoyed for all the preliminary movements and preparations."

During the stay of the army at this place, the Kentuckians left by General Clay at Fort Meigs arrived at headquarters to join the expedition. Their services not being wanted, they were here discharged and returned home, except the General, Major Dudley and a few others, who proceeded with the army as far as Sandwich. Some of the Pennsylvanians who had ventured as

far as Bass Island, were now permitted to indulge their scruples and retire also from the service; the others continued as far as Sandwich.

On the 25th of September, the whole army moved to the Middle Sister, a small island containing about five or six acres of ground, now crowded with men, having about four thousand five hundred upon it. Whilst the transport vessels were bringing up the military stores and provisions on the 26th, General Harrison sailed with Commodore Perry in the *Ariel*, to reconnoitre off Malden and ascertain a suitable point on the lake shore for the debarkation of his troops. They came in view of Amherstburg, but could not examine the fort, the position of which was on the river above the town, by which it was concealed from their sight. The block-house on Bare Point, three miles below Malden, had been destroyed. A dead silence and tranquillity prevailed along the shore and the inhabitants appeared to view the reconnoitering vessels with extreme indifference. These circumstances induced the General to suspect that the enemy had made arrangements to surprise him in the act of landing the forces, or possibly that he might have destroyed his works and retreated. The army, however, approached the shore on a subsequent day in full expectation that the enemy would meet them on their landing.

Late in the evening the General returned to the army on the Middle Sister. A general order was now issued, prescribing the order of debarkation, of march, and of battle.

On Monday, the 27th, the whole army was embarked early in the day, and set sail from the Middle Sister for the Canada shore, General Harrison, having previously circulated a general order among the troops, in which he exhorted them to remember the fame of their ancestors, and the justice of the cause in which they were engaged. To the Kentuckians he said: "Remember the River Raisin; but remember it only whilst victory is suspended. The revenge of a soldier cannot be gratified on a fallen enemy."

The winds were propitious, and the whole army approached the shore in an oblique direction, and in good order, aiming to land in an open field about four miles below Malden. The signal to land was given, and the whole flotilla in succession pulled to shore in elegant style. Contrary to expectations, not an enemy was to be seen. Some Indians had made their appearance on the shore a few minutes before, but the fire of the fleet had driven

them off. It was about three o'clock in the evening when the army landed. The line of march was soon formed, and in less than two hours the advanced corps under Ball and Simrall arrived at the ruins of Malden. The whole army came up, the American flag was hoisted, and possession was taken of the town of Amherstburg. General Proctor had burned the fort and navy yards and retreated up to Sandwich, under the impression that there were at least ten thousand Kentuckians coming against him.

Immediately after the capture of the fleet, General Proctor had sent spies to reconnoitre the forces of General Harrison. They had viewed the Kentuckians while encamped on the plains of Sandusky, and had reported their number to General Proctor, as being ten to fifteen thousand men. This information had determined him to burn Malden and make his escape by retreating up the rivers Detroit and Thames, and pursuing the back route to the lower parts of the province. "No doubt his guilty fears, lest he should fall into the hands of men whose friends he had suffered to be massacred by the savages, had also much influence on his mind in bringing it to this determination. It is only from such fears and from his misconception of the American force, that one can account for his conduct. For the army of regulars, militia and Indians, which it was in his power to have concentrated, was nearly equal to all the forces of General Harrison; and the country above Malden abounded with provisions for their support. The inhabitants were probably not very willing to contribute their substance or the sustenance for the Indians, but General Proctor had the power and it was his duty to collect adequate supplies as long as the country could furnish them; and on the 13th he had proclaimed martial law, to "Take effect as far as supplying the wants of the troops under his command, or the sending away or apprehending all traitorous or disaffected persons might render it expedient."

To supply the great assemblage of Indians at that place, however, consisting of warriors, squaws, and children, was by no means an easy task. Before the retreat 15,000 rations were issued daily, a fact which proves that Proctor had a very powerful auxiliary force of Indians.

As soon as he had ascertained the loss of the fleet, he had commenced his preparations for retreating. About the time martial law was proclaimed, he had embarked a considerable quantity of military stores in boats, and sent them up to Sandwich. On the

17th, he had given orders to collect and take away all the cattle and provisions on the coast below Malden. He then kept his headquarters at Sandwich, having left Colonel Warburton in command of Malden, to whom he gave orders on the 20th to destroy the public property and buildings, and retreat to Sandwich, but as McAfee observed, in the indecisive confusion of a guilty mind, the execution of this order was again suspended till the morning of the 26th, when the place, being finally evacuated, was at length destroyed.

Chief Tecumseh, whose conscience could not accuse him of so many crimes, and whose Indian heroism knew how to endure the consequences, was entirely opposed to the retreating measures of General Proctor. On the 18th of September, in the name of all the Indian chiefs and warriors, he addressed the following speech to General Proctor, as the representative of their great father, the King:

"Father, listen to your children! You have them now all before you. In the war before this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now dead. In that war our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge; and we are afraid that our father will do so again at this time.

"Summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favor of our British father, we were told not to be in a hurry, that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

"Listen! When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk and told us that he was then ready to strike the Americans; that he wanted our assistance; and that he would certainly get us our lands back, which the Americans had taken from us.

"Listen! You told us at that time, to bring forward our families to this place, and we did so; and you promised to take care of them and they should want for nothing, while the men would go and fight the enemy; that we need not trouble ourselves about the enemy's garrisons; that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red children that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

"Listen! When we were last at the (Maumee) Rapids it is true we gave you little assistance. It is hard to fight people who live like ground-hogs.

"Father, listen! Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns, but we know nothing of what happened to our father with that army. Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up everything and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the king, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us that you would never draw your foot off British ground, but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat dog that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted, it drops it between its legs and runs off.

"Father, listen! The Americans have not yet defeated us by land; neither are we sure that they have done so by water; we therefore wish to remain here and fight our enemy should they make their appearance. If they defeat us, we will then retreat with our father.

"At the battle of the Rapids, last war, the Americans certainly defeated us, and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place, the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would now be the case, but instead of that, we now see our British father preparing to march out of his garrison.

"Father! You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If you have an idea of going away, give them to us, and you may go and welcome for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it be His will, we wish to leave our bones upon them."

Had Proctor followed the advice of Tecumseh and fought the American forces before he retreated, the result must have been more glorious at least, if not entirely favorable to the British arms.

On the night of the 27th, the American forces encamped round the ruins of Malden, their General having determined to pursue the enemy in the morning. In a letter to the War Department, written on the evening of the 27th, he says:

"I will pursue the enemy tomorrow, although there is no probability of overtaking him, as he has upwards of 1,000 horses, and we have not one in the army. I shall think myself fortunate

to collect a sufficiency to mount the general officers. It is supposed here that General Proctor will establish himself upon the River Trench, or Thames, 40 miles from Malden."

Proctor had pressed into his service all the horses of the inhabitants, which they had not effectually concealed. One only, and that a very indifferent one, could now be procured. On it the venerable Governor of Kentucky was mounted, and proceeded with the army towards Sandwich, where they arrived on the 29th, without meeting any obstruction from the enemy, except that the bridge over the Aux Canards River had been torn up, but was soon repaired again. There had been considerable expectation among the commanding officers that a formidable resistance would be made at this bridge, but no enemy was to be seen; and on arriving at Sandwich, it was ascertained that General Proctor had retreated from that place early on the preceding day. The Indians, however, were in considerable force in the suburbs of Detroit, the inhabitants of which, who had already been very much plundered, were in great apprehension of an immediate massacre. But a few discharges of grape shot from the fleet which had come up the river, soon compelled them to fly to the woods for safety. General M'Arthur went over with his brigade and took possession of the town, and the same evening General Harrison issued his proclamation for reestablishing the civil government of the territory. All persons who had been in office at the time of the capitulation of Hull were directed to resume their functions and administer the laws which had then been in force.

On the 30th, which was a very wet day, the troops continued in Sandwich. The few inhabitants who remained in the town were requested to drive in beef cattle for the subsistence of the army, and being informed that if this was not done, foraging parties must be sent into the country who would probably commit depredations on the people, which it was the wish of the General to prevent, they complied and brought in a plentiful supply. Complaints, however, were made to Governor Shelby by some of the citizens, that his soldiers had in some instances violated their property, upon which a general order was issued, which effectually checked such misconduct.

The inhabitants of Canada had fled from their houses and hid their property on the approach of the American army, fully expecting that the Kentuckians, like the British, would plunder and massacre all before them, but they found themselves very happily disappointed in these expectations.

The mounted regiment of Col. R. M. Johnson when last spoken of was at Fort Meigs about the middle of September, very uneasy lest they should not have an opportunity of participating in the perils and glories of the campaign.

Captain Coleman, who had been sent by Johnson to headquarters to ascertain the destination of the regiment, now returned to camp, having left the army on its way from Bass Island to the Middle Sister. He brought information from the General that the regiment would certainly be called upon in a few days to coöperate with the army in the direction of Detroit. This news, together with the probability of having a brush with the Indians at least, once more raised the hopes and animated the spirits of the men.

On the evening of the 25th, orders were received by express from General Harrison, for the regiment to march immediately to the River Raisin, as it was probable the army would land the next day on the Canada shore. Early next morning the regiment marched, fully expecting that they would have to encounter a strong Indian force in the neighborhood of Brownstown. The colonel took with him from Fort Meigs four light pieces of artillery, which he placed under the command of Captains E. Craig, Turner, Gist, and Sandford, each with a command of ten men. On the second day they reached the River Raisin. Frenchtown was generally abandoned, only a few French families remaining in it. The fine orchards of peach and apple trees were loaded with excellent fruit.

The bones of the massacred Kentuckians were scattered over the plains for three miles on this side of the river. The detachment which had visited that place under Colonel Johnson in June, had collected and buried a great many of them but they were now torn up and scattered over the fields again. The sight had a powerful effect on the feelings of the men. The wounds inflicted by that barbarous transaction were again torn open. McAfee, himself a Kentuckian, writes that the bleaching bones still appealed to Heaven, and called on Kentucky to avenge this outrage on humanity. "We had heard the scene described before, we now witnessed it, in these impressive memorials. The feelings they excited cannot be described by me, but they will never be forgotten; nor while there is a recording angel in Heaven, or a historian upon earth, will the tragedy of the River Raisin be suffered to sink into oblivion. Future generations will often ponder on this fatal field of blood, and the future inhabitants of Frenchtown will long point out to the curious traveller

the garden where the intrepid Madison for several hours maintained the unequal contest of four to one and repulsed the bloody Proctor in every charge. Yonder is the wood, where the gallant Allen fell! Here the accomplished Hart and Woolfolk were butchered! There the brave Hickman was tomahawked and thrown into the flames! That is the spot where the lofty Simpson breathed his last! And a little farther away Doctors Montgomery, Davis and M'Ilvain, amiable in their manners and profound in science, fell in youth and left the sick to mourn their loss! The gallant Meade fell on the bank in battle, but his magnanimous Lieutenant Graves was reserved for massacre; for a massacre perpetrated by savages under the influence of the British—a nation impiously styled 'the bulwark of our religion.' "

At this place an express arrived from the main army, which he had left on the Middle Sister on the morning of the 26th. He was sent while Harrison was reconnoitering off Malden, by the attentive and prudent Governor of Kentucky, to apprise Colonel Johnson of the progress and prospects of the army, that he might regulate his march accordingly. Next morning, before the regiment marched, their faithful guide, Anthony Shane of the Shawnee tribe, observed that he knew the spot where Captain Simpson had been killed. The colonels, with Captain McAfee (the writer) and Doctor Ewing, went with him to the place, and found the bones, which they buried. The frame of Captain Simpson was easily known from the others by its length, the captain having been upwards of six feet and a half high. A detachment of 100 men was now sent in advance to the River Huron, to throw a bridge over that stream for the passage of the troops, who arrived, and partly crossed it in the evening; and the balance, with the baggage wagons and artillery, crossed in the morning on the floating bridge which had been prepared for them. Soon after the passage of this river, an express arrived from General Harrison, with information that the enemy had burned Malden and fled up the River Detroit, and that the army had reached the Petit Cote settlement in full pursuit. This news put the regiment at half speed, which was continued all day. They passed through Brownstown, now evacuated, and the Magauga Village, from both of which places the Indians had fled, and had likewise deserted all their huts on the Detroit River. Arriving at the River De Corce, they found there a part of the company of Captain Warfield, which had been sent over by the General to repair the bridge. The Indians had formed an ambuscade at this place,

behind a long row of pickets on the opposite side of the river, where they had waited for the regiment all the preceding night, in the expectation that Colonel Johnson would march by night into Detroit. Disappointed in this, they had retired. Captain Warfield had brought boats to take up the artillery by water, with a view to expedite the march; but on consultation the colonel determined to keep them with him, as they were not much encumbrance. At the River Rouge the regiment encamped, and after dark received intelligence that 500 Pottawatomies were lying about six miles up that river. While the officers were consulting on the propriety of attacking them, Major Trigg arrived with a reinforcement of four companies of regulars and one of militia from headquarters at Sandwich, where some uneasiness had been felt for the safety of the regiment. In consequence of the information brought by Major Trigg, the project of attacking the Indians was dropped, and some apprehension was felt that an attack would be made by them in the night. This, however, did not happen; but while the troops were crossing the river in the morning, a Frenchman came down and stated that a party of Indians were crossing above for the purpose of giving them battle. The battalion of Major Trigg, and the volunteers who had crossed, were immediately formed in front to cover the passage of the balance. No attack, however, was made, and the whole detachment arrived in Detroit before 12 o'clock on that day, which was the last of September.

When General Harrison saw the regiment passing up to Detroit, he sent Maj. Charles S. Tod with orders for them to cross as soon as possible to Sandwich. As the men had not dismounted when he arrived, they marched down to the river immediately, but no boats could be procured to carry them over. They returned and encamped, while Lieutenant-Colonel J. Johnson went over to procure boats. Late in the evening he returned with a few, having made arrangements for procuring others in the morning.

On the 1st of October, Governor Shelby, a little after daylight, went to the quarters of General Harrison in pursuance of an appointment, to consult with him respecting the further pursuit of the enemy. He found the General alone and directly mentioned the appointed subject of consultation. The General, as if his mind was entirely occupied with it, immediately replied, "We must not be heard," and led the Governor into a private room, into which he had directed his aides to conduct him. Here

they soon came to the conclusion that Proctor might be overtaken in three or four days of hard marching; and it was determined not to lose a moment in preparing for the pursuit. The Governor was requested to collect his general officers at headquarters in the course of an hour, that their opinions might be taken on the occasion. They were convened accordingly at the room of the General; and he there stated his design of pursuing the enemy, observing that there were but two ways of doing it—one of which was to follow him up the strait by land—the other, to embark and sail down Lake Erie to Long Point, then march hastily across by land twelve miles to the road and intercept him.

"But the Governor thinks, and so do I, that the best way will be to pursue the enemy up the strait by land."

The general officers unanimously concurred in the same opinion, together with General Adair, first aide to the Governor, who had been invited to the council. McAfee says here: "I have been thus particular in stating the facts relative to the determination to pursue the enemy, because it has been reported and believed that General Harrison never would have pursued farther than Sandwich, had it not been for Governor Shelby, and that he differed from the Governor respecting the route to be taken; but the fact is, there never was a difference of opinion between them, neither on the propriety of the pursuit nor the manner of performing it. The determination and preparations of the General to pursue, had never been suspended; and the chief object of the councils was to obtain the approbation of the Governor and general officers for the route he preferred."

Colonel Johnson having been ordered to bring over his regiment with the greatest dispatch, Governor Shelby went over immediately after the council to communicate the result to the Colonel, and apprise him of General Harrison's determination to pursue the enemy next day. Every possible exertion was made by Colonel Johnson and his officers to get over the river, but they were so obstructed by the wind and waves, that the whole of their men and horses were not gotten over till late in the evening. The marching of the army, however, had been unavoidably delayed till next day by other causes.

It was necessary that a considerable detachment should be left at Detroit, to protect the citizens of Michigan from the depredations of the Indians, with which General Proctor had threatened before his retreat. It was ascertained that Five-medal, Paipock, and other chiefs had remained on the west side of the

Detroit River with the Miamies, and a large portion of the Pottawatomies, and of some other tribes. General M'Arthur's brigade was, therefore, left at Detroit to keep them in check; and its place in the line was supplied by that of General Calmes, now commanded by Colonel Trotter, in consequence of the indisposition of the General. The brigade of General King took the place vacated by that under Trotter. The corps of Colonel Ball was attached to the command of General Cass. The mounted regiment formed the front guard, with instructions to cover the whole front of the army, with small parties one mile in advance, and at least half that distance on the right flank. Colonel Simrall's regiment constituted the rear guard. Such were the arrangements made for an early march on the morning of the 2nd of October; the baggage, provisions and ammunition wagons in the meantime being sent up the river in several vessels of the fleet.

At sunrise on the 2nd, the foot troops were in motion, except the brigade of General Cass, who had to wait for their knapsacks and blankets which had been left at the Middle Sister, with a view to disencumber these troops for the expected contest at the point of debarkation. A vessel had been sent back for them, but she had not yet arrived. The mounted regiment was also detained while drawing provisions. But General Harrison halted the foot troops about twelve miles in advance, whilst the mounted men came up and took their place in front; in which order the army pushed forward, the Governor frequently observing: "If we desire to overtake the enemy, we must do more than he does by early and forced marches."

The bridges across the ravines and creeks which empty into Lake St. Clair, had all been left unimpaired; which seemed to prove that the enemy did not expect to be pursued on that route. About twenty miles up the road, six British deserters met the regiment of mounted men, who said they had left Proctor with his army about fifteen miles up the Thames, at one o'clock on the preceding day, and that he had between 600 and 700 regulars, some dragoons, and about 1,200 Indians. This information infused new life into the troops, and they pushed on with increased ardor till dark, having traveled about twenty-five miles the first day. On the second day of the pursuit, an early and forced march was made, which soon brought the army to the mouth of the River Thames, below which a small party of dragoons were discovered by the spies under Major Saggett, who

pursued and captured them, together with a lieutenant and eight privates of the infantry, who had just begun to destroy a bridge over a creek a small distance above the mouth of the river. Captain Berry of the spies, made five of them surrender and bring back their boat, after they had crossed the Thames. All the men were captured, but one of the horses belonging to the dragoons made his escape and went up to the British army, from which circumstance General Proctor received the first hint of the near approach of his enemy. This little affair, the first fruits of the pursuit, had a very great effect in animating the pursuers.

"The campaign was not without auspicious omens, which in the superstitious times of ancient history, would have had a more powerful effect on the minds of both officers and men, than the circumstance of capturing a small detachment of the enemy. When the army arrived at the mouth of the Thames, an eagle was seen hovering over it, which General Harrison observed was a presage of success, as it was our military bird. Commodore Perry who had condescended to act as volunteer aide to the General, remarked that a similar circumstance had occurred to the fleet, on the morning of the 10th of September.

"There was another singular occurrence in the animal creation. A sow shoat had followed a company of mounted volunteers from the interior of Kentucky. As she kept constantly with the army, she became generally known to the soldiers, who called her the Governor's pig, and were careful to protect her, as they deemed her conduct an auspicious omen. At the margin of the lake she embarked with the troops and went as far as Bass Island. She was there offered a passage into Canada, but obstinately refused to embark the second time. Some of the men attributed her conduct to constitutional scruples, and observed that she knew it was contrary to the constitution to force a militia pig over the line. In consequence of this remark, they gave her leave to stay, and return to the regiment at the mouth of the Portage River."

About 250 yards above the first bridge, where the little party of infantry was taken, there was another bridge, of which the front guard took possession, and in a few minutes were informed by a guide, on whom the General relied for information respecting the country, that he had discovered a party of British and Indians coming down to the bridge. The mounted regiment immediately formed in order of battle, but no enemy appeared, and the bridge being repaired by the infantry, the army passed over

and proceeded on their march. The vessels with the baggage had kept up with the army, and now crossed the bar at the mouth of the Thames and sailed up that river. In passing the bridge, the mounted regiment was thrown in the rear, in which place it continued a few miles till the spies in front were fired on by a few dragoons of the enemy. The regiment was then ordered by General Harrison to the front, with instructions to march briskly, but to be careful not to fall into an ambuscade. For several miles the dragoons continued to skirmish with the front guard until night came on, and the army encamped about ten miles from the mouth of the Thames. Next morning the march was resumed at daylight in full confidence that the enemy would be overtaken on that day. The order of march was altered in some respects. The front guard and foot troops were permitted to march in the road near the river, while the balance of the mounted regiment marched about a mile distant on the right flank in a succession of prairies, which ran parallel to the river. Some skirmishing presently occurred between the spies and the rear parties of the British; the mounted regiment several times formed the line of battle, and while in this situation a Canadian woman came to the front line and informed Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson that the main body of the Indians were at the forks of the river about three miles in advance, where she supposed they intended to give us battle. The march was resumed and the skirmishing continued, till the spies reached the bridge at the fork of the river. The planks had been torn off the bridge, and some of the spies having attempted to cross on the naked sills, a heavy fire was opened upon them from an adjacent wood, and from the opposite bank of the main river. Major Wood was ordered up with two six-pounders and the foot troops began to form the line of battle, as it was expected that an obstinate resistance would be made at this place.

The fork on the right which the army had to cross was much the smaller stream. There were two bridges over it, one at the mouth and the other about a mile higher up. The Indians were posted in the fork near the lower bridge, and also on the opposite side of the main stream. While the army was forming, and the artillery was playing on the Indians at the mouth of the river, Colonel Johnson was directed to secure the bridge above. He brought up his troops in order of battle to that place and had a warm skirmish with the Indians across the stream. They soon fled, however, from all points, having previously torn off the

planks of the bridge and set fire to M'Gregor's mill, which was near it. The regiment lost two men killed and six or seven wounded; among the latter were Captain Craig and Lieutenant Griffith. The Indians had thirteen killed and a considerable number wounded. Nor was this all the loss their ranks sustained on this day. The Wyandot chief, Walk-in-the-Water, had left them in the morning with sixty of his warriors. He had visited General Harrison on the preceding day with a flag, desiring to make peace. The General told him he had not time to make treaties, and that if he wanted peace he must abandon Tecumseh and get out of the way of the American army, and with these terms he had hastened to comply.

The bridges were soon repaired, the lower one under the immediate superintendence of the Governor and General Cass, and the other under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson; and in two hours from the time the skirmish commenced, the whole army had crossed. About half a mile above the forks, the British had set fire to a schooner freighted with military stores, and a house just below it was saved from the flames, in which there were nearly a thousand stand of arms. After marching about five miles farther, our troops were obliged to encamp another night without having overtaken the British army. But certain intelligence was now received that the enemy were only a few miles in advance.

Opposite to the place of encampment, there was another vessel and a large distillery in flames, which contained ordnance and naval stores to an immense amount. Two twenty-four-pounders, with a large quantity of shells and balls, were also taken at this place. A breastwork was formed round the encampment and General Harrison continued on horseback till ten o'clock, superintending and inspecting all the arrangements of the camp. During the night General Proctor and Tecumseh came down the river and reconnoitered the encampment, with the intention of making an attack before day, but on seeing its strength and size they were discouraged, and abandoned the scheme. During the night, Governor Shelby was also on the alert, going round every part of his lines to see that proper vigilance was preserved, till exhausted with fatigue he took up his lodging in that part of the camp nearest the enemy, where he shared the blanket of one of his soldiers.

In the morning on the 5th of October, the troops were routed out very early, and as the day dawned the whole army was put

in motion. The mounted regiment took the front with General Harrison and his staff at its head, and the infantry followed after as rapidly as possible under the command of Governor Shelby. By nine o'clock the advance reached a mill near which there was a rapid in the river, where it was practicable to ford it on horseback, and at this place General Harrison intended to cross that he might reach the enemy, who were known to be on the north side. Two gunboats and several batteaux laden with military stores and other property, together with several prisoners, had already been captured that morning, and at the mill a lieutenant and eight privates were taken, from whom information was received that the enemy had determined to give us battle at no great distance from that place. The infantry in a few minutes came up with the mounted men, and the passage of the river was effected by twelve o'clock. Each horseman took up one of the infantry behind him, and the balance crossed in canoes, some of which were found at that place, and the others caught floating down the river. As soon as the whole were over, the line of march was resumed in the former order, and at every place where the road touched a bend of the river, boats and canoes were found with military stores, clothing, and provisions, which the enemy had abandoned in the precipitousness of the retreat. After advancing about eight miles, an encampment was discovered, where Colonel Warburton had lain the night before with a part of the British troops, and it was ascertained that General Proctor had reached the Moravian town four miles from this place with a detachment on the preceding day. As it was now certain that the enemy was nearly overtaken, the General directed the advance of the mounted regiment to hasten their march, with a view to procure the necessary information for regulating the movements of the main body. When they had proceeded about two miles, they captured a British wagoner who informed them that the enemy were lying in order of battle about three hundred yards before them, waiting for the arrival of the American army. Col. R. M. Johnson, with Major Suggett and his spies, immediately advanced within sight of their lines, and acquired by his own observations as well as from the statements of the wagoner, every information that was attainable respecting the place and order in which the enemy were posted, all of which was communicated without delay to General Harrison, agreeably to his directions. The regiment at the same time was halted and formed in order of battle.

The place selected by General Proctor to resist the progress of our army was well calculated for his purpose. The ground along the margin of the river, through which the road passed, was covered chiefly with beech, intermixed with sugartree and oak timber, and tolerably free from undergrowth. At a small distance there was a marsh running nearly parallel with the river about two miles, the distance between them becoming less as you proceed up the river. Where the enemy was posted, there was a narrow swamp between two hundred and three hundred yards from the river, after which there was some solid ground, before the main swamp commenced. The British regulars were formed in two lines, with their left on the river and their right extending to the first swamp, their artillery being planted in the road near the bank of the river. The Indians were all posted beyond the first swamp. Their left, where Tecumseh commanded in person, occupied the isthmus between the swamps, on which the undergrowth was tolerably thick; and their right extended a considerable distance down the main marsh, the margin of which at this place receded very fast from the river and formed a very obtuse angle with the lines of the army.

The mounted regiment in its present order of battle, occupied the ground between the river and the first swamp. General Harrison immediately came up, and on being informed that the enemy was discovered, and having satisfied himself as to the situation and views of his adversary, he directed Colonel Johnson when the infantry approached, to take ground to the left, and by forming his regiment on that flank, endeavor to turn the right of the Indians. He then returned to give orders for the formation of the infantry, who were but a short distance in the rear of the horsemen when the enemy was first discovered. While engaged in this business, he was informed by Major Wood that he had approached very near the lines of the enemy and discovered that his regulars were drawn up in open order. This information, with the suggestion of Colonel Johnson, that the thickets and swampiness of the ground on the left would render it impracticable for his mounted men to act efficiently in that direction, immediately induced the General to change his plan of attack. He determined to refuse his left to the Indians, and to try the novel experiment of breaking the British lines at once, by a charge of mounted infantry. He therefore directed the mounted regiment to be formed in two charging columns in short lines, and on receiving the enemy's fire, to charge through his ranks, form in his rear, and act as circumstances might require.

The kind of enemy to be fought rendered it necessary that the rear and flanks should be well secured against his attacks. The foot troops consisting of five brigades which averaged but little more than three hundred men each, were therefore disposed in the following order: The brigade commanded by Trotter constituted the front line at a convenient distance in the rear of the mounted regiment, with its right on the river and its left extending a short distance over the first swamp. The brigade of General King formed the second line, 150 yards in the rear of the former, and that of General Chiles was posted in the road and still further in the rear, to act as a corps of reserve. These three brigades formed the command of General Henry. The division of General Desha, consisting of the brigades of Allen and Caldwell, and the regiment of Colonel Simrall, was formed on the left in a line fronting the outer swamp, to protect the left flank against the Indians in that quarter. The right of this line joined the left of the front line under Trotter, with which it formed an obtuse angle or crotchet between the two swamps, whilst it extended on the left to a considerable distance parallel with the margin of the swamp. A small corps of regulars under Colonel Paul, about one hundred and twenty strong, was posted between the road and the river, for the purpose of advancing in concert with a few Indians under the bank, and seizing the artillery of the enemy.

The Governor of Kentucky was directed to take his position at the angle between the swamps, which was considered a very important point in these arrangements for the contest. General Harrison placed himself at the head of the front line, from which he would be able to observe the charge of the horsemen, and to give them any support which might be required.

When Colonel Johnson proceeded to form his regiment, agreeably to the orders of General Harrison, he found there was not room for all his men to act against the British between the river and the nearest swamp, and having ascertained that he could cross the latter, he concluded to exercise the discretion which had been given him, and to carry his battalion through the swamp to attack the Indians. The first battalion was therefore formed according to orders by Lieut.-Col. J. Johnson and Major Payne, opposite to the British lines, in four columns of double files, with Major Suggett and his spies in front. Its right was placed about fifty yards on the left of the road, that it might be in some measure out of the immediate range of the British

artillery. The second battalion was marched through the swamp, and formed in two columns on horseback, with a company on foot in front, the right column being headed by Col. R. M. Johnson and the left by Major Thompson. These columns, of course, were immediately in front of the angle where Governor Shelby was stationed.

Everything being in readiness for the onset, the whole army advanced in the order now described, until the front of the first battalion received a distant fire from the British lines. This somewhat frightened the horses and caused a little confusion at the heads of the columns and thus retarded the charge, giving the enemy time to prepare for a second fire, which soon followed the first. But the columns in a moment were completely in motion, and rushed upon the British with irresistible impetuosity. Their front line immediately broke in every direction, and their second about thirty paces in its rear, after giving us a fire, was also broken and thrown into confusion. Our columns having passed through, wheeled to the right and left, and began to pour a destructive fire on the rear of their disordered ranks. In a few moments the contest was over. No sooner had our horsemen charged through their lines and gained their rear, than they began to surrender as fast as they could throw down their arms. And thus immediately the whole British force, upwards of eight hundred strong, was totally vanquished and the greater part of it captured by the first battalion of the mounted regiment under Lieut.-Col. James Johnson. Before the front line of our infantry had gotten fairly in view of them General Proctor, however, made his escape, escorted by a small party of dragoons and mounted Indians, who were immediately pursued as far as the Moravian town, by a party of the mounted regiment consisting chiefly of officers.

The contest with the Indians on the left was more obstinate. They reserved their fire till the heads of the columns and the front line on foot had approached within a few paces of their position. A very destructive fire was then commenced by them, about the time the firing ceased between the British and the first battalion. Col. R. M. Johnson finding his advanced guard composing the head of his column nearly all cut down by the first fire, and himself severely wounded, immediately ordered his columns to dismount and come up in line before the enemy, the ground which they occupied being unfavorable for operations on horseback. The line was promptly formed on foot, and a fierce conflict was then maintained for seven or eight minutes, with con-

siderable execution on both sides, but the Indians had not sufficient firmness to sustain very long a fire which was close and warm and severely destructive. They gave way and fled through the brush into the outer swamp, not, however, before they had learned the total discomfiture of their allies, and had lost by the fall of Tecumseh "a chief in whom were united the prowess of Achilles and authority of Agamemnon."

As soon as the firing commenced between the Indians and the second battalion, Governor Shelby, who was posted at the crotchet in its rear, immediately ordered that part of the front line of infantry which lay between the first swamp and the crotchet, being a part of Colonel Donelson's regiment, to march up briskly to the aid of the mounted men. They rushed up accordingly into Col. R. M. Johnson's lines, and participated in the contest at that point. This was the only portion of the infantry which had an opportunity of engaging in any part of the battle. The Governor also dispatched General Adair, his aide-de-camp, to bring up the brigade of General King to the front line, but before this could be accomplished the enemy had fled from Colonel Johnson, and a scattering, running fire had commenced along the swamp in front of General Desha's division, between the retiring Indians and the mounted men in pursuit, who were now commanded by Major Thompson alone, Colonel Johnson having retired in consequence of his wounds. This firing in the swamp continued with occasional remissions for nearly half an hour, during which time the contest was gallantly maintained by Major Thompson and his men, who were still pressing forward on the Indians. Governor Shelby in the meantime rode down to the left of General Desha's division, and ordered the regiment of Colonel Simrall which was posted on the extreme left, to march up on the right flank of the enemy in aid of Major Thompson, but before this reinforcement could reach the scene of action, the Indians had given up the contest.

Soon after the British force had surrendered, and it was discovered that the Indians were yielding on the left, General Harrison ordered Major Payne to pursue General Proctor with a part of his battalion, which was promptly done, and the pursuit continued by the greater part of the detachment to the distance of six miles beyond the Moravian town; some Indians being killed and a considerable number of prisoners, with a large quantity of plunder captured in their progress. Majors Payne, Wood, Tod, and Chambers, Captain Langham, and Lieutenants Scroggin and Bell, with three privates, continued the pursuit several

miles further till night came upon them. But Proctor was not to be taken. The pursuers, however, at last pressed him so closely that he was obliged to abandon the road, and his carriage and sword were captured by the gallant Major Wood. The prisoners, about fifty in number, were brought back to the Moravian town, where they were left in charge of Captain McAfee with 100 mounted men, until Major Gano arrived about midnight with a reinforcement of 150 infantry. At the head of the town six pieces of brass artillery were taken, three of which had been captured in the Revolution at Saratoga and York, and surrendered again by Hull at Detroit.

The exact loss which either side sustained in this battle has never been correctly known. According to the best information, however, the total loss of the mounted regiment on that day was seventeen killed and thirty wounded. The loss of the infantry was much less, though considerable also, at the point where they reinforced Colonel Johnson, which was the principal theater of the American losses. The Indians left thirty-three dead on the battle-ground, and lost ten or twelve killed in different places by their pursuers. The British lost eighteen killed and twenty-six wounded, besides 600 prisoners captured, including twenty-five officers. Among our killed was Colonel Whitley, a veteran who had been a distinguished soldier in former Indian wars, and had been no less conspicuous and serviceable in the Harrison campaign, in which he accompanied Colonel Johnson. Captain Craig and Lieutenant Logan died of their wounds a few days after the battle. Colonel Johnson and Captains Davidson and Shortt were also wounded severely, but recovered. The Colonel was shot through his thigh and in his hip by the first fire of the Indians, and shortly afterwards he was shot through his left hand by a ball which ranged up his arm, but did not enter his body. He continued, however, in front of his men, gallantly fighting the enemy as long as the action lasted at that place. The white mare on which he rode was also shot so severely that she fell and expired soon after she had carried her rider within the lines of the infantry.

Tecumseh was found among the dead at the point where Colonel Johnson had charged upon the enemy in person; and it is generally believed that this celebrated chief fell by the hand of the Colonel. It is certain that the latter killed with his pistol the Indian who shot him through his hand, at the very spot where Tecumseh lay. But another dead body lay at the same place, and

Mr. King, a soldier in Captain Davidson's company, had the honor of killing one of them.

Col. Richard M. Johnson was a national character along with General Harrison. He was a lawyer and served several years in Congress. He was a candidate for vice president on the ticket with Van Buren in 1836, failed to obtain a majority of the electoral vote, but was chosen to that position by Congress. He was a candidate again for vice president in 1840, when General Harrison was elected President over Van Buren. Near the time of the great Harrison meeting at Fort Meigs in 1840, Johnson spoke at a memorable meeting of the opposite political party at Fremont and toured Ohio as did Harrison. The followers of both Harrison and Johnson attempted to make campaign capital out of the records of each during the War of 1812, while the celebrated campaign of 1840 was in progress.

From the best information received, it appears that there was no material difference in the strength of the two armies in this battle. The troops under Harrison had been greatly reduced in numbers by detachments left as guards and for other purposes, and by those who were sick and otherwise unable to keep up on forced marches. The distance from Sandwich to the Moravian town is upwards of eighty miles, over which the American army marched in three days and a half, though frequently harrassed by skirmishing and forming in order of battle, and delayed by repairing bridges and procuring supplies. A body of undisciplined militia, urged along and regulated alone by their patriotism and military ardor, would necessarily be much reduced by such a journey. The whole of the regulars had been left behind, except the small fragment of a regiment under Colonel Paul. The brigade of General M'Arthur had been left at Detroit to protect the inhabitants against the Indians, and that of General Cass had been left at Sandwich, waiting for the baggage of the men, which delayed them so long that they were unable to come up with the army before the battle had been fought. The whole way from Sandwich to the battle-ground was filled with scattering parties of the militia. Hence, our force at the place of action was believed to be less than 2,500 men, which was very little more than the force actually engaged on the part of the enemy. The British part of that force appears to have been about eight hundred and forty-five strong. Its loss in killed, wounded and captured was 645; and the adjutant-general of the British forces soon afterwards officially acknowledged that 204

of those who escaped, has assembled at Ancaster on the 17th of October. This calculation is also confirmed by the official return of the troops at Malden on the 10th of September, which made them 944 in number. As for the amount of their Indian force, when it is shown by their own official papers captured with the army that 14,000 rations were issued daily to the Indians before the retreat, and that the greater part of them accompanied Proctor up the Thames, it is certainly a reasonable calculation to estimate them at near two thousand warriors in the battle.

On October 6, the American troops continued to occupy the battle-ground and the Moravian town about two miles above it, being employed in burying the dead and collecting the public property captured from the enemy. This included a great variety of military stores and 5,000 stand of small arms. A large portion of this material had been taken from the Americans at the massacre of the River Raisin and the defeat of Colonel Dudley opposite Fort Meigs on the Maumee. Early on October 7th General Harrison left the army under the immediate command of Governor Shelby and returned to Detroit. In the meantime an armistice had been concluded by General Harrison with the Indians and peace terms afterwards arranged. Further details have already been told in the story of Fort Meigs.

The detailed account by Captain McAfee of the battle of the Thames is given from the fact that as the last important engagement of the War of 1812 in the Northwest, it was, except as appears in Chapter Fifty-three on this subject, the finality of the British efforts to reclaim and hold as a part of their possessions the territory comprised within the Maumee and Sandusky region. Had the British held possession of Lake Erie and gained the occupation of Fort Meigs and interior American posts before peace came, the Maumee and Sandusky territory might now be under the British flag. And while Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers may be called the last battle of the American Revolution in the west, Independence to the United States in fact never came until after General Harrison broke the back of British aggression at the Canadian Thames, hastening the Treaty of Ghent signed December 24, 1814.

One of the six pieces of artillery captured by the Americans at the Thames is one of the important relics of the many displayed at Fremont, Ohio. Evidently originally a French gun, it is a fine brass piece with the royal cipher of King Louis of France shown near its muzzle. It was probably captured by

King George of England as it has the monogram "G. R." with the crown near its base. It was brought to America by the British and captured from the forces under Burgoyne at Saratoga and is most elaborately inscribed as: "Taken at the storm of the British line near Saratoga by ———— October 7, 1777." After Benedict Arnold turned traitor at West Point, his name was erased from all trophies. It came to the West to be used by General Hull at Detroit and was one of the brass pieces surrendered to the British General Brock on August 16, 1812. Its second capture by the Americans as stated, at the Thames, makes it an object of unusual interest. Another relic of Harrison's victory at the Thames, the carriage of Proctor, was for many years one of the war trophies shown in Fremont.

Actual peace soon settled upon the Ohio region, the Maumee and Sandusky, for the first time since the dawn of civilization in the Northwest. From the very first there was the conflict with the savage, then the contest between the French and the English, followed when the latter country gained sole control, by the uneasiness of the Colonists over the attitude assumed by the mother country, and the final declaration of Freedom and at last Independence. With the storm of conflict over and the rays of the sunshine of a long coveted calm penetrating the wilderness, settlers began to return to their abandoned homes, population increased by leaps and bounds, and a civilized and civil government was established and county boundaries organized.

CHAPTER XLVIII

INDIAN MISSIONARIES AND MISSIONS

THE JESUITS FIRST IN THE NORTHWEST—THEIR WORK IN THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY REGION—STORY OF THE MORAVIANS—THEIR MARTYRDOM AND MASSACRE—WORK OF THE FRIENDS (QUAKERS)—EARLY ACTIVITIES OF THE PRESBYTERIANS—STORY OF JOSEPH BADGER—INDIAN MISSION ON THE MAUMEE—THE BAPTISTS AND OTHER SECTS—UPPER SANDUSKY MISSION.

The earliest missionaries to the Maumee and Sandusky region were the French. The exact date of their appearance cannot be definitely stated, but according to the earliest maps of this region, it may have been during the early years of the seventeenth century. They were, it may be definitely stated, priests of the Roman Catholic Church. The earliest explorers were nearly always accompanied by priests as was La Salle on his discoveries, and his journey to the Ohio evidently was one of the occasions of their early arrival.

Champlain, one of the first explorers to the Great Lakes region and before La Salle, "possessed of a religious zeal as well as an adventurous disposition," only a few years after he located, in 1608, a settlement on the St. Lawrence, invited the French Recollects, a reformed branch of the Franciscan Monks, to join him in his explorations and establish Missions among the savages who, as he reported, were "living like brute beasts, without law, without religion and without God." The Gray Friars, as the Recollects were known, landed in Canada in 1615. Quoting Randall the historian: "They soon found the field too vast for their order and the Jesuits were brought to their aid. This latter Society, the most marvelous auxiliary of the Roman Catholic Church for the propagation of Christianity in all the heathen portions of the world, established its order at Quebec in 1625, and sent its preachers and teachers wherever it was possible for them to penetrate among the copper-colored nations of the New World. The Jesuit Fathers wrote detailed narratives of their wanderings and their efforts to carry the cross to the savages of the wilderness."

These specific reports have been published in a most voluminous work known as the Jesuit "Relations." Therein are told

the stories of "the sufferings and hardships, self-sacrifice and often terrible martyrdom with indescribable tortures, hardly paralleled in human history." This great zeal of the Jesuits "illumined the career of New France with a poetic glamour such as is cast over no other part of America north of Mexico." From these most valuable works, the "Relations," translated from the French and annotated under the supervision of Doctor Thwaites, Secretary of the Wisconsin Historical Society, is obtained much of the information as to the early history of the Indians of the great Northwest, including the Maumee and Sandusky region.

One of Champlain's exploring companions was Jean Nicolet, a young Frenchman, who arrived at Quebec early in 1618 and was immediately sent by Champlain to the Ottawa country to learn the language of the Ottawa tribes. For two years Nicolet saw not a single white man. Becoming familiar with other Indian tongues, he was employed as an interpreter. While not a Jesuit, he was a devout Catholic. It was in 1634 that he made his great adventure into the unknown Northwest. He followed the route of former explorers to where the St. Marys River enters Lake Huron. Here he started on original discoveries; proceeding along the north shore of Huron past the Straits of Mackinaw, around the north and west shores of Lake Michigan and into Green Bay. From there he passed up the Fox River to near the portage to the River Wisconsin. His advent into this region no white man had ever before penetrated was most dramatic. To impress the savage mind, Nicolet attired himself in a "grand robe of China Damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors." His success in this was achieved and the Indians "had not the temerity to do other than hospitably receive and entertain a personage so extraordinary in appearance and grandiose." His diplomacy "won many tribes to the fealty of France" and only a few years thereafter the Jesuit priests "celebrated mass amid solemn services at the Sault St. Marie in the presence of two thousand naked savages."

Nicolet returned to the St. Lawrence, where he was employed in important work until 1642, when he lost his life by the upsetting of the boat in which he was speeding on a mission of mercy to rescue an Iroquois from being tortured by the Algonquins, who had made him captive. Nicolet's life, character and conduct in his dealings with the various Indian tribes was such that his influence among them was great, and after his death they held in highest respect his memory.

Concerning the Maumee region, according to the journal of William Trent, Jesuit priests were along this river in 1670, coming by way of Canada. From that time on they appeared frequently in this section. Rev. Father Gravier wrote in 1700 that quantities of fine grapes were found along the "Riviere des Miamis" (Maumee).

When Captain Celoron in 1749 encircled most of now Ohio to clinch the French title to this region, he was accompanied on the journey, including the navigation of the entire Maumee, by Rev. Father Bonnecamps. In fact, in connection with and following closely the French discoveries, Jesuit missionaries were among the Indians of all these regions.

John Gilmary Shea, the able historian of the Catholic Church in America, has written as follows: "The American Catholic Missions are unparalleled for heroic self-devotedness, energy of purpose, purity of motive or holiness of design. Nowhere can be found more that is sublime, even to the eyes blinded by the glare of human greatness. Nowhere can we show more triumphant proofs of the power of religion, even for the temporal well-being of Nations. Vast as the region was, it was to be conquered to Christ; the Latin service chanted * * * throughout the length and breadth of the land."

These missionaries "set up their shrines of worship in the farthest fastness of the wilderness. Their sincere devotion to their cause, their self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, their privations and sufferings, the latter in every conceivable form of torture and mutilation that fiendish savagery could invent, are hardly surpassed in the annals of religious persecution. Not a few fed with their living bodies the flames of martyrdom, while the infuriated savages at the sight, yelled and danced with delight."

Randall remarks that "this religion, as professed or rather enacted by the Jesuits, was, however, well calculated to attract and impress the Indian mind. * * * Romanism with its rituals appealed to him more readily than the cold and unadorned homilies of the Protestant preachers of the English Colonies. Yet "the testimony of history indicates that the conversion of the Indian was a ceremonial and superficial, rather than productive of any real change of character or conduct of life." One of the earliest Moravian missionaries observes on this point in the last days of the Jesuit activity, that "The priests seldom induced their numerous converts to lead, even outwardly, better lives. Bap-

tized savages strutted among the unbaptized, decorating their persons with rosaries as though they were strings of wampum; but were carnal and dissolute as before baptized. Genuine conversions manifested by a sober, righteous, and godly life, were rarely known." While this statement may be somewhat overdrawn, it was true to some extent when the Protestants came to do missionary work among the aborigines. Ogontz, the renowned Ottawa chief, educated by the Catholic priests and for some time a missionary among his tribe on the Sandusky, affirmed that he "found it much easier to make Catholics than Christians of the Indians." They observed the forms but were no better for performing them. However, this does not detract from the zeal and efforts of both Protestant and Catholic in their work. They did all they could for the salvation of the Indian.

The savage in his religious belief was a polytheist. His gods were different forms in nature. He worshiped the sun and moon and stars; the mountains and streams and habitants of the forest. "The lakes, rivers and waterfalls were the dwelling places of spirits. The trees, the rocks, the rustling leaves; the rolling clouds, the roaring storm and the arching rainbow; the silent snow, the pattering rain; the crashing thunder and flashing lightning * * *" each was the embodiment and manifestation of a power to be obeyed; or to be appeased if in anger. No civilized religion could eradicate their superstitions.

Summing up the matter, while there might have been differences of opinion as to the value of the work of the Jesuits, and "while their converts in numbers were not commensurate with their aims and their efforts," they were many. No less than three thousand, one statement claims, embraced the faith among the Canadian Hurons. While the purpose of these missionaries seemed to be the salvation of the savage soul by the mere performance of baptism, and while they made little direct endeavor to educate the aborigine; by their religious teachings and exemplary conduct, they modified in no small degree the savagery of the Indian nature.

As Randall says further: "Opposition in many quarters, chiefly among the licentious favorites of the Bourbon court and the infidelic scholars of France, brought about the suppression of the Jesuits by the royal edict of Louis XV, throughout the French dominions, in 1764. * * * And in 1773, Pope Clement XIV by papal decree ordered the suppression of the Society

in all States of Christendom." These decrees put an end to the efforts of the Jesuits among the Indians, although non-Jesuit priests continued the work.

While the Jesuits evidently circulated through the Maumee and Sandusky region, they did no permanent work here, except the so-called mission to the Sandusky, in 1749, when Father Bonnecamps after his tour with Celoron, together with Father Pierre Potier, undertook to evangelize the Indians of the Sandusky and along the Vermillion.

The lack of Jesuit activities in now Northwestern Ohio was evidently caused by the hostilities of the Iroquois and their conflicts, which allowed no permanence to the Indian settlements in this section at that early period. The only authentic record of their work here, after Bonnecamps and Potier, concerns a religious chapel built near now Sandusky, in 1751, under the direction of Father Armand de la Richardie then of the Detroit region, who attempted some serious missionary work among the Indians along the south shore of Lake Erie. The work of Fathers Bonnecamps, Potier and Richardie evidently had some connection. Father Potier by the way, is mentioned by the British Governor Hamilton at the outset of his account of his expedition to Vincennes and Father Richardie is referred to at that point in this history.

According to the "Relations" Father Richardie was deputed in 1728 to establish a permanent mission at Detroit. As the Recollect order was already represented there, to avoid any conflict with it, Father Richardie located his mission across the Detroit River opposite Fort Pontchartrain and at now Sandwich, Ontario. Here he built a church, a mission house, and on Bois Blanc Island established a supporting farm. It was in 1744 that Father Pierre Potier arrived at the mission to assist Richardie, who in 1755 returned to Quebec. Potier then became the mission-master. Shea again says here in his "History of Catholic Missions" among the Indians, that in 1751, Richardie "led a party of the Hurons from Detroit to Sandusky and there under the name of Wyandots, soon took an active part in the affairs of the West. They were conspicuous in the French war, and at its close in Pontiac's conspiracy, though long withheld by the influence of Father Potier. * * * During these times of trouble the missionaries were driven from Sandusky; and though a regular succession was kept up at the mission of the Assumption near Detroit, still the suppression of the Jesuits prepared for its close

and Father Pierre Potier, the last Jesuit missionary to the western Hurons, died in July, 1781." And Shea further adds, "After that the Indians depended entirely on the priests at the French posts, and the Wyandots were thus cut off from all spiritual instructions, but they did not lose their faith." Shea refers to the "Register of Sandwich" for his authority.

From George B. Catlin's "Story of Detroit" covering the same ground, is taken the following: One of the early French names prominent in Detroit history was Pierre Francois de Charlevoix. He was a learned man and first visited America in 1705. He taught four years in a Quebec College, returned to France and came to America again in 1720 to write a history of Canada. In 1721 he arrived at Detroit to establish a mission for the Huron Indians. This tribe being crushed by the Iroquois and being of a "humble and contrite heart," were the first to accept Christianity, and Charlevoix came to gather the Detroit Hurons within the pale of the church. On the recommendation of Charlevoix the Jesuits of Quebec sent Father Richardie to Detroit in 1728. The Recollect Fathers governed the parish of Detroit and so, to avoid any possible conflict of jurisdiction, Father Richardie obtained permission to found a Huron mission on the Canadian shore. This mission house was built near the river front directly north of the present site of Assumption College. The size was 30 by 45 feet. It was intact until near 1800. "Afterwards a church was built and a priest's residence, a storehouse for furs, another for provisions and a blacksmith shop were established near by." Everything was done under the eye of the Jesuit Father and his assistants and it proved such an advantage to the Hurons that other Indian tribes often went to Sandwich to trade. The rivalry was not to the liking of the Detroit posts and trouble arose, especially with the Ottawas. The matter was finally adjusted by the removal of the Hurons to the Sandusky, the southern tributary of Lake Erie. After four years residence there, the old feud had sufficiently cooled to cause the Jesuit fathers at Sandwich to arrange plans for the return of the Hurons to Detroit. But the Ottawas were not sufficiently appeased to want the Hurons so near to them, and as the Hurons feared the strength of the Ottawas, the former were taken from the Sandusky to Bois Blanc Island at the mouth of the Detroit River. They remained on the Island for five years and Father Potier was sent to conduct a mission there. As Catlin further says: "In 1747, good feeling being fully restored, the Bois Blanc Mis-

sion was abandoned and the Hurons were taken by Father Potier to Sandwich Point and settled about the mission house. Father Richardie returned to Quebec in 1755 leaving Father Potier in charge of the mission." The latter remained "faithful at his post and grew old in the service." On the night of July 16, 1781, he was standing near the big fireplace in the mission house reading, when he was attacked by vertigo. He fell to the floor so heavily that his skull was fractured by the andiron and he died within a few hours, aged 72 years. His remains were buried beneath the altar of the old church. In 1851 the present Church of the Assumption was built and the remains of Father Potier were reinterred beneath the altar of the new edifice. These details are given on account of their relation to the mission on the Sandusky and other Northwest Ohio territory.

Concerning the lower Maumee section, Rev. Edmund Burke probably in the spring of 1795, and some time after the British established Fort Miami, occupied or built a log house near the fort as a Roman Catholic Chapel and ministered to the Catholic soldiers. Father Gabriel Richards and other priests, thereafter from Detroit, visited the settlements along the Maumee and administered to such as required their services. One writer says that "While such visits had been occasionally made since the suppression of the Jesuits in 1764, few if any worked with the missionary fervor among the Indians that was formerly displayed by that devoted sect."

In a letter written by Father Burke from the "Miamis" to Archbishop Troy, the following passage occurs: "I wrote from Quebec, if I rightly remember, the day before departure for this country; am now distant about five hundred leagues from it, on the western side of Lake Erie, within a few miles of the Miami fort, lately built by the British government. * * * I'm here in the midst of Indians, all heathens. This day a grand council was held in my house by the Ottawas, Chippewas and Pottowatomies. These people receive a certain quantity of Indian corn from the government, and I have been appointed to distribute it. That gives me a consequence among them which I hope will be useful, as soon as I can speak their language, which is not difficult.

"This (is) the last and most distant parish inhabited by Catholics on this earth; in it is neither law, justice nor subjection. You never meet a man, either Indian or Canadian, without his gun in his hand and his knife at his breast. My house is on the

banks of a river which falls into the lake, full of fish and fowl of all sorts; the finest climate in the world, and the most fertile lands. * * * Next summer I go on three hundred leagues towards Mackina, or Lake Superior, where there are some Christian Indians, to see if I can collect them." This letter is dated February 2, 1796.

In the treaty at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids, made in 1817, the following reference to the Catholic converts referred to earlier is made:

"Some of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatomie tribes being attached to the Catholic religion, and believing they may wish some of their children hereafter educated, do grant to the rector of the Catholic Church of St. Anne of Detroit for the use of the said church, and to the corporation of the college at Detroit for the use of the said college, to be retained or sold as the said rector and corporation may judge expedient, each one-half of three sections of land to contain six hundred and forty acres of land on the River Raisin at a place called Macon, and three sections of land not yet located, which tracts were reserved for the use of the said Aborigines by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807. And the Superintendent of Aborigine Affairs in the Territory of Michigan (Governor Lewis Cass) is authorized on the part of the said Aborigines to select the said tracts of land."

Another Christianizing ministry which entered the Ohio country at an early date and which played a prominent part in its early history, were the Moravian missionaries. David Zeisberger and his life companion and colaborer John Heckewelder were the leaders in the Ohio operations. Zeisberger was born in Austrian Moravia in 1721, emigrated to Georgia in America in 1737, was a missionary to the Iroquois tribes and first visited the Ohio Indians in 1771. He established the first Moravian settlement at Schoenbrunn in Tuscarawas County in 1772 and died at Goshen, Tuscarawas County, in 1808. Heckewelder was a native of Saxony, born in 1743. He arrived at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1754, and with Zeisberger founded the Moravian Missions on the Muskingum, the first Christian missions in Ohio, unless the Sandusky chapel on the Sandusky is considered. Before taking up their story, however, it is worthy of mention that on Christmas Day, 1750, Christopher Gist on his journey into the Ohio country for the first Ohio Company, at the Wyandot Town of the Upper Muskingum, held religious services in the presence of a number of traders and "several of the well-disposed

Indians who came freely." Gist spoke of the "doctrine of Salvation—Faith and good works, as extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England"; which he read to his hearers and which was interpreted to the Indians by his companion, Andrew Montour. The Indians were well pleased and returned thanks to Gist and gave him the name of "Annosanah," a devout man "who had once lived among them." This has been claimed as the "first Protestant religious service ever held within the limits of the present State of Ohio."

It is not necessary to follow the history in detail of the "Moravian Brethren," as they were called, after they came to America. The Moravians as a society of Christians can be traced back as far as 1457. Bohemia was the refuge of the "religious, liberty-loving Teutons, who refused to succumb to the sway of the Papal church." The Waldenses in Italy and France in the pre-Reformation period in large numbers, fled to Bohemia and the adjacent Moravia. It was from this branch that Zeisberger and Heckewelder came to America, the "refuge of the free-minded in religion, as well as the liberty-loving in civil government." As noted, Zeisberger came to the Ohio region from Georgia and Heckewelder from Pennsylvania.

In dealing with the explorations of the Ohio country, reference has already been made to the Moravians among the Delawares of Eastern Ohio. While the French missionaries were operating among the Wyandots or Hurons about the Sandusky region and Detroit, the Delawares coming into the Ohio section from the East, where they had come in contact with the whites, were to receive the attention of the Protestants. The Delawares favorably disposed to the Moravians in Pennsylvania were kept in mind by this religious organization, "a sect as zealous in spreading Protestantism among the Indians as were the Jesuits in proclaiming the Catholic faith."

It was in 1761, as has already been mentioned that the Rev. Frederick Post, the ardent Moravian missionary and well known Indian interpreter, and Heckewelder, built the first cabin of a proposed mission near where is now the town of Bolivar, Tuscarawas County, Ohio. Post was obliged to return to Pennsylvania, and Heckewelder being unable to cope with the conditions alone, such as the growing hostility of the Indians, after experiencing untold privations and dangers, found his way back to Pennsylvania.

As told by H. C. Shetrone in his story of "The Indian in

Ohio," in 1772, ten years later, the mission was successfully established when David Zeisberger and John Heckewelder, accompanied by a number of Delaware Indian converts arrived at the Tuscarawas town on the Muskingum. Here the Delaware chief, Netawatwees, received them graciously and granted a tract of land for the building of a mission. The mission was named Schoenbrunn—beautiful spring—from the delightful spring of water near at hand; and it was the fountain from which sprung the first Protestant religious organization in now Ohio. In the valley of the Muskingum other Moravian settlements were soon established, prominent among which the same year (1772) was the Town of Gnadenhutten settled by a band of Christian Mohican Indians under the guidance of Joshua, an Indian convert. Salem was a third historical settlement.

The story of the Ohio Moravians is so intimately entwined with the Sandusky region and other territory with which this history is concerned, that a somewhat detailed account is worth giving, as quoted from the narrative by Shetrone as follows:

"Under the leadership of Zeisberger, Heckewelder and their associates, the native converts were to turn from the ways of savagery and barbarism to the light of civilization and humanity. The wilderness with its precarious existence, was to give way to the settled community with its fields of grain and plenty, while the tomahawk and scalping knife, emblems of butchery and bloodshed, were to be supplanted by the axe and the hoe, symbols of industry and prosperity.

"Throughout all the years of contest between the Colonists and the British for possession of the Ohio country the Moravians, although unfavorably located at the very meeting point of conflict, as conducted from Fort Pitt and Fort Detroit, maintained an attitude of strict neutrality. This very neutrality made their position a difficult one to maintain, for while refraining from actively participating with either side, their creed demanded that they protect non-combatants and prevent needless suffering and loss of life. The result of this commendable policy was inevitably suspicion on the part either the Colonists or the British, as circumstances might seem to suggest; but on the whole, as Colonel Brodhead, then commandant at Fort Pitt, declared 'These (Moravian) Indians had conducted themselves from the commencement of the war, in a manner that did them honor; that neither the English nor the Americans, could with justice reproach them with improper conduct in their situation.'

"As early as the spring of 1778 British headquarters at Detroit, through the Girtys, McKee and Elliott, connived to win the Delawares from their neutrality. These renegades, visiting the Delawares at their towns on the Muskingum, particularly at Goschoschgung, represented to them that the American Republic already was crushed, and that the refugees from the Continental army were pushing their way westward to attack the Ohio tribes. Through the efforts of Heckewelder, aided by the loyal Captain White Eyes, the tribesmen were persuaded of the falsity of these claims, and those of the Delawares, led by Captain Pipe, who inclined to the British and advocated immediate war upon the Americans, were temporarily quieted.

"It was in the autumn of this same year that the historic treaty of Fort Pitt, with the Delawares, was effected—the first treaty between the United States and the Indians. This treaty, paved the way for the erection of Fort Laurens—the first fort built by Americans upon Ohio soil. The siege of this fort by the British and their Indian allies (already told), which occurred in the following spring (1779) foreshadowed the beginning of a defection to the British on the part of the Delawares. This defection, which was to cost them dearly, was in great part the result of the death of White Eyes, their erstwhile most influential leader. Shortly after the Fort Pitt treaty, in which he took a great interest and played an important part, White Eyes, the staunch friend of the Moravians and of the Americans, was stricken with small pox, and died at the Tuscarawas capital of the Muskingum Delawares. In the death of this 'great counsellor and good man,' the Moravian missions and the colonists lost one of their most ardent supporters. To these his death came as a great calamity; but not so to Captain Pipe, or Hopocan, chief of the Monsey clan of Delawares, nor to the British themselves. Hopocan, who openly championed the cause of the British, in whose pay he was then acting, seized the opportunity to widen the scope of his power and to influence his people against the Americans. His principal opponent in the counsels of the Delawares was Captain Killbuck, who while generally favorable to the Americans, lacked the brilliancy and leadership which were Hopocan's. In the winter of 1780, throwing off all pretense Hopocan, accompanied by his band of Munseys, quitted his town on the Walhonding and removed to the Sandusky River, where, on the banks of Tymochtee Creek, a tributary, he established what became known as Pipe's town. Thus located, he was able

the more readily to coöperate with his British employers, who at this time maintained a sort of secondary headquarters at the Wyandot towns on the Sandusky, from which raids to the south and east were launched.

"The opening of spring, 1781—that eventful year which was to witness the pathetic exodus of the Moravians from their peaceful homes—found the Delaware nation aligned as follows: The Moravian Christians maintained their neutrality, but unconsciously leaned toward the Americans, owing to the harshness of the British in attempts at coercing them to the British cause; the Munsey clan, under Captain Pipe, had definitely repudiated the Americans; while the remainder of the non-Christian Delawares were veering ominously toward the British.

"Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Colonel Brodhead (American), commandant at Fort Pitt, prepared to act. In April, with 300 troops consisting of Regulars and Virginia Militia, he crossed the Ohio and proceeded to Goschoschgung, the Delaware headquarters, on the site of Coshocton. The inhabitants taken by surprise, were captured, after which the town was looted, the newly planted fields devastated, live-stock killed or driven off, and much property damaged or burned. Of the captured warriors sixteen of the leaders, singled out by Pekillon, a Delaware who had accompanied the Brodhead expedition, were condemned to die. With the approach of night they were led to the outskirts of the town where they were brutally and inhumanly tomahawked and scalped. The remaining captives, in charge of the militia of the raiding party, were billeted to be taken to Fort Pitt. The return march had not proceeded far, however, before the militiamen inaugurated a wanton carnival of bloodshed, in which some twenty warriors were shot down. Frightened and enraged, the Delawares hastily withdrew to the north and west, where they took their stand upon the Scioto and the Sandusky; and the Muskingum valley, except for the fortuitous Moravians, become for the time a 'no-man's-land.' Colonel Brodhead strongly urged the Missionaries and their converts to accompany him to Fort Pitt and thus avert the threatening vengeance of the non-Christian Indians, but with a few exceptions the Moravians chose to remain and face their destiny in their cherished homes.

"The pathetic events which followed might have furnished a theme as promising as that upon which Longfellow based his immortal 'Evangeline;' for while the Acadian exile involved a much greater number of individuals, the extra added feature of cold-

blooded massacre perpetuated by those whom they had in every way befriended, gives to the Moravian atrocity the finishing touch of inhuman barbarity and the last word in tragedy and atrocity.

'Bearing a nation, with all its household gods, into exile,
Exile without an end, and without an example in history.'

"The work of Brodhead had effectively alienated the non-Christian Delawares and adjacent tribes, who immediately flocked to the standard of the British. The time was ripe for the latter to act, and once for all break up the Moravian settlements, which they believed, under guise of neutrality, were aiding the American cause. No sooner had Brodhead finished his work and returned to Fort Pitt than the British plan of action was set moving. A force of approximately 150 men consisting of Wyandots under Dunquad (called by the Delawares Pomocan); Delawares under Captain Pipe and Wingenund; small bands of Mingoes and Shawnee; and a few British and French from Detroit,—the latter under Captain Mathew Elliott, as commander of the expedition—made their appearance on the Tuscarawas. Elliott established his headquarters before Salem, while others of the party proceeded to Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhutten. The Moravian missionaries, as was customary, extended their hospitality to the visitors, despite the ominous import of their presence. They had not long to await an explanation, if in truth they already had not surmised it. Elliott, summoning the leaders from the several missions to his headquarters at Salem, over which floated the British flag, and hiding the mailed fist under friendly guise, delivered the inexorable decree of the British.

"'Prisoners now I declare you; for such is his Majesty's pleasure.'

"The decision of the British was, in brief, that the Moravians either must espouse their cause, or failing in this, that they must be forcibly removed from the Tuscarawas to a part of the country where possibility of their collusion with the Americans would be minimized. The former not being acceptable to the Moravians, the alternative was carried out. The movable property and personal effects of the inhabitants of the three towns were appropriated and divided among the Indians. The Wyandots, dressing themselves in the clothing of their victims, vainly paraded themselves for the admiration of their fellows. As one man, the Indians gave themselves over to celebration and feasting, the means for which were ready at hand in the bounteous supplies

of cattle, poultry, and products of the soil which the Moravians had accumulated. For days this wild carnival continued, with 'Midnight shout and revelry, Tipsy dance and jollity,' while the involuntary hosts of the revelers were powerless to act. Finally, on the 11th of September, 1781, the members of the three settlements, consisting of about 100 families, were forced to assume the march toward the north, leaving behind them 'a Christian communion never equalled in the history of the Indians.' The pathetic exodus from their homes of the ardent missionaries and their faithful converts, is eloquently summarized in the words of Edmund de Schweinitz, biographer of David Zeisberger:

" 'They were turning their back upon the scenes of more than eight years of industry, and of a Christian community never equalled in the history of the Indians. They were leaving behind rich plantations, with five thousand bushels of unharvested corn, large quantities of it in store, hundreds of hogs and young cattle loose in the woods, poultry of every kind, gardens stocked with vegetables, three flourishing towns, each with a commodious house of worship, all the heavy articles of furniture and implements of husbandry—in short, their entire property, excepting what could be carried on pack horses or stowed in canoes.' After a strenuous journey of three weeks, partly by canoe on the Tuscarawas and partly by land, the exiles reached the Sandusky River, in what is now southeastern Wyandot County. Here they were abandoned by Dunquad and his Wyandot escort and allowed to shift for themselves. Near the juncture of Broken Sword Creek with the Sandusky River they selected a site, and with sad hearts began the almost hopeless task of re-establishing themselves and their missions. Log huts for shelter and a rude structure for religious services were provided; but scarcely had this been accomplished before calamity again overtook them.

"Late in October the Delaware chief Wingenund appeared at their village, called Captives' Town, bearing a summons from Governor de Peyster of Detroit, demanding that the Moravians appear at Detroit 'for Trial.' After a perilous march through the wilderness the little party, escorted by the Indian guides, reached Detroit and appeared before the commandant. At their hearing Captain Pipe was the principal witness, and to his credit be it said, testified favorably to the defendants, declaring that the Moravians were guiltless of wrong against the British. This circumstance throws a favorable light upon the character of Pipe, who though in the pay of the British, had from the first refused

to indulge in any brutality against the Americans, either from humane motives or in fear of later punishment.

"The Moravians, thus absolved from blame, were permitted to return to their pitiable settlement on the Sandusky, with the admonition that they abstain from friendly intercourse with the Americans. De Peyster, more humane than his predecessor, Henry Hamilton, furnished the pilgrims with needed clothing and supplies. Returning to Captives' Town, the refugees, in a spirit of thankfulness for their acquittal and safe return, erected a 'temple of worship,' a rude structure of poles supported by upright stakes, the crevices stopped with moss.

"The winter which followed was one of intense suffering for the little band of Christians, and starvation was with difficulty staved off. Remembering the bountiful supplies of unharvested corn left behind at their towns on the Tuscarawas, they obtained permission from Pomoacan, the Wyandot half-king, to avail themselves of the grain. Accordingly, in late February, 1782, about 150 of the more able-bodied of the inhabitants departed for the Tuscarawas. But it seemed that misfortune had marked the Moravians for its own. No sooner had they taken their departure than Simon Girty arrived from Detroit with a second order summoning their leaders again to appear for trial. At this point it would seem that the unfortunates, buffeted by the hand of fate, could withstand no more. Zeisberger, in his bitterness declared 'If we were to be slain, it would be better, we should then be relieved of all our troubles; but now we seem to be reserved for many deaths.' But with faith and hope sustaining them, the missionaries sent out runners summoning their members to return to the village. Those who happened to be near at hand responded and returned to the town; but from the relief party who had gone to the cornfields on the Tuscarawas, there was no response. A second summons was answered by a similar silence. This silence was explained when a Delaware Indian arrived at Captives' Town with the intelligence that the relief party had been massacred at Gnadenhutten! Stunned and heart-broken, Zeisberger, Heckewelder and their associate leaders and families, exhorting their faithful followers to 'stand fast in the faith and endure to the end,' departed with Girty for Detroit, to answer once more to the suspicion that they had had friendly correspondence with the Americans. (Heckewelder's experience at Lower Sandusky, has already been told—Editor.)

"The fate of the Moravian Indians was the fate that too often

rewards the would-be peacemaker—ingratitude, distrust and malevolence on the parts both of the British and the Americans of the border country, between whom they strove to ameliorate hostilities. We have seen their community harassed and despoiled by the British-Indian alliance, which like some great beast of prey had dragged them from their home on the Tuscarawas toward its lair to the northward; we shall now witness the completion of the despoilation—the ruthless tearing apart of the body religious—in a manner even more brutal, and by those who by every token should have been the friends and protectors of the Moravians. In fixing the blame for the inhuman massacre of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhutten on March 8, 1782, the verdict of the historian finds the frontier settlers of the border County of Washington, Pennsylvania, 'guilty with recommendations for mercy.'

"The very enormity and perversion of the crime demanded that the convicted be given the benefit of the moderating clause of the verdict; in fact, it is in this alone that there is to be found the semblance of a motive for the massacre. Let us then, inquire more closely into the situation with regard to the Moravians and the border settlers across the Ohio, as it existed at the time under consideration. We have gathered in a general way something of the compromised position of the missionaries and their converts, especially with reference to the British and the pro-British tribesmen; namely, that the neutrality of the Moravians was looked upon as a cloak under which information was passed on to the Americans. The hostile Indians themselves regarded the Christian natives as traitors to their race, and lost no opportunity of embroiling them in the tangles of perversity with either side. The Americans, on their part, in so far as official and well-informed circles were concerned, realized that the Moravians were guiltless of wrong-doing; but among the frontiersmen of Pennsylvania and Virginia—the backwoodsmen along the Ohio River—there had developed an unfortunte and mostly ungrounded suspicion that the Moravian settlements on the Tuscarawas had much to do with the raids of the Ohio savages on their settlements. It is not strange, considering the times and the circumstances, that such should have been the case. The means of communication, and therefore of news distribution, were limited, and the frontiersmen were often ignorant and credulous. Raiding parties from the hostile Ohio tribes were at the time very much in vogue; and as the Moravian towns were directly on

the route of these forays, and about midway thereof, they afforded a convenient stopping place for the raiders, both on the going and returning journeys. Their hospitality, extended either as a result of religious conviction or through inability on the part of the inhabitants to withhold the same, was freely made use of, and even abused, by the marauding bands; and it was only natural that the frontiersmen, in their ignorance and impulsiveness and constantly irritated by the dangers which beset their families and homes, should judge the Moravian settlements 'by the company which they kept.'

"During the winter preceding the Gnadenhutten massacre, the Indian raids against the border settlements had been particularly alarming. In one instance a party of Ohio Indians crossed the river into Pennsylvania, burned the cabin of John Wallace and took captive his wife and three children. On their return, which took them through the Moravian towns, the Indians cruelly tomahawked the mother and her infant. It would appear that the savages while availing themselves of the friendliness of the Moravians, were all the while maliciously plotting to incur upon their hosts the vengeance of the whites, through these trails of blood, leading from the settlements of the one to the towns of the other. How well their plan succeeded, we shall see. The Pennsylvania backwoodsmen, at last goaded to desperation and believing that they could not expect security for themselves as long as the Moravian towns were in existence took matters into their own hands and without seeking authority from council or congress, determined upon their destruction.

"During the late winter of 1781-2, the work of raising the necessary volunteers for the contemplated enterprise was quietly carried on in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and by the first of March a force of about 100 men had been secured. Under the leadership of David Williamson, who had been elected captain, the raiding party crossed the Ohio and on the sixth of March, 1782, arrived before Gnadenhutten, their presence being unknown to the inhabitants. The following morning, after killing several of the inhabitants, who had discovered their presence, Williamson's party entered the town without opposition.

"The inhabitants of Gnadenhutten, Schoenbrunn and Salem at this time comprised a few Moravians who had escaped removal to the Sandusky River, and the relief party of 140 who had returned to their towns from Captives' Town to obtain corn. On the arrival of Williamson and his men, the Indians were quietly

engaged in gathering and making ready the grain for the return trip to the Sandusky, where their families, almost upon the verge of starvation, anxiously awaited the promised supplies. Simulating a friendly attitude the frontiersmen, summoning the unsuspecting natives from their work in the fields, made known what they wished the converts to believe to be the purpose of their visit. They had come, they said, to offer the protection and friendship of the Americans, who, in view of the dangers to which the Moravians were subjected from the British and the hostile Indians, wished to convey them to Fort Pitt, for their safety and protection. In their credulity, the Indians surrendered their weapons to Williamson's men, 'to be returned upon arrival at Pittsburg.' A detachment was sent forward to Salem, which returned accompanied by the Moravians at that place; but those at Schoenbrunn, taking alarm, fled before the emissaries reached their town, and thus escaped the fate which awaited their fellows.

"No sooner had the Indians been disarmed than all pretense at friendly intentions was thrown aside, and they were rudely thrust inside the larger buildings as prisoners. The question as to their fate then became a matter for discussion. A few of the backwoodsmen, partly recovered from the first excitement of the undertaking and realizing the innocence of the converts, favored their release; others, not quite so impetuous as at first but unwilling to abandon the enterprise, were in favor of removing the Indians to Fort Pitt and turning them over to the commandant there for disposal. Captain Williamson himself was inclined to be lenient with the captives, but his attitude and that of the more humane of his command were overruled by the greater number of those who demanded the blood of the converts. The question finally resolved itself into 'Whether the Moravian Indians should be taken prisoners to Pittsburg, or put to death.' Of the ninety Pennsylvanians, acting as a council of war, only one in five favored the former proposition. These more humane members of the party, eighteen in number, then withdrew from the scene to avoid witnessing the revolting procedure on the part of their comrades.

"As between two suggestions as to the carrying out of sentence of death against the captives,—the one, that they be burned to death by setting fire to the buildings in which they were confined, and, the alternative, that they be tomahawked and scalped,—the latter was decided upon as the most desirable. Ac-

cordingly, the Indians were notified of their impending fate, and were given until the following morning in which to prepare to die. The faith which had supported the Moravians through the trying times of oppressions and persecution was not to desert them in their martyrdom. At the hands of the British-Indian allies and to a lesser extent from the Americans, they had suffered all but death; and now that the day fixed upon for their return to families and friends with the life-saving supplies of corn, was to be, instead, the day of their doom, they bravely and unhesitatingly prepared to meet death. In the words of Dr. Schweinitz, 'As the hours wore away, and the night deepened, and the end drew near, triumphant anticipations of heaven mingled with their hymns and prayers; converted heathens taught their Christian slayers what it means to die, as more than conquerors.' Early on the morning of March 8, 1782, the Moravian Indian captives signified their readiness for the ordeal. The men and boys were led or dragged, two by two, to the near-by cooper shop, where with tomahawks, war clubs, spears, mallets and knives, they were quickly dispatched and scalped. The slaughter of the women and children followed in the same gruesome manner.

"Of the ninety-eight Moravians held by the Williamson party, all were killed but two boys, who made their escape. Among the killed were Glikkikan, the Delaware chieftain, who several years previously had been converted and who was one of the ablest and most valued of the Moravian teachers; his wife, who on the occasion of the attack on Fort Henry, at Wheeling, rode all night through the wilderness to inform the military authorities at Fort McIntosh of the intended attack; and Captain Johnny, a Delaware chief and earnest Moravian teacher. The raiders then proceeded to Schoenbrunn, where they expected to repeat their orgies; but the inhabitants of Schoenbrunn had learned of their presence and had hastily departed from the town. After venting their disappointment by burning the houses and destroying property, the frontiersmen hastened eastward and across the Ohio into Pennsylvania. As a grand finale to their bloody foray, a detachment of Williamson's men proceeded to Smoky Island, opposite Fort Pitt, where they attacked and killed a number of Delawares residing there. The Smoky Island settlement consisted of a band of Ohio Delawares who, under Killbuck, or Gelelemand, and Chief Big Cat, at the invitation of the Fort Pitt officials, had taken refuge there, following the defection of a part of the tribe under

Hopocan. Killbuck managed to escape death in the attack by Williamson's men, and later joined the Moravians on the Sandusky.

"Before bidding farewell to the Moravians, it is fitting to inquire as to their later career. Zeisberger and his assistants were left in this account at the beginning of their second journey to Detroit, where they went in answer to a summons from De Peyster. At the close of their hearing, the Moravians were barred from returning to their settlement at Captives' Town on the Sandusky. Under De Peyster's orders, either of two things was left them; to return to their original settlements in Pennsylvania, or to remain in the Michigan country under the protection of the British. They chose the latter and established a settlement known as New Gnadenhutten among the friendly Chippewas on the Huron River.

"But the Moravians had left their hearts in the Ohio country, and in 1782, peace having been declared between England and the United States, they found their way to the Cuyahoga River, where they sojourned for about one year, and then took up their abode on the Huron River near the present town of Milan. Here for four years they prospered, and made many converts, among them the noted Captain Killbuck, who, always inclined to be friendly, now became a lasting and valued member of the church. But hostilities between the Ohio Indians and the American government disturbed their security and in 1789 they returned to Canada. In the meantime, in passing the Ordinance of 1787 and in conducting the surveys of the lands thereunder, Congress granted the Moravian Indians a tract of 12,000 acres of land on the Tuscarawas River, adjoining and partly including their former settlements. To this land the pilgrims returned in 1789 and picking up the raveled ends of their pathetic career set themselves to restore the old order of peace and prosperity. For a time all went well and their dream seemed destined to become reality; but their leaders, Zeisberger and Heckewelder, had already left behind them their best years and strength in the fitful and checkered existence of their beloved mission. Zeisberger founded the little town of Goshen, about seven miles distant from Gnadenhutten, where he lived and labored until his death in 1808. Heckewelder re-established Gnadenhutten on the site of the infamous massacre, where he resided until 1810, when he returned to Pennsylvania. Their leaders gone, and none among the converts being of a caliber to fill their places, the Moravian

Brethren rapidly declined, and, as with others of their race, returned to the ways of their fathers."

The attention of the Society of Friends (Quakers) was, about 1791, turned toward the Indians of the Maumee and Sandusky. At a meeting of that sect for sufferers, held in Philadelphia, the above year, a memorial was addressed to the United States Congress urging pacific measures for the settlement of the difficulties then existing with the western Indians, and in 1792 at the yearly meeting of Friends, an important committee was appointed to confer with the Meeting for Sufferers on this problem. The result was the appointment of three U. S. commissioners to attend the large Indian council held on the lower Maumee in the summer of 1793. The Friends, with the consent of the President "deputed" six of their society to accompany the commissioners to this council in the interest of peace. These six Friends joined Colonel Timothy Pickering and Beverly Randolph at Niagara. The failure of the commissioners to join in the Maumee council, by reason of the interference of the British agents McKee and Elliott, has already been told. However, the Friends reached Detroit by a sloop from Fort Erie, June 9, 1793. They found Detroit "a small garrison town with a variety of inhabitants, with much of the sound of drums and trumpets, but not much religion." There were English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, Germans and French; also Americans from different states, with some blacks, and Indians of many tribes. There was only one church-house, Roman Catholic. They called upon the priest in charge, were kindly received, and later dined with Colonel England, British Commandant of Fort Lernoult, who later called upon them at their lodgings. They preached to the Indians and people above and below Detroit and even visited and fraternized with the Moravians at their settlement on the Canadian Thames. After a six weeks' stay, the Friends were joined at Detroit by the U. S. Commissioners, July 25th. On account of being frustrated in their expectations to attend the Maumee council as stated, both the U. S. Commissioners and the delegation of Friends started home by way of Fort Erie in the sloop *Dunmore*, August 1, 1793.

At the yearly meeting of the Friends at Baltimore in 1795, another committee to consider the affairs of the Indians was appointed, and for some years thereafter annual visits were made to look into the conditions of various tribes. At the Friends' meeting at Baltimore in 1798, a speech was presented on a large belt

and ten strings of white wampum, inviting the Quakers to make a visit to the Wyandots and Delawares about Upper Sandusky. The invitation speech was signed by Tarhe the Crane, Adam Brown, Walk-in-the-Water and one or two others. In consequence, a delegation of Friends left Baltimore for the West, May 7, 1799. After a most laborious journey over swollen streams, they arrived at Upper Sandusky June 3, where by reason of much drunkenness, they were subject to many indignities. Although regarded as an able chief, Tarhe on account of his intoxicated condition, was unable to meet the Friends until the following day. He then informed them that the council would not meet until some two weeks later, when the subject of their mission, as to instruction in religion, books for their teaching, domestic matters, agriculture, etc., would be taken up. As soon as the council came to a decision he would send them a speech. After Tarhe had presented the delegates with four strings of white wampum to be taken to their great men in the East, they gave presents to the chiefs and the meeting closed. Much difficulty was experienced in procuring food while at Cranetown, and after their return home by a southern route, nothing was heard from the Upper Sandusky meeting.

In the account of their journey westward through Pennsylvania, an incident concerning the rapidity with which canoes could be made from bark by the Indians, is described as follows:

"* * * We found this stream (Killbuck Creek in northeastern Ohio) forty-five yards wide and twelve feet deep. On ascertaining this our guide (a Delaware Indian of the Moravian band) turned his horse loose to feed and all the rest of us did the same, expecting to remain there until the next day. He however went off, as he informed us, to build a canoe. Being desirous to acquaint myself with their manner of constructing these boats, I accompanied him. After searching some time he found a tree which he supposed would answer his purpose, and having first cut the bark round near the ground, he then prepared two wooden forks with lateral prongs from the bottom to the top of them, which served as steps upon which he could rest his feet. These he placed against the tree and then walked up them, and cut the bark round the tree about eighteen feet higher. He then, after splitting the bark from the top to the bottom, peeled it off. He next shaved off the rough outside of the bark at both ends and, after making the proper holes at suitable places, he drew up the ends into a bow and stern with hickory bark ropes, which

completed his work so that we returned down the river with a boat that was capable of carrying three persons. We immediately embarked, transporting ourselves and baggage over the stream, and swam our horses through it—having been detained here only about three hours."

On two or three other occasions the Indians of the Upper Sandusky region through Tarhe, appealed for aid when their provisions were low, and the Quakers responded with material assistance. The fame of the Friends having spread among the tribes, in September, 1803, Little Turtle of the Miamis and Five Medals of the Pottawatomies, signed a letter, probably written by Captain William Wells, asking that the Society send among the Indians of the Upper Maumee and Indiana section, representatives to teach agriculture and civilized methods, raise the standard of living and prevent the traders from bringing in liquor.

Accordingly, Friends George Ellicott and Gerard T. Hopkins, taking Philip Dennis as an agriculturist, as a commission, in February, 1804, started west from Baltimore on horseback. Crossing the Potomac and Shenandoah and the Alleghanies, they reached the upper Ohio March 10. Their route in Ohio was through Zanesville, Lancaster and to Chillicothe, then the state capital, where they were met by Governor Tiffin, who "supped with them and favorably impressed them with his friendly affability." Arriving at Dayton, they made their way along the Miami River to Piqua and up Loramies Creek to Loramie's Store. From here they took the usual portage route to the St. Marys, and coming in sight of Fort Wayne March 30th, were halted by the fort sentinels. Stating their business and giving their names to a sergeant, the latter after obtaining proper orders, conducted them before Captain Whipple the commandant. The Friends presented their letter of introduction from the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, addressed—"To the Commanding Officer at Fort Wayne, Mr. John Johnston, Indian Factor and Mr. William Wells, Indian Agent."

As soon as Johnston and Wells, Indian Agents, met the delegates at Fort Wayne, they dispatched runners for Little Turtle on the Eel River and Five Medals on the River St. Joseph of Michigan. The report of the Friends says that they dined with Captain Whipple of the fort "who behaved with a freedom and gentility becoming a well bred man." The fort, a large and substantial structure, "commands a beautiful view of the rivers and also an extent of about four square miles of cleared land,

much of which clearing has been done by the United States Army. * * * The garrison kept here at present consists of about forty officers and soldiers." At another conference and dinner, at which all were present including the two chiefs, at the head of the table sat the wife of the interpreter and agent Captain Wells, "who is a modest, well looking Indian woman, the daughter of a distinguished chief. * * * She had prepared for us a large, well roasted wild turkey, and also a wild turkey boiled. And for these she had provided a large supply of cranberry sauce. The Little Turtle (brother of the hostess) sat at the table with us, and with much sociability we all partook of an excellent dinner."

At a later conference, the Friends proposed that a meeting of all the Indians old and young and of both sexes be arranged, for the betterment of the savage conditions. Such a meeting to the Indians was most unusual, as the head men only, always attended their councils. Besides, as the young men were absent on distant hunts and the squaws were busy making maple sugar, the chiefs asked that the general gathering be deferred. In the meantime the Friends under the guidance of Captain Wells, were shown the historic places about the headwaters of the Maumee and listened to his accounts of the many important contiguous events. They were shown the sites of the old Indian villages, the battle ground of General Harmar's defeat, and the situation where Little Turtle assembled his fourteen hundred warriors (site of Fort Recovery) when he overwhelmed St. Clair. This sightseeing took in a wide range of territory, including visits to the sugar camps, the ridgelands and prairies, and was most entertaining.

It may be stated here that the United States Agency for the Indians at Fort Wayne was managed from 1800 to 1811 by Col. John Johnston. In the latter year he was transferred to Old Piqua, where he remained as agent until the removal of the Indians westward thirty years later. At Fort Wayne, Johnston was succeeded by Benjamin F. Stickney, who had been agent a short time at Upper Sandusky. The agency at Fort Wayne was closed during the War of 1812, after which Stickney resumed his post until about 1818, when he was succeeded in turn by Doctor William Turner and then John Hays. During the later years James Montgomery was subagent of the Senecas on the Sandusky below now Tiffin; James McPherson for the Senecas and Shawnees at Lewiston; B. F. Stickney Subagent for the Ottawas along

the lower Maumee, with quarters at Fort Miami (Maumee City) and John Shaw Subagent for the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky. The interpreters for this territory at that period were: William Walker for the Wyandots, Upper Sandusky; Thomas Duchoquet for the Shawnees at Wapakoneta and an interpreter at Fort Wayne. John Lewis was blacksmith on the Sandusky. Stickney in the closing Indian days was also Subagent for the Ottawas on the Blanchard River. He figured prominently in the early history of Toledo.

At Fort Wayne, resuming the visit of the Friends there, Indians were constantly circulating about the region, the women bearing the burdens of transportation, carrying packs of skins, boxes of maple sugar and other articles. A council-house, size 25 by 50 feet, of hewn logs, was in the course of construction by the government carpenter and a blacksmith was busy repairing the Indian guns. An important matter discussed, was a canal through the portage ridge, to make continuous water transportation during high water from the St. Marys to Little River.

On April 10th occurred the general assemblage of the Friends, miltary officers, chiefs and Indian men and women; and at a clearing, some two days later, Philip Dennis gave the Indians some instructions in agriculture and the methods of civilized living. A good sized tract of cleared land was selected for tillage and a site chosen on the Wabash River for a dam for water power and a mill. The delegation in their tour of inspection slept in the open by a blazing fire, wrapped in their blankets. Otters in their play along the river at night were noisy; deer approached the camp-fire closely and made a whistling noise as they bounded away; wolves howled in the offing, and at morning's dawn, wild turkeys made the wilderness resound with their assembling call. At one point they saw a "flock of wild parrots" the size of doves, with long tails, heads of red, and red tipped wings. They resembled the green parrots of South America. There were also woodcocks with black heads and ivory-colored bills. (An authority says the parrots were probably the Carolina paroquet.)

On the Wabash, a site was staked out for a dwelling for Philip Dennis, the agriculturist. While Indians and French traders were frequently passing by the situation in both directions, his closest actual neighbors were at the town of Little Turtle eighteen miles northeast and the Mississinewa village some thirty miles southwest.

On April 13th the expedition returned to Fort Wayne. Leav-

ing their comrade, Dennis, to work out his task of establishing an agricultural and Christian mission, and bidding farewell to the officers of Fort Wayne and the Indian chiefs, Hopkins and Ellicott in a pirogue obtained from Commandant Whipple and manned by a Corporal King and a Fort Wayne soldier, April 15, 1804, floated down the Maumee River towards Detroit. Their journey down the Maumee was pleasant and uneventful. Along the banks they saw many Indians, mostly Ottawas. They passed numerous hunting and maple sugar camps, where large and small children were playing about bedecked in their savage ornaments. The Indian huts were made of two upright forked sticks with a crossbar in the forks and barks of trees leaning against it. Sometimes the covering was of rushes sewn together in mats. Occasionally was seen a round pointed tepee. Game was plentiful, wolves howled and owls hooted. A muskalonge was speared over four feet long. They stopped to look over the remains of old Fort Defiance and observed the beautiful situation where there resided a Canadian trader. Opposite Girty's Island above now Napoleon, they noted the former trading station of James Girty on the left bank of the river and passed from the head of the Rapids (Grand Rapids) to the foot of the Rapids (Maumee —Perrysburg) fourteen miles in half an hour. Noting Roche de Boeuf or Standing Rock, they described it as "thirty feet high above the surface of the water, circular, with diameter the same, and the top with the regular appearance of the roof of a house. Its appearance is additionally handsome from the circumstance of the roof, as it is called, being covered with cedar trees." Strong head winds retarded their progress below the Rapids and "prudence seemed to dictate that we should put into a harbor which we did at the mouth of Swan Creek where is a small fort and garrison lately established by the United States. Introductory letters were given us at Fort Wayne to Lieutenant Rhea, the Commandant, which we delivered. He treated us with respect, and with him we spent the remainder of the day and lodged. On our way we stopped to view an old fort called Fort Miami which was garrisoned by the British at the time Wayne defeated the Indians. Many Indian villages and wigwams were seen on both sides of the lower Maumee and many French dwelt there, having married into the tribe and adopted their customs. Some of these houses were of a better class, built of small round logs and roofed with bark." The commissioners arrived at Detroit April 25, and soon sailed over Lake Erie homeward.

Dennis, near Fort Wayne planted corn and vegetables, but with only one or two exceptions could he induce the Indians to aid him. Others were willing to share in the products but not in the industry. He stored the crops in a house he built for the purpose and after giving instructions to the chiefs to distribute the stores to the needy the following winter, returned to his family in Maryland. Thus the first agricultural school in the West was a failure. A delegation of chiefs including Little Turtle, who made a trip to Washington in the winter of 1807-1808, on their way home, visited the Friends at Baltimore. Other chiefs before this had visited the Friends in Philadelphia.

More definite results were obtained by the Friends among the Shawnees of the Wapakoneta section after the War of 1812. Those of the Society who came West to establish new homes, contributed their work and influence for the stabilization of Indian communities and turning them from their wandering hunting expeditions to the cultivation of the soil and the rearing of domestic animals. A dam was constructed across the Auglaize and a flouring and sawmill built for the benefit of the tribe. Iron plows were brought and wood-mounted for use, other implements furnished, and even cattle and horses. A school for manual training, the first in Ohio, was projected, and in the fall of 1819, Isaac Harvey a zealous Friend moved his family from Southern Ohio to Wapakoneta and took charge of the mills in the interests of the Indians. It was at this time that the Shawnees were divided, one-sixth of the number taking up their abode on Hog Creek, Allen County, now the Ottawa River.

There was always superstition among the Indians, and soon after the arrival of Harvey this savage proclivity was greatly augmented by Elskawatawa, the reputed brother of Tecumseh, who at the time was mingling with the Shawnees of that section and posing as a sorcerer or medicine man. One day Harvey in his ministrations carried some food to a sick Shawnee, where he came upon Elskawatawa in the act of slashing the skin of the sick man's back with a knife, causing the blood to run profusely. The would be sorcerer told Harvey he was making the cuts to let out the burning of firey matter that a witch Polly Butler had put there. Harvey drove Elskawatawa away and dressed the patient's wounds. That night the Quaker was aroused by the alarmed appearance at his house of Polly Butler with her child, begging protection from the Shawnees who were seeking to put her to death as a witch. The woman was spirited away, and it

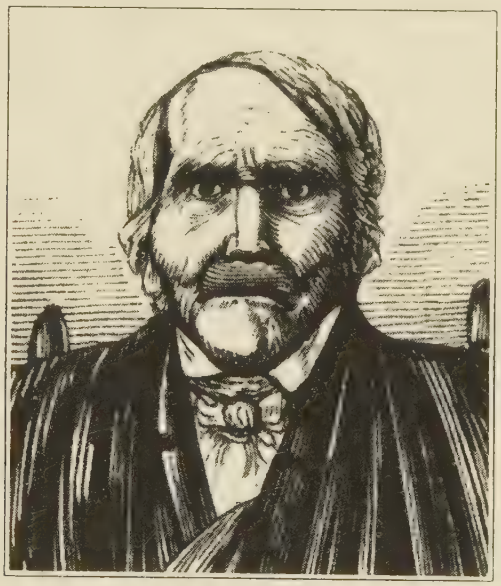
took all the finesse and diplomacy Harvey could command, who even offered his own life, to stem the tide of superstition; but the curse was finally raised and the woman was allowed to return to her family in peace. Harvey was assured by the Indian agent, John Johnston, that his success in saving the life of Polly Butler and breaking up the practice of putting victims to death for alleged witchcraft, was sufficient reward for all the time and efforts the Friends had expended on behalf of the Indians. Harvey continued his work among the Shawnees, in 1830 took charge of the Indian school south of Wapakoneta, and when the tribe was removed to Kansas, he followed them there in his zeal. All in all the efforts of the Friends for the betterment of the Indian, evidently produced as favorable results in this section as the work of any other sect.

Next in point of date to appear among the Indians of the Maumee and Sandusky region were the Presbyterians. With funds collected by the Synod of Virginia, representatives were sent to these sections and to Brownstown, Michigan, and the River Raisin, with the idea to establish a mission school, if the situation proved favorable. At this time the Wyandots and Senecas were along the Sandusky and the Ottawas and Mohawks on the lower Maumee and in Michigan.

The first representative was Rev. Thomas E. Hughes who arrived in these regions in the fall of 1800, accompanied by James Satterfield, a licentiate of the Ohio Presbytery. On his return to his home in Virginia the same year, Hughes was accompanied by George Bluejacket, a son of the noted Shawnee chief, Bluejacket, whose family seat was about three miles from Brownstown below Detroit. The young Indian had espoused the cause of religion and encouraged the missionary, as he did others later, to believe the boy would be able to wield much influence in their behalf.

The most prominent among the early Presbyterian missionaries to this section was the Rev. Joseph Badger, of Connecticut, a graduate in theology at Yale and a Revolutionary soldier, born at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, February 28, 1757. He arrived on the Sandusky in September, 1801, with Missionary Hughes, when the latter made his second western trip, young Bluejacket returning with them. Badger first came in 1800 to the Western Reserve and at once became active in church work there, preaching at all available points. He kept a diary of his daily operations, later published in his book of "Memoirs," a most valuable

historical contribution. In this book under the date of August 17, 1801, he says: "Having agreed to go with George Bluejacket, a Shawnese Indian to see his father, Monday, September 2, rode to Warren (Ohio) and from thence passed through Nelson to Mantua. When we came to the place of fording the Cuyahoga, it was dark and the water high. We, however, ventured in and found the water almost to the top of our saddles; got through safely, but very wet; went on about a mile and came to a small cabin. Lay down on the floor in our wet clothes and slept some; rode to Esquire Sheldon's in Aurora, dried our clothes, got re-



REV. JOSEPH BADGER

freshments, and next day went on to Cleveland and lodged at Benoni Carter's." (Moses Cleaveland had arrived there only five years earlier.)

The details of their journey are most interesting. On September 6th, they swam their horses across the Cuyahoga at another point, "and took the path up the lake." Rocky and Black rivers are mentioned. On the Huron River at an Indian cabin in the midst of a large cornfield, they dined on corn bread and string beans seasoned with bear's oil, and near by at an Indian village Badger preached to the Indians. On Monday, September 9, "Arrived at Whitaker's a little before dark on the Sandusky." This was the home of Mr. and Mrs. James Whitaker on their

reservation already told about and which will be dealt with later in this narrative. On the 10th they encamped on the Portage River.

"11th—Rode through the swamp to the Shawnee village on the Maumee. George, our Indian boy, took us on to the island just below the Rapids to see his aunt. Soon as we were seated we were presented with a bowl of boiled corn, buttered with bear's grease. As the corn was presented, the old woman said, 'Friends, eat; it is good; it is such as God gives Indians.' This opened the door to preach Christ to her and her two daughters, the only persons present. They listened to what I said. Returned to the west side of the river and lodged with a brother of George; had a good bed, and blankets all clean and wholesome." The island mentioned, next to Station Island, one of the largest in the Maumee, is situated between present Maumee and Perrysburg and is known as Pilliod Island.

On the following day the party rode on to "Frenchtown, River Raisin and lodged. Next day reached Captain Bluejacket's seat about three miles from Brownstown and were received by the old man and his wife with great cordiality. They lived in a comfortable cabin, well furnished with mattress, bedding and blankets; with furniture for the table, crockery, and silver spoons. Their crockery was equal to that of white people. Sabbath, went over to Malden, preached, and returned to Walker's at Brownstown. Monday rode to Detroit. Visited Rev. David Bacon and several other families. There was not one Christian to be found in all this region, except a black man. Returned to Bluejacket's and tarried with them; had much talk with several Indian people about having schools, that they might learn to read, write and number with figures."

On September 22nd, Badger and Hughes accompanied by Chief Bluejacket, his wife and his son George, returned to the Indian village on the Maumee, where the missionaries encamped in their tent, and from there went to Lower Sandusky. Here they had a "talk with the chiefs on the subject of having a minister live with them and teach their children to read &c.; was fully persuaded that this was the only way in which they could be led to any valuable improvement. At the close of our talk they expressed a wish to hear from us again." From Lower Sandusky they took their course through the woods to Hudson, and then Austinburg in Ashtabula County. For two days they went without anything to eat except a few chestnuts.

Returning East, Badger in 1802 exchanged his land in Blandford, Massachusetts, for land in the Reserve; moved his family of six children and his wife, with household goods, to Austinburg, a distance of six hundred miles. They started February 22nd in a wagon drawn by four horses, but at Schodac, New York, the snow was two and a half feet deep, in consequence of which Badger placed his wagon box on an iron-shod sled. Reaching Troy, they crossed the Hudson River on thawing ice at great peril. Reaching Paris, he had to resort again to wheels through deep mud and water. Breaking an axeltree of his wagon and no wagonmaker at hand, he repaired the break sufficiently to reach Bloomfield.

The first Monday in April, "we stored all the loading we could spare and commenced crossing Buffalo Creek in a little totling boat only wide enough to admit the wheels (of the wagon) and not as long as the wagon and tongue. We ran the wagon in (the boat) by hand and landed it safely on the opposite shore; then returned and took in one span of horses, and with much care got them over. The next span by stepping too much on one side, careened the boat so that they had to jump out, but got out of the water safely. This was the first team ever known to cross from Buffalo onto the long sandbar on the west side." Three footmen here joined Badger. Getting across the sandbar safely at Cattaraugus, he bought several bushels of corn of the Indians at one dollar per bushel and also procured of them some coarse hay. Cutting a road through the wilderness, they reached "the first cabin in Ohio on that route," and on the last Tuesday of April, 1802, reached "the first settlement on this miserable road in the Connecticut Western Reserve. We had passed in this journey more than two hundred miles through a wilderness with but here and there a log cabin where we could spread our beds upon the rough hewn floor; and from Buffalo to the Pennsylvania line, seventy miles, there being no cabin on the route, we cut our path by day and pitched our tent by night."

After establishing his family at Austinburg, Badger set about building a crude log cabin of his own and returned to Buffalo in a small open boat to bring back the remainder of his goods left there. "Having a favorable wind we ran down to Buffalo (from Ashtabula River) got our loading and returned to Elk Creek by the 3rd of July. On July 4 (1802), a heavy wind ahead. Here we had to keep Independence until the 6th." After a narrow escape from being wrecked on the lake in their little boat they

reached Conneaut Creek and then Ashtabula. He preached for three years now throughout the Western Reserve, and at the Cross Creek section in Ashtabula County upon one occasion, delivered an address to a gathering of three thousand people.

In June, 1805, Missionary Badger agreed to come to this section again and spend two months among the Indians of the River Raisin and among the Wyandots of the Sandusky. On the second of that month he rode to Painesville and then Cleveland. Here he met up with Captain Parish of Canandaigua and Mr. Knaggs of Detroit, interpreters, on their way to attend the Indian Treaty at Swan Creek (Fort Industry). They lodged at night on the sand beach of Lake Erie, near the mouth of Black River. In the morning they saw across the Lake the smoke of the great conflagration when Detroit was burned (June 11, 1805). Crossing the Vermillion and Huron rivers, the party reached the Sandusky passing over that river in a canoe swimming their horses. Here Badger met again the missionary, Rev. James Hughes. "Walked up to the Indian village three miles. Found the chiefs had arrived from the upper town (Upper Sandusky) on their way to the (Fort Industry) treaty about selling their lands. We spoke to (Chiefs) Crane and Walk-in-the-Water about a time for preaching. They appointed to attend on the morrow in the council-house. We went to Barnet's or Eunonqua's house and took dinner and then returned to Mrs. Whitaker's."

"14th (June) Saturday morning, we went up to the council-house; found the chiefs gathered, and others coming in, to the number of about sixty or seventy. Others stayed away, making a noise, sometimes coming in and going out again. One came in, looking very ugly, with his gun, and went through the house twice, singing the war whoop, while Mr. Hughes was preaching. Being engaged after Brother Hughes in another discourse, the same Indian came in again with the war club, and sang and whooped as before. The chiefs were much displeased with the conduct, and early Sabbath morning had them together and gave them sharp reproof. We both preached on the Sabbath without having any intermission or interruption. They appeared to listen with solemnity. Barnet appears with the meekness of a Christian, and is really an amiable man. After preaching, Tarhe or Crane, after consulting the other chiefs, thanked us for what we had said: he believed what we said was true; that it was God's word; and he hoped they would remember and mind it.

"16th,—Monday, found my horse was gone; got another and

rode to Honey Creek, twenty-six miles; found my horse at Spicer's, at the Mohawk village. At Honey Creek, the chief's name is Beauty; he was at the lower town (Fremont site), and heard us on the Sabbath with apparent solemnity. He requested us to call and speak to his people. Mr. Hughes preached in the morning to about twenty.

"Tuesday, we rode to the upper town (Upper Sandusky), fourteen miles. Being directed by Crane, we put up at his house and requested the people to come in; they were soon collected to the number of one hundred or upwards; Mr. Hughes preached. About the same number gathered again in the morning, directly after breakfast, to whom I preached. They heard very attentively, and after I had done, two or three spoke to the rest, and said that what I told them was true, and hoped they would mind what they had heard. They then came and took me by the hand, men, women, and children. After dinner I rode to Honey Creek. The head man proposed to go out and work among their corn, and after eating they would hear me. He appears to be a candid, sensible man. Rode to the lower town, twenty-six miles.

"21st,—Friday, went to the village and preached in Barnet's house. After sermon I talked with the Indians on the subject of civil improvements, both in learning to read, write, and number by figures, and cultivating their lands more extensively, raising cattle, and making of cloth; this was the only way in which they could increase their population and live happy."

Honey Creek, a delightful tributary of the Sandusky River, has been famous for its many springs, but few of which are still flowing. William Spicer was taken prisoner by the Indians, always lived with them thereafter, and married a Seneca woman. He was granted a reservation of a section of land on the east bank of the Sandusky, by the treaty of 1817.

Going to attend the treaty at Fort Industry, Badger rode through the swamps from Lower Sandusky to the Maumee, which he forded at the lower Rapids (Perrysburg site) and breakfasted at a French house on the left bank of the river. "Rode down to the outlet of Swan Creek to Fort Industry, where the Indian Agent, Mr. Jewett, with the commissioners of the Connecticut Fire Lands Company and the chiefs of eight different tribes of Indians, were in council about selling and buying lands. I said to Crane, head chief of the Wyandot tribe, I had a talk I wished to make to all the chiefs and warriors present of his tribe, when it was convenient for them to hear. He replied, tomorrow, if

the agent did not call on them to attend on the business of the treaty, they would hear me.

"28th,—Friday, about eleven o'clock, Crane sent Walker, the interpreter, to inform me they were ready to hear my talk. I told them the subject of my talk would be to describe to them the injurious effects ardent spirits had on them as a people. In the first place, after drinking a little, you get drunk and lose your reason, and then you quarrel and abuse one another; sometimes one friend kills another, and you often abuse your women. This is one reason why you are wasting away, and have few children that grow to be men; but when you are sober, there are no people more friendly. Secondly, when you get drunk, you often lie out in wet and cold, and contract wasting disease, which renders you unable to hunt or hoe corn, or do anything for your support. Look at that man, a son of the head chief; he is shaking all over, and can scarcely walk with a staff; this he has contracted by drinking to excess; he must soon die, although a young man. They all cried out, 'Entooh, Entooh,' true, true. Thirdly, by reason of your drinking, the traders impose upon you and cheat you, and get away your property for almost nothing. When you have been out, and made a good hunt or a good quantity of sugar, the traders will often visit you on your hunting ground with kegs of whiskey and a few goods, and get you to drinking, and get away from you all your winter's hunt for a mere trifle, and you come home and have nothing to make your families comfortable. Thus I went on, particularizing all the evils I could think of that resulted from their use of ardent spirits. The last thing I mentioned was, it would be of no use to them to have a missionary live with them, or that the government should help them; they would not listen to instruction, or make any good improvement of anything done for them. They listened with close attention to every topic proposed, and at the close of each cried out, 'Entooh, Entooh', true, true. I then proposed to them, as they were seated in a circle around me, to decide on the subject, whether they would quit the use of strong drink entirely. The head chief made a short speech to them, and told them to make up their minds what they would do. In about half an hour the old chief replied, 'Father, you have told us the truth; we thank you, Father; we have all agreed to use no more ardent spirits.' I lived with them after this about four years, and saw or knew of but one man drunk in that time. It broke up the traders so that they left them."

Badger again visited Brownstown and other Michigan points and called on Chief Walk-in-the-Water. At Detroit he had an interview with Governor Hull who "expressed a high degree of approbation that the missionary business had been attempted among the Indians, * * * would use his influence to encourage their attendance and to prevent spirituous liquors from being carried among them."

From here the missionary returned to the lower Maumee Rapids, Lower Sandusky and to Upper Sandusky again where "the head Chief Crane sent for me and laid before me several papers and maps put into his hands by Isaac Williams, a man who had resided among the Indians for many years, and now set up a claim to twenty-three miles square in the fire lands, which the Indians had sold but a few days before (Fort Industry) to the Commissioners of the Land Company. Williams wanted to do something to break the treaty and secure his claim; but Crane was determined to abide by the treaty. He sent for the other chiefs, and was in council with them until near night. He then sent for me again, and wanted me to write for him. After we had taken supper, one of the women made a candle of beeswax, and I seated myself on the floor beside a bench, and wrote as dictated by the interpreter, who was directed by the old chief. His address was to the Governor at Detroit. He gave an account of the proceedings of Williams, and requested that Williams, and Hugh Patterson, a British trader, and a man by the name of Marshall, should be removed from among them without delay; as they were constantly contriving mischief, and troubling the Indians. This speech was sent off next morning by a woman to the Governor at Detroit."

At the request of the chiefs, after writing "several sheets of speeches" to the President and to the Quakers, Badger returned home by way of Cleveland and remarks that "In this tour I was gone from home eighty days; rode six hundred and twelve miles, and preached thirty sermons, besides making several lengthy speeches to the Indians on the subject of temperance; on introducing schools among them, improving their lands, and on establishing a mission among them."

By invitation from Gen. Rufus Putnam and others of Marietta, the missionary attended the ordination of Rev. Samuel Price Robbins, who had been called to the pastorate of the Congregational Church Society at the historical settlement on the Ohio. Badger set out from Austinburg for Marietta, December 22,

1806, rode to Steubenville, crossed the Ohio River at Wheeling; recrossed to the Ohio side again at Marietta and "put up at Gen. Rufus Putnam's." At the ordination services he gave the charge to the pastor. On January 13, 1807, he started for home by a more direct route, "much of the way being difficult and dangerous," and reached his destination within a week.

In 1806 Badger severed his connection with the Connecticut Missionary Society and arranged with the Western Missionary Society, Pittsburg, to take charge of the missionary work upon the Sandusky. In February of that year he collected tools, four cows, eight barrels of flour, besides their ox teams and other material for the mission; built a boat of three tons burden on the Grand River, and early in May with his family, started for the Sandusky. With such of the material as taken on board, the occupants with great difficulty succeeded in getting the boat down the river to the lake.

The first day's sail westward along the south shore of Erie brought them "into the Cuyahoga River before night." The next day being Sunday, Badger preached in Cleveland. Monday the two young men of the party drove on the cows and oxen, and with the aid of the oars, the sailing party gained the Rocky River "in company with five Indian canoes loaded with peltry and sugar." Touching Huron River harbor and other points, they ran into Sandusky Bay and up the Sandusky, and after meeting the young men driving the cattle, "arrived at the widow Whitaker's about four o'clock in the afternoon of May 14, 1806." Whitaker, the trader, had died since Badger's last visit.

At Lower Sandusky the missionary found the Prophet, the alleged brother of Tecumseh, active in his work among the Indians as a sorcerer, "who was pointing out several of their women to be killed for witches." Through the help of Chief Crane the operations of Elskawatawa were frustrated. Quoting Badger's journal here again he says:

"At the Upper Sandusky there was a small settlement of black people, to whom I preached frequently. There were seven adults and several children, and one white man, a silversmith, whose name was Wright, married to one of the colored women. Wright afterwards left his wife. She was a sensible, industrious woman. The three women and two of the men became hopefully pious, and the two men learned to read. They raised plenty of corn, had several horses, cows and other cattle; they lived comfortably and decently; they ground their corn upon a handmill.

My labors with the Wyandot people in their villages, from Upper Sandusky to Maguago, eight miles below Detroit, were very fatiguing, [I being] often exposed to rains and heavy dews, and camping in the woods. At Lower Sandusky we often helped them with our teams to plow their ground. draw rails for fence and logs for building. I spent much time in conversation and preaching; but there was a constant and powerful opposition, both from the Indian traders and several officers of Government. But the influence I obtained over the Indians, in persuading them not to use strong drink of any kind, broke up the traders, and they went off. About this time the United States Government sent on a store of goods, under the management of Samuel Waterman; but he was soon found inadequate for the business, and Mr. Samuel Tupper was appointed in his room." Thus it will be seen that Badger was the first Protestant missionary to hold religious services among the Wyandots of Upper Sandusky. He traveled from Detroit as far south as Franklinton (Columbus). He was favorably known among all the leading chiefs and their advisors in times of emergency. He preached at Worthington and at least twice in Franklinton, and mentions the Whetstone River now the Olentangy.

After a visit to his old home with his wife in the East, Badger returned again to the Sandusky in 1808. The probability of war between America and England was agitating the Indians and the missionary by appointment gave them a talk at the council-house at Lower Sandusky before a large gathering as follows:

"I observed to them, that there was much said about war. I hoped it would not take place; it would be a great calamity both to the red and white people to have war. But I had some advice to give them in regard to the course they should take in case of a war. Now, my children, listen. You are now living very happily on the lands occupied many years by your fathers, who now lie in their graves near you; this is a good land well situated for your support, both by hunting, and raising plenty of corn. You are under no obligations to sell it; and while you keep at peace with the government they will not drive you from it. But if war should break out between the British and the United States, and you should join in the war against the States Government, you will doubtless, many of you, be killed in the contest, and lose all your land. The Americans laid your great (British) Father on his back, when they were not half so strong as they now are; and they will do it again if they make war with

them. And if you engage in the contest with them, the Congress will not only lay your red-coated Father on his back, but they will take all your lands from you. Your land is good; there are many people who want it; and they will have it, if you meddle in the war. Now, my children, my advice is, that you have nothing to do with the war, on the one side or the other. The Americans do not want your help. If the war reaches you here, go back towards the Ohio to some white settlement, where you can be safe until you can return to your own homes again. Thus you, your women and your children will be safe, and your return to your cornfields will make you happy."

Concerning his return, in another account he says:

"Arrived about sunset at the mission house, Lower Sandusky. My return was welcomed by the Indian people. One man of some distinction among them came in from the woods and appeared highly elated at my return, took me by the hand, and after saying many things, kissed first one cheek and then the other. Having no interpreter, I could only preach to the mission family and a few white persons in the neighborhood through the winter. In February, I went to Franklin, Delaware County, one hundred and thirty miles; preached one Sabbath at Worthington and two lectures in Franklin. Encamped out two nights going, and two returning; made a raft on which I crossed the Scioto, with my baggage, and swam my horse. In March I repaired our boat, and with my son and hired man set out for Cuyahoga after our household furniture, salt, &c.; were out seven days, three of them very stormy. We were six days returning; for several hours the first evening out from Cuyahoga in the most imminent danger of being swallowed up by the waves; but God was pleased to save us from the stormy wind and raging waters. This spring we added another room to our house, improved several acres on the mission farm (Lower Sandusky), and ploughed about forty for the Indians. About the twentieth of May several Indians, with the Crane (from Upper Sandusky) came to my house to tell me a number of things which the traders had told them I was to do for them, namely, that I was to dig a canal across a bottom and build a mill, and that I was to plow and sow to wheat sixty or eighty acres of their bottom land. This has been one of the strategems of the traders to persuade them that we were to do their work and they do nothing. They were told that I had seven hundred dollars at one time, and more at others, sent me to hire help to do all their work. At other times they have alarmed them

with the idea that their land would all go to pay me for what I was doing, if they permitted me to stay. I have for some time felt that we were in danger of failing in our design for the want of a faithful, competent interpreter; and in April engaged the services of Mr. Walker of Brownstown. We commenced the school about this time, which was continued about two years. During the summer had better facilities for instructing the Indians. The last Saturday in August we went to the upper town and met with Rev. Mr. Marcus and Anderson. The latter preached on the Sabbath.

"Monday, had a long talk with the Indians. They said what they had heard against the mission was from Patterson and Williams, two English traders. They appeared to be satisfied, and said they were glad to have missionary aid. We rode ten miles and encamped; reached home on Tuesday."

Badger's influence in a way was a great aid to the Americans. He was in the Sandusky in 1810, when there was great confusion among the Indians by reason of the Prophet "who was pointing out their witches and urging their destruction," and which culminated in the murder of the renowned Chief Leatherlips and two women. It was the time too when Tecumseh was exciting the Indians towards the Americans, bringing on the battle of Tippecanoe. Badger did much to alleviate the situation south of Lake Erie. (His successor at the Sandusky mission was Rev. Elisha Macurdy.) When the contest of 1812 came on, while Badger was against war, he was a true American ready to help defend his country. He was at his home in the Reserve when the conflict opened and relates the following: "About the first of October (1812) the brigade under the command of General Perkins, was called out to guard the frontier, and were marched to Huron. A scout (party) passed over the outlet of Sandusky to the peninsula; had a brush with the Indians; a number were severely wounded; others were soon taken sick. Several officers wrote very urgently that I would make them a visit. I concluded to go, calculating to be gone only two or three weeks. Found both the sick and wounded badly situated; got help, and made the block-house comfortable, and provided bunks and regular attendants. In a few days General Harrison came. Without being consulted on the subject, I was appointed chaplain to the brigade, and postmaster for the army. There soon came on a chaplain commission from the Government. I could not get away honorably, and concluded to stay. Some time in November (1812) we

were ordered to march for Sandusky. There was no one in the camp had ever been through but myself. I observed to the General that to pass through to Sandusky on the Indian path with teams would be impracticable on account of the deep mire and deep swampy ground. He replied, 'Can you find a better route?' I told him I could, mostly on dry ground. He proposed I should take a guard of about twenty men and several axemen, and mark through where I supposed the army could pass with their heavy teams. I went through in five days, marked out the road and returned; on the last day was a heavy snowstorm. I then piloted the army through in three days. The Indians were then scouting through that section of country. They killed a man about a mile below the fort (Stephenson) the day I arrived there, after marking the road.

"February 1st, 1813.—We were ordered to march to the Maumee. Soon after the building of Fort Meigs was commenced, the men began to be sick. Here Maj. E. Whittlesey was taken very sick. The General's tent was crowded; I took him into my tent and took care of him night and day. He was given up to die by all except Doctor Stonard of the Virginia line, and myself. The Doctor understood the case; I carefully administered his prescriptions, which were blessed for his recovery. Here the hand of God was manifested in saving Whittlesey, while others fell victims to disease. About the seventh of March I disposed of the post office business to other hands and returned home. The latter part of May, having some unfinished business and trunk at Fort Meigs, I started to return: but before I reached Sandusky the siege commenced, under the command of Colonel Proctor, with British and Indian forces. I tarried at Sandusky until Harrison came in, after the siege. The next day I took the mail and went through to Fort Meigs. I returned home the fore part of July, having spent more time in the murderous war than I had intended. I had said many things against the war, as being an unwise and wicked step in our Government, so that I had gained the epithet of Old Tory.

"At the time Buffalo was burned, there came intelligence that the British were on their march toward Erie, with designs to burn our shipping then building there (Perry's fleet). Before daylight on Sabbath morning, guns were fired and drums beat an alarm. After breakfast I went out to see and hear what the alarm was for. A letter was read, that came from Colonel somebody, towards Buffalo, informing that the enemy were on their

march this way. While people were gathering, a number of the great warriors collected into a ring by themselves to consult what they should do with their families. Some had loaded up, almost ready to start. They called me into the circle to ask my advice. I observed to them, 'my neighbors, where will you go? I shall not move my family. If we have got to fight on this ground, we shall want them to aid us, cook for us, bind up our wounds, and perhaps bury the dead. No, my friends, there is no going away; there ought not to be given a word of encouragement to such a movement.' By this time the Captain had his company paraded, and began to inquire, 'Who will turn out?' Not a man willing to go. After considerable effort to get volunteers, I observed to the Captain that I wanted to say a few words. 'Here we have pretty correct intelligence that the enemy is on their march for Erie; and not one of you is willing to turn out to meet them. Now, I am the Old Tory, but in one hour I will be equipped, on my horse, and on the march.' Some few turned out: we went as far as Walnut Creek, and met counter orders."

Thus it will be seen that Badger was with Perkins' Brigade when Harrison ordered General Perkins' march to the Maumee Rapids. It is therefore probable that he was with Harrison's forces when the General, after Winchester's defeat, retired from Winchester's camp on the Maumee above Wayne's battle ground to the Portage River (Pemberville site), and camped there for several days. He was at Fort Meigs in the early days of its construction, but left before the British siege beginning May 1, 1813, making a call there later with mail. The war scare he last describes, evidently took place near his home in Ashtabula County.

Missionary Badger lost the wife of his youth in 1818, and previously one son. He later married again and in the fall of 1835, at the age of seventy-eight, removed to the Maumee section permanently, locating at Maumee City. In failing health, he sought outdoor life as a panacea to his declining years. With his wife he located on a farm at the edge of Liberty Prairie in Milton Township, Wood County, and established a church in that township. His last sermon was preached at Plain Church, west of now Bowling Green, Ohio, "on the day of the fast proclaimed by President Tyler." He manifested much interest in the growing West. He donated more than one hundred valuable books from his own extensive library to establish a circulating library in Plain Township, Wood County, which was later incorporated under the name of "The Badger Library." Abandoning his farm

life, in the winter of 1844 he removed to Perrysburg, the same county, where he died April 5, 1846, in his ninetieth year, the day being the Sabbath.

If at three o'clock on an August afternoon, the shadow of Fort Meigs Monument, standing on the site once trodden by this missionary patriot, could extend to the length of half a mile, its point would rest upon the grave where repose his mortal remains 'neath the cedars of Fort Meigs Cemetery, Perrysburg. A weatherbeaten marble slab placed there by the Northwest Synod of Ohio marks the spot, and bears the inscription—

Rev. Joseph Badger
First Missionary
to the
Western Reserve.
Born in Massachusetts in 1757.
Died in Perrysburg, Ohio, 1846.

Letters written at his Milton farm and at Plain, to his children, in 1838 and later, are full of human interest. In a letter addressed to Lucius Badger, his son, he speaks of going to Perrysburg for his "pension money" (probably Revolutionary war). Spread out before him was thousands of acres of land (prairie) with free pasturage for cattle and hay for the mowing. "I could cut on my own lot as it now is, a hundred tons of good stock hay. I cut on the great opening before my house, because it is at present more convenient than to go onto my own." His industry was making butter and cheese. "Fifty were added to the Presbyterian-Congregational Church in Maumee on the last Sabbath in February (1838). I was last week at Perrysburg attending an evening meeting in the courthouse [on Front Street—Editor] with a crowded audience, some anxious and others rejoicing in hope."

His doctrine was of course of the old school. In a letter to a grandson, in closing he says: "Offers of mercy * * * if neglected a little longer will be sealed forever; to go to hell with a multitude will increase your misery."

From "Plain" he wrote: "Some days I walk up to Mr. Van Tassel's [his son-in-law] but most of the time am unable to go but a few rods from the door." This is his last known letter.

Rev. David Bacon, agent for the Connecticut Missionary Society, was in the Lower Maumee section in 1802, and hired as his interpreter William Drago. Near the mouth of the Maumee he saw a number of drunken Indians, Little Otter being the prin-

cipal chief. May 5, accompanied by Drago he proceeded from Fort Miami to Fort Industry, met the intoxicated chief and obtained his promise to assemble the tribe there. Bacon then returned to the Indian dancing ground and Little Otter and his followers met him at Swan Creek, May 14. The talk of the missionary, however, made little impression. The Indians objected that his religion was not good for them; that it would bring upon them the same tribulations suffered by the Indians who had embraced the Moravianism of Heckewelder, and that it was useless to their nomadic life. Bacon furnished them as much tobacco on the occasion as they could smoke, with the object of winning their attention; but while they listened, they seemingly did not agree with what he said. On the next day Little Otter replied to the missionary as follows: "Our white brothers when they make speeches are very lengthy; but it is not so with your red brothers. When you were talking you kept looking up, and said a great deal to us about the Great Spirit. We understand that you want us to raise plenty of corn and wheat, horses and cattle and all other things and creatures that you raise, and that you want us to live like the people that wear hats. Now brother, if you and your friends wish to make us happy, why don't you stop your people from settling so near us. If you do this we might have game enough and do very well. We know what you say about the whisky white people make is very true. Indians don't know how to make it and have nothing to make it of. If your people did not make it and bring it to us, we would not have it. Brother, since it is so, why do you not stop your people from bringing it among us? We understand that you were sent out to visit the Indians in order to find out their minds about the Great Spirit. You have seen but few Indians yet. If you were to go and see them all, it would take you two or three years. We think you had better go and talk with them all and see what they think of it, and if they will agree to have such as you among them, we will also agree. This is all the red brothers have to say to you."

Certainly, Little Otter was sober enough to tell the white man some plain truths. Mr. Bacon left the Maumee section June 2, 1802, and proceeded to Mackinaw. His nephew, who came West with him, rather as an adventure, hired a canoe and accompanied by an Indian, set out for Massachusetts by way of the lakes and the St. Lawrence.

Following the missionary work of the Catholics, the Society of the Friends and that of the Protestant missionaries, Hughes,

Badger, and Bacon in the Maumee and Sandusky region, there was established in 1822, the Presbyterian Indian Mission on the Maumee River in now Wood County. While the Rev. Joseph Badger was not connected with this project, it undoubtedly came about, as it will be seen, through his early work in this territory; and there is entwined with its establishment a pioneer love romance.

Isaac Van Tassel was of the Catskills and of the regions made famous by Washington Irving in his "Legend of Sleepy Hollow" involving Katrina Van Tassel and Ichabod Crane; and also old Dutch Baltus Van Tassel who possessed "the fat meadowlands, the rich fields of wheat, of rye, of buckwheat and Indian corn and the orchards burthened with ruddy fruit," which surrounded his "warm tenement"; and whose "vast barn might have served for a church; every window and crevice of which seemed bursting forth with the treasures of the farm."

Isaac the First as a young man braved the hardships of the then West and "pitched his tent" at Ashtabula, Ohio. He apparently had the ministry in mind and came in contact with the missionary Joseph Badger. In the religious work in which they were both engaged, young Van Tassel visited the home of Badger where he met the daughter of the household, Lucia. In a new country it was natural that an educated, comely maiden, and a fine, literary minded young man of the East, would be attracted to each other. Mutual love came soon and then marriage. Badger had evidently been impressed with Van Tassel's availability to take charge of the projected Indian mission on the Maumee and the way was now cleared for action.

While the appointment to the Maumee mission had been tendered to Van Tassel by the Western Missionary Society of Pittsburg in the summer of 1822, he deferred taking up his duties until after his marriage, when the newly wedded couple immediately went to Pittsburg, where the "Mission Family" was organized. The force consisted of Isaac Van Tassel who came as a teacher, and his wife; the Rev. Samuel Tate, temporary superintendent, and his wife and son; the Rev. Alvin Coe, teacher, and wife; Leander Sackett, as a farmer, and his wife; John McPherrin, carpenter; Mr. Straight, blacksmith; and Miss Hannah Riggs housekeeper. Others joined them later. Their journey westward was difficult of travel. Arriving at Painesville, Ohio, October 5, 1822, they embarked on a little schooner, Captain Skinner, skipper, and reached Sandusky at noon October 26.

Up the Sandusky the Rev. Mr. Badger twelve years before had charge of a mission which had been discontinued at the outbreak of the War of 1812. The party lingered here to look after any of the old mission Indians needing help. Within a day or two at sunset the little schooner sailed out of Sandusky Bay. That night on Lake Erie was a wild one and the pilgrims, while near shipwreck on one or two occasions, arrived in the upper Maumee Bay near the next noon. At two o'clock the schooner landed at Judge Hubbell's warehouse, Perrysburg, a considerable distance below Fort Meigs, and the party passed the first night in the

MAUMEE INDIAN MISSION ON THE MAUMEE RIVER AT MOUTH OF TONTOGANY CREEK IN PRESENT WOOD COUNTY

From an original painting made by Artist J. E. Dean, Toledo, from authentic records, for C. S. Van Tassel, editor of this work, and never before published.

Judge's home. The following day Dr. Horatio Conant of Maumee took most of the family to his residence across the river.

Mr. Van Tassel and the Rev. Mr. Barnes, who had joined the party, immediately went to the site of the mission and were the first on the grounds. On their return to Maumee, McPherrin, the carpenter; the Rev. "Father" Tate and the Rev. Leander Sackett, with their wives evidently as cooks, were delegated to clear the ground and erect the first building of the mission, which was a hewn log structure 16 x 60 feet. When the building was about completed Mr. Van Tassel again went to the place to make things ready for the reception of the force. His bed was a plank and his covering his overcoat. November 6th the entire family

arrived, consisting of thirteen members and some hired help. The men all turned in to build additional structures, partly of logs and partly of frame. Much of the lumber was brought from the River Raisin in Michigan, probably Frenchtown (now Monroe). The actual opening of the mission was November 26, 1822.

The main mission building was 30 x 80 feet, two stories, with a one-story annex 20 x 100 feet. A large cellar was dug and a stone wall laid under the main building and through the porch floor a trap door opened into a well. The well and cellar caused echoing, sepulchral sounds, which, after abandonment of the mission, caused many strange tales to be told of the place.

The buildings were near the mouth of Tontogany Creek, where that stream enters the Maumee River in Wood County, about midway between Grand Rapids and Perrysburg. One frame, two-story structure on the brow of the second or higher river embankment was intact until a few years ago.

The land owned consisted of the east half section and the southwest quarter section, lying on the river at the mouth of the creek, also "Station Island," in the river opposite, a mile and a half long.

A fine apple orchard was set out on the hill south of the buildings on the bluff, scions for grafting being received from the East. A number of these old apple trees are alive and bear fruit.

Educating and Christianizing the Indians of this territory was the object of the mission, as well as to teach the Red Men agriculture and to support themselves. There were at times fifty Indian children at the school and a separate room was set apart for the education of the white children of the valley. One industry which was quite a successful factor of the mission was silk worm culture, mulberry trees being indigenous on the island.

The missionary society records show as follows: "Commenced in 1822 by the Presbyterian synod of Pittsburgh, Pa. Transferred to the United Foreign Missionary society, October 25, 1825. Consolidated with the American board of commissioners for foreign missions in June, 1826." The mission closed in 1834, when, by a treaty, the aborigine bargained away his birthright in this beautiful valley, was transported from his happy hunting grounds and the scenes that he so loved to a new land and a new country beyond the Mississippi; thus removing the object of the mission. The plant remained the property of the society until 1852.

The Rev. Isaac Van Tassel was the only ordained missionary.

He and his helpmeet, Lucia, were the dominant forces at the mission and after its close they remained and conducted a boarding school for children of the new settlers. In this work they were assisted by Isaac Van Tassel (II), a nephew and college trained, and Miss Abigail Wright. April, 1839, the missionary and his wife left the station and retired to a homestead near Bowling Green, in Plain township, Wood County. The Rev. Mr. Van Tassel died March 2, 1849, from a fall from his horse while he was riding on the road from "Gilead" (Grand Rapids) to his home. His body was found by a traveler. Isaac Van Tassel II, married Louisa Martindale, a white pupil at the Mission School. They were among the prominent pioneers of the Maumee Valley.

Lucia Badger Van Tassel, who was born at Blandford, Mass., Jan. 19, 1794, survived her husband until February 5, 1874, when she died at Perrysburg and her remains rest beside her father, the Rev. Joseph Badger, in Fort Meigs Cemetery. She was one of the great characters among pioneer women of the valley. Before her marriage she was a teacher in the Western Reserve schools and compiled and published a grammar.

Let here be recorded a descriptive article on the mission, written by a pioneer woman who attended the mission school, as a white pupil of Reverend and Mrs. Van Tassel.

"The founders of the mission had an eye to the beautiful in selecting this place, as a more picturesque spot can not be found in the valley.

"The river here is about a mile wide between the high banks. It has a moderate current and an average depth of about eight feet in low water. What is known as the Station pond is about two and a half miles long between rapids. Within the pond are four islands. The missionary or large island, containing about 230 acres, extends about half way up the pond. Then comes the Aborigine island, containing about 90 acres, which extends to the rapids above, with an intervening channel about 20 rods wide. To the west of this channel lies the Martson island. To the east Graw island. About midway of the pond Tontogany Creek enters from the south, forming a deep narrow valley.

"It was here the mission buildings were located on an eminence overlooking the pond, the land descending toward the river on the west and toward the creek on the south.

"Let us now try to think the thoughts of Lucia Van Tassel when this scene burst on her view the evening of November 25, 1822, as herself and husband, with Mr. and Mrs. Elisha Martin-

dale of Perrysburg, emerged from the steep ravine that puts into the river at the foot of the pond. The oak and hickory have put on their garments of silver and gold. The pioneer leaflets, like herself, have left the place of their nativity and are hurrying and scurrying in obedience to the winds. To the right glimpses of the wooded islands may be caught through the copse between river and 'road'. Occasionally a canoe may be seen moored to the bank, while here and there others dart with dusky paddlers, hurrying to their lodges, the smoke of which may be seen curling above the tree tops on the island. To the left lies a heavy forest of oak, hickory and walnut, with nuts still adhering to the boughs, like fond children who dread to face the world alone. The tree gnomons cast their shadows far to the eastward. From just above the tree tops the sun is sending a thousand shimmering shafts that come dancing across the peaceful waters of the pond, gilding the shores with a roseate hue, known only to Indian Summer. A lone raven, like an evil harbinger high overhead, occasionally sends forth his melancholy croak as if to depress the otherwise buoyant spirits. A bevy of blackbirds, with crimson butted wings, have just hovered on a spreading oak and begun a chorus to welcome strangers before they speed southward on their annual journey.

"Such were the scenes that greeted the eye of this bride of two months, the great active field of life before her, that life fully consecrated to the service of the Master. A heart filled with kindly compassion for the aborigines and a mind with knowledge which would make her useful in any walk of life."

The young wife-teacher says in her diary: "At sunset we reached the station. The first object that engaged our attention was a poor Indian boy standing at the door and my heart thrilled with pity when I reflected on his forlorn situation. I rejoiced at the prospect of being instrumental in raising some of these poor wanderers to a state of happiness and respectability."

The mission was established more especially for the benefit of the Ottawa tribe.

Volumes have been written about the dawn of civilization in the Maumee Valley, but the subject never grows old. Monuments of granite and tablets imperishable line the highways from the source of this historic stream to where it joins Lake Erie, each marking and commemorating some scene of America's great struggle in the cause of justice and independence. And still there

are many famous places in these memorable early conflicts worthy of designation.

The hardships, sickness and even at times hunger that this intrepid band endured for humanity's sake will not be dwelt upon. They gave up the joys and comforts of happy home surroundings in an advanced and prosperous region to cast their lot in an almost unbroken wilderness, in the hope of injecting a leavening force among the aborigines of the valley, that would grow and develop, broaden and deepen and result in permanent and everlasting good. Insofar as their aid, at least to the white pioneers and their families, is concerned, the influence they exerted, the teachings they inculcated, will expand and widen and gain momentum as long as the world stands.

They gave their all.

They have done what they could.

So while we are honoring the heroes of the early wars and marking the sites of historic battlefields of this valley let us not forget the champions of peace, enlightenment and love, the forerunners of Christianity and good will to all mankind.

A few remaining trees of the century old apple orchard, foundation stones of the old buildings, and a granite base bearing a properly inscribed tablet, are all that tell the story of this humanitarian wilderness enterprise.

In Oak Grove Cemetery, Bowling Green, Ohio, appropriate monuments mark the resting place of Isaac Van Tassel, the mission superintendent, and Isaac Van Tassel (II), his nephew and mission teacher.

The Baptist Church Society made some effort on behalf of the Indians of the Upper Maumee. The Board of Managers of the Baptist Missionary Convention of the United States, October 17, 1817, appointed Rev. Isaac McCoy as missionary to the above territory and he arrived in his new field the following November. But by reason of the Catholic influence, McCoy turned his attention more to the white settlers. In 1818 he wrote that "we set out for the mission premises a distance from our former residence [not given] of ninety miles. My commission from the Board had ere this expired. With my wife and seven small children I went into the wilderness to seek an opportunity of preaching Christ to the Indians without a promise of patronage from any one, looking to Heaven for help and trusting that God would dispose the hearts of some, we know not whom, to give my family bread, while I should give myself wholly to the service of the

heathen." One Colby Martin was installed as a teacher, but without success. As soon as the parents of the Indian children learned that supplies and liquor were not a part of the program, their children were withdrawn. Closing the school and leaving his family, McCoy with Martin entered eastern Indiana for new fields among the Shawnees and Delawares. They called upon John Johnston at the United States Agency at Piqua, on their way to Fort Wayne and Vincennes. They suffered much from cold and exposure and finally by the advice of Doctor William Turner, the Indian Agent at Fort Wayne, the Baptist Mission in the spring of 1820 was moved to that point. In the removal from the Wabash, McCoy with his wife and children traveled on horseback, while some of the mission helpers drove through a small herd of cattle and a drove of hogs. A boat loaded with household goods, food and supplies, and five Indian children was poled up the river from Fort Harrison by four Americans. Much danger attended the journey, but on arriving at Fort Wayne, the missionaries were allowed the use of the fort buildings abandoned by the military the year previous, together with some two acres of cultivated land for agriculture.

Fort Wayne was pictured by McCoy as a "little village of traders and of persons in the employ of the Government as interpreters, smiths, etc., some of whom were French of Canadian and Indian descent. The nearest settlements of white people were in the state of Ohio and nearly one hundred miles distant. By our neighbors we were treated with great kindness and respect, which created affectionate recollections which years of separation have not obliterated. I preached to them in my own house every Sabbath." At the opening of the Fort Wayne Mission, May 29, 1820, McCoy taught ten English speaking American pupils, six French children, eight Indians and one negro. A teacher was engaged also from Ohio. An Indian woman engaged for domestic work "afforded little help." McCoy's wife undertook to care for some twenty persons in her home and besides teach the neighboring Indian women the art of knitting and domestic science. "We had to work hard with our own hands," further says McCoy. "The Indian children were clothed, fed and lodged at the expense of the Mission; they fed at the same table with my own family. This course was necessary in order to silence the jealousies of the Indians generally, and this course we ever afterwards pursued."

Being converted by the preaching of Missionary McCoy, the wife of Doctor Turner, Indian Agent, and her sister, a Mrs.

Hackley, were both baptized by immersion in the brink of the Maumee River and near the fort gate. Visits were made into the Ohio settlements and into Kentucky, to raise funds to assist in aiding the work. Horatio G. Phillips of Dayton is especially mentioned as a contributor of funds. The first year's report, showed, "forty-two pupils in the school—Miamis, Pottawatomies, Shawanees and Indians from New York." As was the case with other religious societies for such work, the Baptist authorities were slow in providing funds for the project. William A. Trimble, then Senator from Ohio, while on his way to Chicago in August, 1821, on Indian affairs, visited the mission and a favorable report brought funds from the United States Indian budget. In the winter of 1822 and 1823, the mission was removed to a tract of land in Michigan donated by the Pottawatomies, near the St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan, about one hundred miles northwest of Fort Wayne. The stations was named Carey, in honor of the noted Baptist Missionary to China.

It has already been told from the journal of the Rev. Joseph Badger, of his missionary work before 1810, among the Wyandots of the Upper Sandusky section. The later successful efforts to place the Wyandots on a more civilized basis came through the missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Society, which for a number of years maintained a mission at Upper Sandusky. The germ of the mission developed through the activity of John Stewart, an illiterate mulatto, who had also in his veins a strain of Indian blood. But before following this narrative it is proper here to give the contents of a letter written August 25, 1845, by Rev. Mr. Badger to John Frazier, Esq., of Cincinnati, while Badger lived at Plain, Wood County, concerning the history of the Wyandot or Huron tribe. In this, Badger says:

"Having been a resident missionary with the Wyandot Indians before the late war (1812), and obtained the confidence of their chiefs in a familiar conversation with them, and having a good interpreter, I requested them to give me a history of their ancestors as far back as they could. They began by giving a particular account of the country formerly owned by their ancestors. It was the north side of the river St. Lawrence, down to Coon Lake, and thence up the Utiwas. Their name for it was Cu-nonetot-tia. This name I heard applied to them, but knew not what it meant. The Senecas owned the opposite side of the river and the island on which Montreal now stands. They were both large

tribes, consisting of many thousands. They were blood relations, and I found at this time they claimed each other as cousins.

"A war originated between the two tribes in this way. A man of the Wyandots wanted a certain woman for his wife; but she objected, and said he was no warrior; he had never taken any scalps. To accomplish his object, he raised a small war party, and in their scout they fell upon a party of Seneca hunters, and killed and scalped a number of them. This procedure started a war between the nations, that lasted more than a century, which was fully a hundred winters before the French came to Quebec. They owned they were the first instigators in the war, and were generally beaten in the contest. Both tribes were greatly wasted in the war. They often made peace; but the first opportunity that the Senecas could get an advantage against them, they would destroy all they could, men, women and children. The Wyandots, finding they were in danger of being exterminated, concluded to leave their country, and go far to the West. With their canoes the whole nation made their escape to the upper lakes, and settled in the vicinity of Green Bay, in several villages, but, after a few years, the Senecas made up a war party and followed them to their new settlements, fell on one of their villages, killed a number and returned. Through this long period they had no instruments of war but bows, arrows, and the war club.

"Soon after this the French came to Quebec, and began trading with Indians, and supplied them with fire-arms and utensils of various kinds. The Senecas having got supplied with guns, and learned the use of them, made out a second war party against the Wyandots—came upon them in the night, fired into their huts and scared them exceedingly; they thought at first it was thunder and lightning. They did not succeed so well as they intended. After a few years they made out a third party, and fell upon one of the Wyandot villages and took them nearly all; but it so happened at this time that nearly all the young men had gone to war with the Fox tribe, living on the Mississippi.

"Those few that escaped the massacre by the Senecas, agreed to give up and go back with them and become one people, but requested of the Senecas to have two days to collect what they had and make ready their canoes, and join them on the morning of the third day at a certain point, where they had gone to wait for them and hold a great dance through the night. The Wyandots sent directly to the other two villages which the Senecas had not disturbed, and got all their old men and women, and such as could

fight, to consult on what measures to take. They came to the resolution to equip themselves in the best manner they could, and go down in perfect stillness so near the enemy as to hear them. They found them engaged in a dance, and feasting on two Wyandot men they had killed and roasted, as they said, for their beef; and as they danced they shouted their victory and told how good their Wyandot beef was. They continued their dance until the latter part of the night, and being pretty tired they all laid down and soon fell into a sound sleep.

"A little before day the Wyandot party fell on them and cut them all off; not one was left to carry back the tidings. This ended the war for a great number of years. Soon after this the Wyandots got guns from the French traders and began to grow formidable. The Indians, who owned the country where they had resided for a long time, proposed to them to go back to their own country. They agreed to return, and having prepared themselves as a war party, they returned, came down to where Detroit now stands, and agreed to settle in two villages, one at the place above mentioned, and the other where the British fort, Malden, now stands.

"But previously to making any settlement, they sent out in canoes the best war party they could make, to go down the lake some distance to see if there was an enemy on that side of the water. They went down to Long Point, landed, and sent three men across to see if they could make any discovery. They found a party of Senecas bending their course around the Point, and returned with the intelligence to their party. The head chief ordered his men in each canoe to strike fire, and offer some of their tobacco to the Great Spirit, and prepare for action. The chief had his son, a small boy, with him; he covered the boy in the bottom of his canoe. He determined to fight his enemy on the water. They put out into the open lake; the Senecas came on. Both parties took the best advantage they could, and fought with a determination to conquer or sink in the lake. At length the Wyandots saw the last man fall in the Seneca party; but they had lost a great proportion of their own men, and were so wounded and cut to pieces that they could take no advantage of the victory but only to gain the shore as soon as possible, and leave the enemy's canoes to float or sink among the waves. Thus ended the long war between the two tribes from that day to this."

Returning to the work of Stewart the mulatto, it is stated that he was born free in Virginia and his parents "who claimed In-

dian blood coursed their veins," moved to Tennessee, where the son John soon followed them. Then, on the boy's way north he was robbed of his belongings, and in his wanderings became addicted to strong drink. One evening while passing along the street at Marietta he heard singing. Entering the building, he found that a prayer meeting was being held, and became deeply impressed. Later he was persuaded to attend a camp-meeting in progress near Marietta, and under the influence of Rev. Marcus Lindsay was converted. "Led by an unseen force" he traveled to the Moravian settlement on the Tuscarawas, where he was told of the Indians on the Upper Sandusky reservation. Finally reaching the Sandusky in 1816, he at once called upon the Indian Subagent William Walker, who at first suspected Stewart of being a runaway slave. But hearing his simple story, both Walker and his good wife who was a woman of some education, encouraged him to take up the work of preaching to the Wyandots. As Mrs. Walker herself was a half Wyandot, her influence was strong at the reservation and she was a great aid to Stewart. He engaged as his interpreter another colored man named Jonathan Pointer, a prisoner of the tribe. Stewart's only hearers at his first meeting were two old Indians, Big Tree and Mary. Continuing in his work, his audience increased in numbers at each service. Among his first converts were Pointer, the interpreter Mrs. Walker and her sons, and the chiefs John Hicks, Between-the-Logs, Mononcue and Scateash, and later many more. When Stewart began his work he was not a licensed minister, but was later duly ordained. He had a strong, musical voice and his singing was a great aid in gaining the approval of the Indians. He continued in his work, though in later years less actively, until his death in 1823. His remains were buried in the graveyard of the Mission church. In his later years he lived on a tract of sixty acres of land adjoining the reservation, purchased by funds raised through the efforts of Bishop McKendree of the M. E. Church.

The circumstances attendant upon Stewart's ordination are told as follows: The traders thereabouts, finding that he had been performing the rites of baptism and marriage with only an exhorter's license, branded him as an imposter. Therefore, in the winter of 1818 while on a visit to some Indians at Solomon's Town on the Great Miami River, he became acquainted with a Robert Armstrong and with some Methodist families residing near Bellefontaine, Ohio. Being informed that the quarterly

OLD INDIAN MISSION CHURCH, BUILT IN 1824, UPPER SANDUSKY

Now restored.

meeting of the Bellefontaine Circuit would soon be held at Urbana, he proceeded to attend, accompanied by some Indians. Here, through the recommendation of several of his converted chiefs and some whites, he was issued his ministerial license. Rev. Moses Crume was the presiding elder, and Bishop George was also present.

The Wyandot Mission was taken over by the Methodist Episcopal Church at the annual conference held in Cincinnati, August 7, 1819. The Rev. James B. Finley was appointed presiding elder that year of the Lebanon district, which included the mission territory. John Stewart was appointed missionary to the Wyandots, with Rev. James Montgomery, assistant. Rev. James B. Finley, Robert W. Finley and Russell Bigelow were selected as a committee of aids. The first quarterly meeting for the mission was held in the cabin of Ebenezer Zane, near Zanesfield, Logan County; sixty Indians were present.

When Rev. Mr. Finley took charge of the mission in 1821, he had constructed a log mission building and a schoolhouse. "In this mission house the Indian maidens were taught to cook, bake and sew, while outside, in the field, at anvil and at bench, the young men learned the trades of civilization." With increasing numbers in attendance, in 1824 from government funds, a new structure was built of blue limestone. "And here within the hallowed precincts of this modest meeting-house, for nearly twenty years the Indians met to worship God and within the shades of its sacred walls they buried their dead."

The story of the departure of the Wyandots for the West in 1843 has already been told. When they left, the church fell into decay. In 1888, and 1889, it was restored by the General Conference. During the session of Conference at Upper Sandusky in September, 1889, appropriate ceremonies commemorated the establishment of the mission and its history following. Rev. Adam C. Barnes presided upon the occasion, and addresses were delivered by the Hon. C. C. Hare, Bishop John F. Hursh, Gen. W. H. Gibson, the Rev. L. A. Belt. The Rev. E. C. Gavitt and Rev. R. B. Pope also took part in the services, while the Rev. N. B. C. Love delivered an historical discourse. The famous Mother Solomon sang a religious song in the Wyandot tongue.

When Charles Dickens, English novelist, on his visit to America passed through Upper Sandusky from Cincinnati to Sandusky City and Buffalo, he wrote in his "American Notes" as follows:

"It is a settlement of the Wyandot Aborigines who inhabit

this place. Among the company at breakfast was a mild old gentleman (Col. John Johnston) who had been for many years employed by the United States Government in conducting negotiations with the Aborigines, and who had just concluded a treaty with these people by which they bound themselves, in consideration of a certain annual sum, to remove next year to some land provided for them west of the Mississippi. He gave me a moving account of their strong attachment to the familiar scenes of their infancy, and in particular to the burial-places of their kindred; and of their great reluctance to leave them. He had witnessed many such removals and always with pain, though he knew that they departed for their own good. The question whether this tribe should go or stay, had been discussed among them a day or two before in a hut erected for the purpose, the logs of which still lay upon the ground before the inn. When the speaking was done the ayes and noes were ranged on opposite sides, and every male adult votes in his turn. The moment the result was known, the minority (a large one) cheerfully yielded to the rest, and withdrew all kind of opposition. We met some of these poor Aborigines afterwards, riding on shaggy ponies. They were so like the meaner sort of gypsies, that if I could have seen any of them in England I should have concluded as a matter of course, that they belonged to that wandering and restless people."

CHAPTER XLIX

EVOLUTION OF NORTHWESTERN OHIO COUNTIES

CIVIL DIVISIONS FROM TERRITORIAL DAYS DOWN TO THE PRESENT—MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY VALLEYS UNDER MANY JURISDICTIONS.

The establishment of the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787, the formation of Ohio as a state under its first constitution, the establishment of civil state government by the election of a governor, a legislative body and the judiciary, and the admission of Ohio into the Union, March 1, 1803, has already been related in the unfolding of this story.

The Maumee and Sandusky valleys in the course of their development have been under many jurisdictions, too complicated to be given here in detail. Originally, as has been seen, there was contention as to the right of possession of the new continent between Spain, France and England, and after a long series of wars, England remained in sole possession and this region became British Territory. The fact will be merely mentioned, that now Ohio and consequently the Maumee and Sandusky regions, were a part of the vast "Virginia Claims," under her charter of 1609 from the British crown. The claims of other Colonies, notably that of Connecticut, overlapped the Virginia charter rights, but had no real standing. Therefore until Virginia surrendered her claims to the general government in 1784, of her western territory, this section belonged to the Virginia Claims, and by the act of her Assembly in 1734, when Orange County was established, it was in Orange County, Virginia, and later included in other established Virginia counties. Again when George Rogers Clark captured Vincennes and wrested the West from the British for Virginia, when the County of Illinois was formed, in October, 1778, with Kaskaskia on the Mississippi as the main seat of justice, now Ohio and the Maumee and Sandusky valleys were in Illinois County. Following the American Revolution, out of the great then West came the formation of the Northwest Territory, embracing what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. This vast territory functioned under one head, a territorial governor. Under the Territorial Ordi-

nance, Governor St. Clair was authorized to form counties for the better regulation of the more populous sections; and within certain boundaries, by proclamation, counties were established years before any states were formed. The first territorial county was Washington, established July 27, 1788. It comprised all that part of now Ohio east of the Scioto River and the Tuscarawas and the Cuyahoga north to Lake Erie and east to the line of Pennsylvania. A comparatively straight line drawn from the head of the Scioto to the Tuscarawas was the northern boundary of the western portion of the county. The last revision of the county boundaries of Ohio was made March 15, 1888, 100 years later, when the boundary line between Auglaize and Logan counties was changed or straightened. This century of the evolution of Ohio counties until the last of the eighty-eight in number was formed, makes an interesting story.

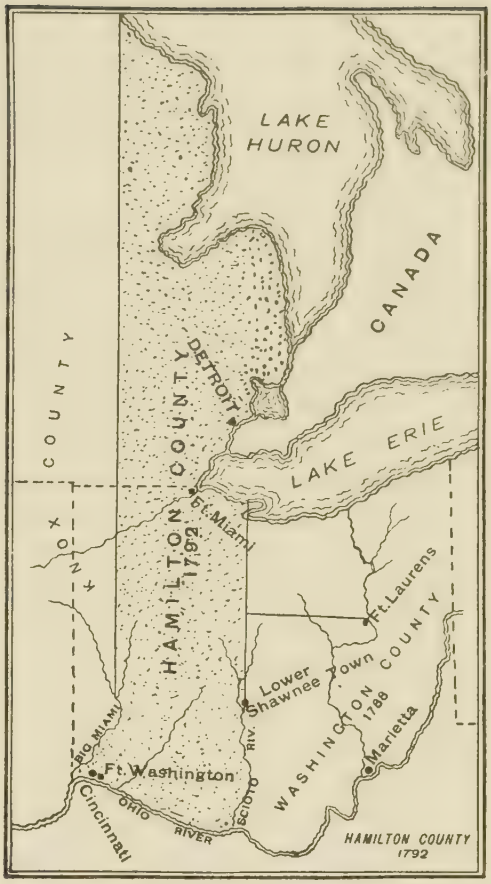
So far as Northwestern Ohio is concerned, after the Treaty at Greenville 1795 until the treaty of 1817, this territory north of the Greenville treaty line, was in fact Indian lands. However, June 20, 1790, Governor St. Clair set off the County of Knox, most of which was in now the State of Indiana; but a strip thereof extended over the western boundary of now Ohio along the entire length of the state. Hamilton County was established by St. Clair in 1790, and February 11, 1792, the county was enlarged until it took in all of now Ohio, between the east line of then Knox County and a line on the east running from the Ohio River on the line of the Scioto River to Lake Erie. It also took in the eastern portion of now Michigan. Therefore, in the civil divisions after the Northwest Territory was formed, Northwestern Ohio east to and including most of now Seneca, Sandusky and Wyandot was in Hamilton County—except the strip included in the western tier of counties which would then have been in Knox County (Indiana). The boundary lines of then Hamilton County read as follows: "Beginning at the confluence of the Scioto with the Ohio River, and up the Scioto with the course thereof to the upper part of the lower Shawnee town upon said river; thence by and with a line drawn due north to the territorial boundary line (Canada) and westerly along said boundary line to the east boundary of the County of Knox and down along the said eastern boundary of Knox County by a due south line to the standing stone forks of the Great Miami River, and with the said Miami to its confluence of the Ohio River; thence up the Ohio River to the place of beginning." While Northwestern Ohio was within

the civil jurisdiction of Hamilton and Knox counties, neither the territorial nor county laws were in fact operative here for two reasons: There was practically no settlement to operate in and the British still held Fort Miami, Detroit and other posts. Imagine a civil officer from Cincinnati or Vincennes coming to Northwestern Ohio to obtain service on a law offender, criminal or civil.

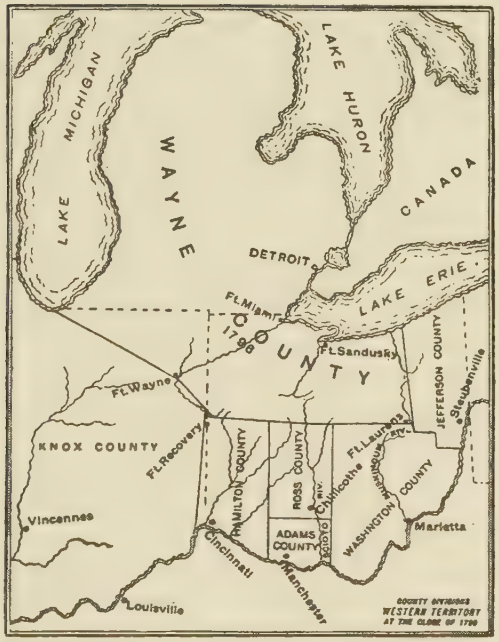
As for Detroit, after the American Revolution, that place and what is now the State of Michigan, for eight years was also under the jurisdiction of British laws and the Canadian courts. In July, 1788, five years after the American-British treaty of peace at Paris, and after the settlement of Marietta, the Canadian government established the Judicial District of Hesse, which included within its jurisdiction Detroit and all adjoining regions. On December 26, 1791, Detroit and now Michigan were incorporated or included as a part of Upper Canada. On July 16, 1792, the Canadian County of Kent was established which included territory on both sides of the Detroit River and all of now Michigan. The seat of government for Upper Canada was at Newark at the mouth of Niagara River. In August, 1792, two delegates were elected to represent Detroit in the Canadian Legislature which met the following September. It was in January, 1796, that the Canadian Court of General Quarter Sessions held its last session in Detroit. Consequently as the Ordinance of 1787, and the establishment of Hamilton County extended the jurisdiction of the United States over Detroit and the Michigan territory, at the same time that British-Canadian authority was imposed by the Canadian Act, for years Detroit and the territory it controlled, was under the jurisdiction of two opposing and distinct governments—the United States and the British. The United States laws came into actual force at Detroit and in the Maumee and Sandusky regions, in July, 1796, after the evacuation by the British of Fort Miami on the lower Maumee and Detroit and other posts. This was nine years after the establishment of the Northwest Territory and the appointment of a governor and the judges of the court.

Even after the removal of the British over the Detroit River into Canada in 1796, they continued to ignore the line of demarcation of United States Territory, and crossed over to perform their official British acts. Besides the attempt to continue their former influence over the Indians in now United States territory, in October, 1800, a British officer crossed over to Detroit, broke

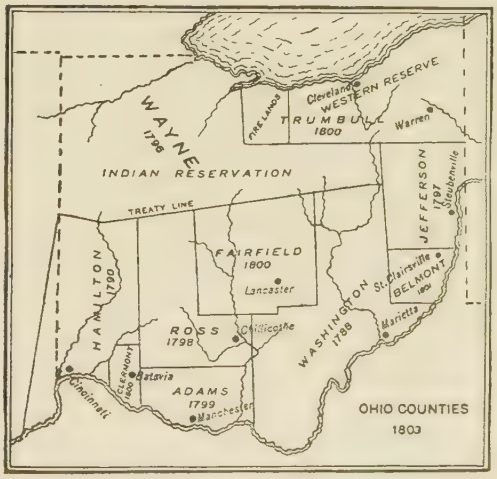
MAP SHOWING THE ORIGINAL WAYNE COUNTY



HAMILTON COUNTY AFTER BEING ENLARGED



HOW OHIO COUNTIES APPEARED AT THE CLOSE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



HOW OHIO APPEARED WHEN THE STATE WAS FORMED

into a private residence and arrested one Francis Poquette, who later died of the injuries he received by the outrage. But the stabilization of American governmental affairs soon stopped such aggressions.

After the Americans obtained possession of Detroit, there was a wide range of country on the north that was outside of any of the organized counties. Governor St. Clair of the Northwest Territory arrived at Detroit, September 5, 1796. Secretary Winthrop Sargent had preceded him several months and on August 15, as Catlin says, "without any authority at all," had organized the County of Wayne, honoring the name of General Wayne by proclaiming that title "over a vast area of the new Territory." As Catlin in his "Story of Detroit" further says: "This precipitate action made General St. Clair very peevish, he having been in Pittsburg at the time, and having plans and titles of his own in view. When he arrived at Detroit he reprimanded Sargent and asked the citizens what name they would prefer for the district, but the unanimous response was 'Wayne County' and the Governor bowed to the popular will." The county boundaries were as follows:

"Beginning at the mouth of the Cuyahoga River, upon Lake Erie, with said river to the portage, between it and the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum; down said branch to the forks, at the carrying place above Fort Laurens; by a west line to the eastern boundary of Hamilton County (which is a due north line from the Lower Shawnese Town upon the Scioto River); by a line west-northerly to the southern part of the portage, between the Miamis of the Ohio and the St. Mary's River; by a line also west-northerly to the south-western part of the portage, between the Wabash and the Miamis of Lake Erie (Maumee), where Fort Wayne now stands; by a line west-northerly to the most southern part of Lake Michigan; along the western shores of the same, to the northwest part thereof (including the lands upon the streams emptying into the said lake); by a north line to the territorial boundary in Lake Superior; with the said boundary through Lakes Huron, Sinclair, and Erie, to the mouth of the Cuyahoga, the place of beginning."

There is some error in the description of the south line, not necessary to be discussed here. As this county finally became Wayne County, Michigan, it should not be confused with Wayne County, Ohio. This new county cut off a large northern portion of Hamilton, and Knox County (Indiana). It was after the

establishment of Wayne County that Judge Jacob Burnet and other noted jurists used to travel from Cincinnati to Detroit, through the wilderness of now Northwestern Ohio, to attend court sessions, as heretofore related.

The forming of the foregoing territorial counties which concerns Northwestern Ohio, brings the matter down to the division of the Northwest Territory in 1800, and then the organization of Ohio as a state in 1802 and its admission into the Union March 1, 1803.

The difficulties attendant upon maintaining and enforcing the territorial laws in sections so remote from the seat of government and the officials became so pronounced, that the subject came up for investigation by Congress. As already told in Chapter 37, under the head of "Progress of Events in the Northwest," on March 3, 1800, a committee reported that "in the three western counties of the Northwest Territory there had been but one court having cognizance of crimes in five years; and the immunity which offenders experienced, attracts as to an asylum the most vile and abandoned criminals, and at the same time deters useful and virtuous persons from making settlements in such society," consequently the Territory of Indiana was established on July 4, 1800. All east of the Indiana territorial line was Ohio territory. (See Chapter 37 for details.) The Ordinance of 1787, applied to both the Ohio and Indiana territories as before, William Henry Harrison being appointed governor of Indiana Territory and St. Clair still having jurisdiction of Ohio Territory. As also earlier stated, this reduced the size of Wayne County about one-half.

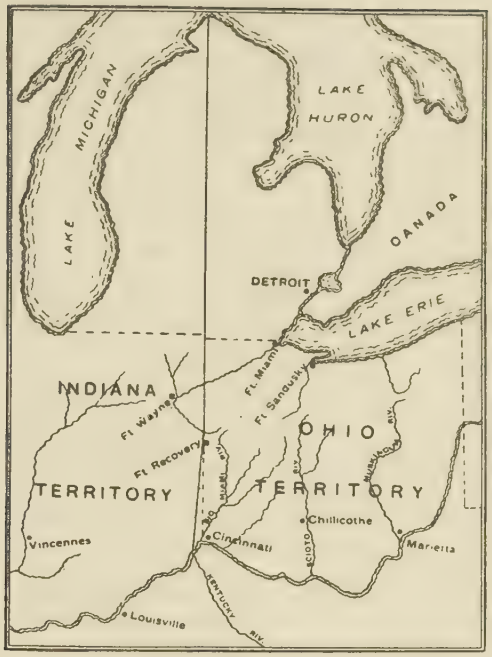
May 30, 1800, when the Connecticut Assembly transferred all her rights of jurisdiction over the Reserve to the United States, this action placed all of Ohio Territory on a uniform basis. Later in the same year Trumbull County was organized, its western limits extending to the middle of Sandusky Bay, about five miles west of Sandusky City, and included all the Western Reserve. This further curtailed Wayne County on the east, which had run to the Cuyahoga River. The county divisions pertaining to Ohio, in 1802 when the state was formed were as shown on the accompanying map. (See map "Ohio Counties 1802.") With the formation of Ohio as a state, that part of Wayne County within its borders passed to the state; however, until the Indian treaty of 1817, all Northwestern Ohio as shown on the map as "Indian Reservation," except the small reservations provided for in the Greenville Treaty, was not subject to the civil laws of Ohio.

After the admission of Ohio as a state and after the formation of Franklin County, April 30, 1803, and Green and Montgomery counties May 1, the same year, Northwestern Ohio was a part of Montgomery, Green and Franklin counties, as shown by map of 1803. Then with the establishment of Champaign County, March 1, 1805, a part of Northwestern Ohio was in that county as shown by the map of 1806. After the formation of Delaware County, April 1, 1808, Franklin County was "off the map" so far as Northwestern Ohio was concerned and the situation after later additions was as set forth by the map of 1810.

With Miami County taken from Montgomery, January 7, 1812, and Darke County formed but unorganized, at the same time, in 1814, the divisions affecting Northwestern Ohio were as shown on the map of that date. Darke County was organized March 1, 1817.

With Huron organized and extended April 1, 1815, for judicial purposes, the map of 1816 shows the situation, then.

It was at the treaty held at the "Foot of the Rapids of the Miami" (site of now Maumee) September 29, 1817, and heretofore set forth, that the Indians ceded their claims to the Indian Reservations in Northwestern Ohio, and that territory came under the civil jurisdiction of the State of Ohio, except about 300,000 acres and nine reservations. Almost immediately by reason of the influx of settlers, steps were taken to organize this long held reservation into counties. By an act of the Ohio Legislature passed February 12, 1820, to take effect April 1, 1820, it was divided into fourteen counties, only two of which, Wood and Sandusky, were immediately organized. Among the other counties formed was Van Wert, to be attached for civil purposes to Darke County; Mercer County, to be attached to Darke; Putnam County, attached to Wood County; Allen County, to be attached to Shelby County; Hancock, attached to Wood County; Hardin, attached to Logan County; Crawford County, attached to Delaware County; Marion County, to be attached to Delaware; Seneca County, to be attached to Sandusky; Henry County, attached to Wood County; Paulding County, to be attached to Wood County; Williams County to be attached to Wood County. The meaning of "attached" is that for civil purposes, the formed, but unorganized counties were under the jurisdiction of the organized counties mentioned, until they were regularly organized and had county officials and a seat of government of their own. The date of the organization of these various counties with some changes is as follows:



MAP SHOWING DIVISION OF NORTHWEST TERRITORY

OHIO COUNTY BOUNDARY LINES IN 1812

OHIO COUNTY BOUNDARY LINES IN 1820

Mercer County, organized January 2, 1824, Van Wert attached for judicial purposes and detached from Darke County; Williams, February 2, 1824, Paulding, Henry, and Putnam attached for judicial purposes and detached from Wood; Seneca, April 1, 1824, the northern tier of sections in Crawford County being attached for judicial purposes until Crawford organized; Crawford County, organized April 1, 1826; Hancock, organized January 21, 1828, to take effect March 1; February 3, 1826, a part of Shelby County attached to Mercer County; March 1, 1828, Allen County detached from Shelby and attached to Mercer County; Allen County organized February 9, 1831, to take effect March 1; Hardin County organized January 19, 1833, effective March 1; Putnam County organized January 3, 1834; Henry County organized December 26, 1834, immediately effective, as was Putnam.

Lucas County was established June 20, 1835, with the following lines:

"All from Sandusky, Wood and Henry, beginning at a point on Lake Erie where line, commonly called Fulton's Line, intersects same; west to Maumee River; southwesterly with river to point where township line between T. 6 and 7, if drawn and continued across the twelve-mile-square reservation, would intersect same; west to county line between Henry and Williams; north to northern boundary line of State, called Harris's Line; east to Lake Erie; to place of beginning.

The dotted line on map of 1839, shows part of the original Lucas line as it existed before the change of March 14, 1836. The county taken from Wood County was organized March 14, 1836, with the following boundaries:

Beginning at a point in Lake Erie where Fulton's Line intersects same; west to Maumee River; southwesterly to east line of Henry; north to northeast corner of T. 6, R. 8; west to east line of Williams; north to north boundary of state—Harris's Line; easterly to Lake Erie; due east till line drawn due north from beginning will intersect.

Van Wert County was organized March 18, 1837, effective immediately; Erie County was organized March 16, 1838; Paulding organized March 18, 1839. Ottawa County was organized March 6, 1840, with the following boundaries:

North part of Sandusky and Erie and eastern part of Lucas, beginning at a point two miles north of southeast corner of T. 16, called Bay Township, Sandusky County; west on section lines to

western line of said county; north to Lucas County line; east 6 miles; north till it intersects Michigan line; with said line until it intersects the line between the British and American Governments in Lake Erie; down lake with said line, so that a line to mouth of Sandusky Bay will include Cunningham's Island; up the bay to place of beginning.

Wyandot County was organized February 3, 1845, with boundaries as follows:

All from Crawford, Marion, Hardin and Hancock, beginning at the southeast corner of Section 10, T. 4, south, R. 15, of public survey of lands in Marion; north on sectional lines through Crawford, to north line thereof, between Sections 2 and 3, T. 1, south, R. 15, which line shall form east boundary of Wyandot and west line of Crawford; west on base line to northwest corner of Section 2, T. 1, south, R. 12, in Hancock; south on sectional line to northeast corner of Section 22 in said township and range; west on section line to northwest corner of Section 22; south on sectional line to south line of said township as originally surveyed, between Sections 33 and 34; west on said township line to northwest corner of Section 5, T. 2, south, R. 12; south on sectional line through said T. 2 to south line thereof, at northwest corner of Section 5, T. 3, south, R. 12, in Hardin; east to northeast corner of said Section 5; south on sectional line to southwest corner of Section 9, T. 4, south, R. 12; east to northwest corner of Section 13 in township and range last aforesaid; south to southwest corner of Section 13; east on sectional line to southeast corner of Section 13, T. 4, north to northeast corner of Section 13 aforesaid; east on sectional line to place of beginning.

Defiance County was organized April 7, 1845, with lines as follows:

All from Williams, Henry and Paulding, beginning on Indiana state line, where line between T. 5 and 6, north, in Williams County, intersects said state line; east on township line to east line of R. 5; south on range line to north line of Putnam; west on Putnam County line to east line of Paulding; north to point where section line between Sections 13 and 24, T. 3, north, R. 4, east, intersects said county line; west to west line of said township; north to present south line of Williams; west to Indiana state line; north to place of beginning.

March 6, 1840, a part of Huron was taken into Erie County. March 23, 1840, a part of Clay township, Ottawa County, was attached to Sandusky County. February 3, 1845, Crawford

County was added to from Richland and Marion counties. February 14, 1848, Auglaize County was organized, taken from Allen and Mercer counties. April 1, 1850, Fulton County was organized as follows:

All from Lucas, Henry and Williams, beginning on state line between Ohio and Michigan at northeast corner of T. 9, south, of R. 4, east of Michigan meridian; south on township line to southeast corner of T. 10, south, of R. 4, east, on Fulton Line; west on said Fulton Line to northeast corner of T. 8, north, of R. 8, east; south to southeast corner of Section 12, in T. 6, north, of R. 8, east; west on section lines to southwest corner of Section 7, in T. 6, R. 5, east, on county line between counties of Henry and Williams; north on said line to southeast corner of T. 7, north, of R. 4, east; west on said township line to southwest corner of Section 35, in T. 7, north, of R. 4, east; north on section lines to Fulton line; west on said line to southwest corner of Section 11, in T. 10, south, of R. 1, west of Michigan meridian; north on section lines to said state line; easterly with state line to place of beginning. Act passed February 28, 1850.

February 14, 1848, the following territory was attached to Allen County from Putnam, Van Wert and Mercer counties with other changes:

Township 2, south, of R. 7, and 8, east; the south half of T. 2, south, of R. 5 and 6, east, and Sections 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36, in T. 1, south, of R. 8, east, in Putnam; the east half of T. 3, south, of R. 4, east, in Van Wert, and the northeast quarter of T. 4, south, of R. 4, east, in Mercer, are attached to Allen County. And east half of T. 1, south, of R. 4, east, in Van Wert, attached to Putnam.

The northwest quarter of T 4, south, of R. 4, east, in Mercer, attached to Van Wert.

Fractional T. 15, R. 1 and 2, east, and fractional T. 12 and 13, of R. 3 and 4, east, in Darke, are attached to Mercer.

On April 1, 1850, Lucas County was added to from Ottawa County by the following act passed February 28, previous: For purpose of restoring to Lucas its constitutional amount of territory the eastern limits of said county be extended, beginning on Fulton line at the southeast corner of T. 10, south, of R. 9, east; east on said line to Lake Erie; most direct line in northeast direction to line between American and British Governments in Lake Erie; westerly on said line to dividing line between states of Ohio and Michigan; on said line to northerly cape of the Maumee Bay.

Concerning this description, Doctor Randolph Chandler Downs of Marietta College, from whose article, "Evolution of Ohio County Boundaries," much of this chapter is adapted, says this:

"It will be seen that there is some difficulty in adapting this statute to actualities. The west line of Ottawa as it was extended north to the Michigan line (See O. L. L., XXXVIII, p. 99), was the line between R. 12 and 13 of the Survey north and east of the First Principal Meridian, as designated in the act forming Sandusky (O. L. L., XVIII, p. 90). This extension of Lucas is made to begin at the southeast corner of T. 10, south, R. 9, east, of Michigan Survey. This point, from the map, is obviously too far east to begin on the old Ottawa line. It has been suggested that, by a typographical error, the southeast corner was designated when the southwest corner was the point meant. However, even this is too far east, as the following quotation from the letter of J. A. Snell, of the Surveyor's Office in Lucas County, shows: 'Even if this statute called for a point of beginning at the southwest corner of Township 10, south, Range 9, east, it would take in all of the land in Lucas County east of a northern extension of the west boundary of Ottawa County, according to our records. * * * Our copy of the original Government Survey shows that the line between Ranges 12, east, and 13, east, in the township south of the Fulton County line, is 26.76 chains west of the line between Ranges 8, east, and 9, east, of the Michigan Survey. In other words, the southwest corner of Township 10, south, Range 9, east, is 26.76 chains east of what we show as the line between Ottawa and Wood counties.'"

April 11, 1833, the boundary line between Logan and Shelby counties was straightened, and March 15, 1888, the boundary line between Auglaize and Logan was changed to run parallel with section lines.

CHAPTER L

OHIO-MICHIGAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

A SERIOUS AND FAR REACHING CONTROVERSY WITH MANY HUMOROUS ASPECTS—EFFECT OF RESULT UPON NORTHWESTERN OHIO.

The Ohio-Michigan boundary dispute of 1835, was a serious matter. Men of vision even at that time realized that the result held for the future, consequences of great magnitude. Looking upon the situation as it is today, the importance of the decision has multiplied an hundred fold. At the mouth of the Maumee River was one of the finest natural inland harbors in the United States. Later developments have proven it one of the strategic commercial situations on the Great Lakes. Had the gates of this magnificent harbor been operated by another state, the loss to Ohio cannot be estimated. What the situation under such circumstances would now be, is only speculative.

One thing is self-evident, the villages of Maumee and Perrysburg as the Ohio terminus of Maumee navigation, would now be important commercial cities; for this state would have seen to it that the Maumee up to the Foot of the Rapids, would have been improved and made navigable for boats of considerable tonnage, and as it will be later shown, would have been the Ohio canal terminals. Possibly Sandusky would today be treble her present size, and it is hard to say what effect it would have had on Detroit, with Toledo in Michigan territory. It is probable that state would have fostered Toledo as its principal port.

In the broad expanse of early days, when a score of miles in the conflict of boundaries meant little, there was great carelessness in running division lines; and the unfamiliarity with the geography of the country caused many discrepancies to arise. The Ohio state and Michigan territorial line of demarcation is a flagrant case in point. The discrepancy had been known for years. The crisis came in the days of canal construction and the point at issue was caused by the importance of the canal terminus on the lower Maumee.

In 1835, the country was settling rapidly and there was need of an outlet for local products. As early as 1825 a canal was

projected from the Ohio River at Cincinnati to the navigable waters of the Maumee. The canal was completed as far north as Piqua, which place was the terminus for several years; this by reason of the sparse population then between that point and the contemplated final terminus. With the development of the Maumee River settlements, the people of Northwestern Ohio became clamorous for the extension of the canal north to connect with Lake Erie.

By 1835 it was realized that the navigation of the Maumee River to the Foot of the Rapids at Maumee and Perrysburg was not as good as at Toledo, and the authorities of Ohio deemed it of the utmost importance to have the territory embracing the mouth of Swan Creek, including Toledo, for the canal terminus. "The few inhabitants at the mouth of Swan Creek regarded their future consequence as a town dependent on getting the termination of the canal." They suddenly became convinced if they were living in the wrong state, that by having their situation declared a part of Ohio, it would be greatly to their advantage in bringing them the canal terminus instead of it stopping at Maumee and Perrysburg. The principal citizens, therefore, urged Governor Lucas to extend the laws of Ohio over the disputed territory.

When Congress passed the act authorizing the people of the Territory of Ohio to form a state constitution preparatory to her admission into the Union, her northern boundary in the act was described as follows:

"On the north by an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, running east after intersecting the due north line from the mouth of the Great Miami, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, or the territorial line, and thence with the same through Lake Erie, to the Pennsylvania line; Provided that Congress shall be at liberty at any time hereafter, either to attach all the territory lying east of the line to be drawn due north from the mouth of the Miami aforesaid to the territorial line, and north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly extreme of Lake Michigan, running east as aforesaid to Lake Erie, to the aforesaid State, or dispose of it otherwise in conformity to the fifth article of compact between the original States and the people and States to be formed in the territory north of the River Ohio." The compact referred to is contained in the Ordinance of 1787.

On the 29th of November, 1802, a convention of the people of Ohio, adopted a constitution under the aforesaid act, giving the

States the same northern boundary as contained in the enabling act, with this proviso:

"Provided always, and it is hereby fully understood and declared by this convention, that if the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south, that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect the Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami River of the Lake, (Maumee) then and in that case, with the assent of the Congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this state shall be established by and extend to a direct line running from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Miami (Maumee) Bay, after intersecting the due north line from the mouth of the Great Miami River aforesaid; thence northeast to the territorial line, and, by the said territorial line, to the Pennsylvania line."

The State of Ohio was admitted into the Union and created into a judicial district on the 19th of February, 1803, without any allusions by Congress to the boundary line. On the 11th of January, 1805, Congress created the Territory of Michigan, and defined her boundaries as follows:

"All that part of the Indiana Territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan, until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said Lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States."

Substantially reaffirming the original boundary contained in the act authorizing the Territory of Ohio to form a state government. Michigan extended her laws over and claimed jurisdiction to the above mentioned line given for her southern boundary. This line is designated on the land maps as the "Fulton Line." It intersects Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami of the Lake, or Maumee River, and comes within the proviso in the Constitution of Ohio.

It was then ascertained, that an east line drawn through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan would not intersect the territorial line between the United States and the British possessions, but would pass just north of the mouth of the Cuyahoga River and divide the counties of Cuyahoga, Geauga and Ashtabula. The line, therefore, given by Congress for the northern boundary of Ohio was an impossible line: owing to a want of a knowledge of the geographical position of Lake Erie at the time Congress

passed the enabling act. The authorities of Ohio, on ascertaining the uncertainty of the northern boundary applied to Congress for a survey of the line provided for in the proviso of the Constitution of Ohio.

Congress in 1812 passed a resolution directing the Commissioner of the General Land Office to cause it to be surveyed. But in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Indians near the line, and by reason of the War of 1812, the line was not run until the year 1817. In that year, the line was run and marked by William Harris in conformity to instructions from the Surveyor General. It was called the "Harris Line," afterwards, from the name of the surveyor. This survey was reported from the Land Office Department of the Executive of Ohio, and on the 29th of January, 1818, the Legislature, by resolution, ratified and adopted that line as the northern boundary of the state. Subsequently, the Legislature of Ohio, from time to time, made applications to Congress, to ratify and establish the Harris Line as the boundary between Ohio and Michigan without success, until after the events of 1835, so memorable in the conflicts of those governments.

The territory in dispute extends the whole length of the north line of the State of Ohio, and was about five miles in width at the west end, and about eight miles in width at the east end. This disputed territory was chiefly valuable for its rich and productive farming lands, and for the possession of the harbor on the Maumee River, where now stands the prosperous City of Toledo. In the early settlement of Toledo, the place was known as Swan Creek; afterwards Port Lawrence, then Vistula, and now as Toledo. The early settlers, it should be stated, acquiesced in being governed by the laws of Michigan Territory.

In 1835 the urgent demand by the people of Toledo for the completion of the canal to that point, induced the Governor of Ohio to bring the subject before the Legislature by a special message. February 23rd that year the Legislature passed an act extending the northern boundaries of the counties of Wood, Henry and Williams to the northern or Harris line, in conflict with the fact that the authorities of Michigan had previously exercised jurisdiction over the entire territory in dispute south to the Fulton Line and including Toledo. The authorities of Wood County which then included Lucas, it may be mentioned also, had attempted at a period much earlier, to extend the Ohio laws over the disputed strip which they claimed to be in that

county, by levying taxes thereon; but the people did not recognize their authority and refused payment. A report of this refusal to the Ohio state authorities brought no action, and no attempt on the part of Ohio officials to extend its laws over the territory in controversy was made until 1835. The motive as stated was to retain the magnificent harbor within the boundaries of this state and thereby add to her importance and wealth. Michigan at the time, seemed actuated more by the feeling that she was thereby maintaining her legal rights in what her people believed belonged to them by a proper interpretation of the Congressional act defining their southern boundary.

The act of the Legislature of Ohio, passed on the 23rd of February, 1835, further provided "that such part of the territory declared by this act as being attached to the County of Wood, shall be erected into townships as follows, to wit: such part of ranges five and six as lies between the line run due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan and the line run from the said southern extremity of the most northern cape of the Maumee Bay, be and the same is hereby erected into a separate and distinct township by the name of Sylvania; and that all such part of ranges seven and eight, together with the territory east of the Maumee River, as lies between the line run from the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly cape of the Maumee Bay, and between Lake Erie and the line run due east from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to Lake Erie, be and the same is hereby erected into a separate and distinct township, by the name of Port Lawrence," and further authorized and directed those townships to hold elections for township officers on the first Monday in April next, and provided for their complete organization. It also directed the Governor to appoint three commissioners to run and re-mark the Harris Line.

Uri Seely of Geauga, Jonathan Taylor of Licking, and John Patterson of Adams, were appointed commissioners to run and re-mark the line. The first of April was named as the time to commence the survey. Stevens T. Mason, secretary and acting Governor of Michigan Territory, anticipating the action of the Legislature of Ohio, sent a special message to the Legislative Council, apprising it of the special message of Governor Lucas, and advised the passage of an act to counteract the proceedings of Ohio.

The Legislative Council passed the following act on the 12th of February, thus getting eleven days start of Ohio in point of time:

" An Act to prevent the organization of a foreign jurisdiction within the limits of the Territory of Michigan.

Section I. Be it enacted by the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, that if any person shall exercise or attempt to exercise any official functions or shall officiate in any office or situation within any part of the present jurisdiction of this Territory; or within the limits of any of the counties therein, as at this time organized, by virtue of any commission or authority not derived from the Territory or under the Government of the United States, every person so offending shall for every such offense, on conviction thereof, before any court of record, be punished by a fine not exceeding one thousand dollars, or by imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding five years, or both, at the discretion of the court.

Sec. II. And be it further enacted, that if any person residing within the limits of this Territory, shall accept of any office or trust from any state or authority other than the Government of the United States or Territory of Michigan, every person so offending shall be fined not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisoned five years, at the discretion of the court before which any conviction may be had.

MORGAN L. MARTIN,
President of the Legislative Council.

Approved February 12, 1835.

STEVENS T. MASON.

There was a division of public sentiment among the inhabitants of the disputed territory, as to which government they should yield allegiance. The following communication, sent to Governor Mason by some citizens of Port Lawrence township, shows that there were some supporters of the authorities of Michigan in that place:

Monroe, March 12, 1835.

To the Hon. Stevens T. Mason,
Acting Governor of Michigan Territory:

We, the citizens of the Township of Port Lawrence, County of Monroe, Territory of Michigan, conceive ourselves, (by force of circumstances), in duty bound to apply for a special act of the Legislative Council, authorizing the removal of the place appointed for holding our township meeting. By a vote of the last town meeting (1834), our meeting of this year must be held at Toledo, on the Maumee River. We apprehend trouble, and per-

haps a riot may be the consequences of thus holding the meeting in the heart of the very hotbed of disaffection.

We therefore pray your Excellency and the Legislative Council, to aid us in our endeavors to keep the peace and sustain our claims to the soil as part of the Territory of Michigan, by an act removing the place for holding the town meeting for the Township of Port Lawrence, from Toledo to the schoolhouse on the Ten Mile Creek Prairie, to be held on the —— day of April, in preference to the usual day and place appointed.

J. V. D. Sutphen,
Coleman I. Keeler,
Cyrus Fisher,
Samuel Hemmenway.

Delegates from Port Lawrence to the County Convention at Monroe. [All well known in Toledo's early history.]

The partisans of Ohio were equally zealous and active in its cause, and kept Governor Lucas advised of what was going on. The most prominent of them were Andrew Palmer, Stephen B. Comstock, Major Stickney, Willard Daniels, George McKay and Dr. Naman Goodsell.

Governor Mason wrote to General Brown, who was in command of the Third Division of the Michigan Militia, as follows:

Executive Office, Detroit, March 9, 1835.

Sir: You will herewith receive the copy of a letter just received from Columbus. You will now perceive that a collision between Ohio and Michigan is inevitable, and will therefore be prepared to meet the crisis. The Governor of Ohio has issued a proclamation, but I have neither received it, nor have I been able to learn its tendency. You will use every exertion to obtain the earliest information of the military movements of our adversary, as I shall assume the responsibility of sending you such arms, etc., as may be necessary for your successful operation, without waiting for an order from the Secretary of War, so soon as Ohio is properly in the field. Till then, I am compelled to await the direction of the War Department.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

Stevens T. Mason.

To Gen. Jos. W. Brown.

On the thirty-first of March Governor Lucas, accompanied by his staff and the boundary commissioners, arrived at Perrys-

burg on their way to run and re-mark the Harris Line, in compliance with the acts of twenty-third February previous.

Gen. John Bell, in command of the Seventeenth Division of Ohio Militia, embracing the disputed territory, arrived about the same time with his staff, and mustered into service a volunteer force of about six hundred men, fully armed and equipped. The force went into camp at old Fort Miami, and awaited the orders of the governor. The force consisted of five companies of the First Regiment, Second Brigade of the Seventeenth Division of Militia, under the command of Col. Mathias Vanfleet. The captains of these companies were Capt. J. A. Scott, of the Perrysburg company; Capt. Stephen S. Gilbert, of the Maumee company; Capt. John Pettinger, of the Waterville company; Captain Felton, of the Gilead (Grand Rapids) company, and Capt. Granville Jones, of the Lucas Guards, an independent company at Toledo.

These companies numbered about 300 effective men. There was also a part of a regiment from Sandusky County, commanded by Col. Lewis Jennings, and a part of a regiment from Seneca and Hancock counties, under command of Colonel Brish, of Tiffin. These numbered about 300 more, making the total force 600 men.

No particulars are available concerning the recruiting of any of the companies in Colonel Vanfleet's regiment, except that of Captain Scott, which is told by W. V. Way in his story of the "war" as follows: "Agreeably to military usages, he employed a drummer, to wake up the martial spirit of the inhabitants. Instead of establishing headquarters at some particular place, he made them roving up and down nearly the whole length of Front Street, in Perrysburg. That street was the only one, except Louisiana Avenue, that contained many inhabitants. He selected a spot some distance below the avenue, and one near the upper end of the town, between which the drummer was required to march and beat the drum, from early morning until night.

"It is not certain whether there was a fifer or not. The drummer was a very large man by the name of Odle. He had a brother who was of usual size; but the drummer was so much larger than his brother, that he went by the name of the "Big Odle." He was a giant in size. He was so large that while marching beating a common sized drum, the drum appeared in comparison of size, no greater than one of those small drums in

toy shops for the use of little boys, would appear in the hands of an ordinary sized man. He wore a two story white felt hat, with a narrow brim; but by long use it had become softened and the crown bulged up so that it was really a two-story and an attic. A strip of paper with the words 'Recruiting for the war,' in large letters printed on it, was fastened around it. His coat was an old rifleman's uniform of green color, trimmed with black lace. His pants were domestic cloth, colored with oak bark, and also trimmed with black lace down the legs.

"Thus equipped, Odle accompanied by a man carrying the American flag, marched up and down the streets, beating the drum with great vigor from morning to night. This drumming continued for several days in succession. In the meantime the Court of Common Pleas of Wood County commenced its session. Judge David Higgins was presiding judge. In going his beat up and down Front Street, Odle had to pass by the courthouse, standing on Sec. Lot No. 360, old survey of Perrysburg. (Just up from Louisiana Avenue and facing the river.) The drumming after a while, became annoying to Judge Higgins. The Judge was a very nervous man, and somewhat irritable at times. One of his peculiar moods came over him during this term of court. He vented his feelings by pitching into Captain Scott's drummer, instead of some young and modest member of the bar, as was his usual custom. He ordered the sheriff to go out and stop that drumming. The sheriff went to Odle and told him that he was ordered by the court to stop his drumming. Odle replied, that he was under orders and pay from Captain Scott to drum for recruits for the war. That he considered it his duty to obey him as a military authority, and should continue to beat the drum until stopped by him; or until he was satisfied that the court had more authority than Captain Scott. He marched on beating his drum, and the sheriff went into the courtroom to report.

"The Judge's eyes flashed lightning when he heard the report. The sheriff was ordered to arrest Odle forthwith and bring him before the court, and also summons Captain Scott. All which was done in a few minutes. Captain Scott was interrogated as whether this man Odle was disturbing the court under his orders. The Captain replied that Odle was beating the drum under his order, having received instructions from Colonel Vanfleet to employ the music to aid in recruiting volunteers for the service of the state. He further stated that Governor Lucas,

who was stopping at Spafford's Exchange, had sanctioned his proceedings before the court commenced its session, and he should therefore continue the music until ordered to stop it by Colonel Vanfleet or his Excellency. The Judge roared out in a stentorian voice, 'Mr. Sheriff, take Captain Scott and his music organ to jail and lock them up. Mr. Prosecuting Attorney, draw up an information against these men for contempt of court, and have the case ready for hearing tomorrow morning.'

"The sheriff, Jonas Pratt, made a move towards executing the order. Captain Scott and Odle readily followed him downstairs to the corner of the building where there was a path leading to the log jail on the back end of the lot. Here a stand was made. The sheriff's authority to imprison was repudiated. The Captain informed him that he should not sacrifice the interests of the state to gratify Judge Higgin's assumed authority. That in the emergency of war, when the state was invaded by an enemy, the military authority on which the state relies for protection, is paramount to the civil authority; that although he regretted to disturb the proceedings of the court, yet he could not consent to the enforcement of its order in his case. He gave the sheriff to distinctly understand that if he persisted in attempting to take him to jail, he would then and there on the spot, test the question of power between himself and the court. He told the sheriff that if he made a single move further to imprison him, he would declare martial law, and do with him and Judge Higgins as General Jackson did with Judge Hall at New Orleans, put them both under arrest.

" 'That is right; that is right, Captain,' said Odle, at the same time doubling up his two hands to about the size of elephants' feet. 'That's the way to talk. Bully for you, Captain; stand off, sheriff.'

"By this time, there was a commotion in the crowd of bystanders, indicative that the sheriff would have a lively time of it, in getting them to jail, if he should attempt it by force. The sheriff retreated upstairs to the courtroom as soon as possible, and reported what had taken place at the door below. The Judge never said a word in reply; but continued in the trial of the case on hand, as if nothing unusual had happened.

"Without losing any more time, Odle slung the drum strap over his neck, and continued his march and music as before up and down the street. After some time, the Judge directed the sheriff to go and find Captain Scott and ask him if he would be

so good as to order that music to some back street, where it would interfere less with the court. The enthusiasm for enlisting recruits was so great, that if the court had attempted to enforce its order, it would have failed. Captain Scott acquired so much popularity by these proceedings, that he shortly after had no further use for his drummer. His company was made up at once."

Governor Mason, with Gen. Joseph W. Brown, arrived at Toledo with a force under the immediate command of the latter, variously estimated from 800 to 1,200 men, ready to resist any advance of the Ohio authorities upon the disputed territory to run the boundary line or doing other acts inconsistent with Michigan's right of jurisdiction over it. About the same time General Bell got his forces organized at Miami, and went into camp. General Brown had for his staff, Capt. Henry Smith of Monroe, inspector; Maj. J. J. Ullman, of Constantine, quartermaster; William E. Boardman, of Detroit, and Alpheus Felch, of Monroe, aids-de-camp.

The two governors, having made up an issue by legislative enactments, found themselves confronted by a military force that had been called out to enforce their respective legislative pleadings. Governor Mason, representing the tenant in possession, was content to rest at his ease. Governor Lucas, representing the plaintiff, had to open the trial. He found it convenient to observe a "masterly inactivity" for some days. The whole country in the meantime became wild with excitement.

A ludicrous incident occurred on the Perrysburg side of the river, as follows: Most of the soldiers that came from a distance, came with their arms in small squads as they happened to get together, without any organization. A well known citizen of Perrysburg, not having the warlike preparations much at heart, dressed himself in a commissioned officer's uniform and mounted on a very fine horse, made something of a military display on the streets. As one of these squads arrived in Perrysburg over the Black Swamp road, and was about proceeding to the river to cross over to the place of rendezvous, this would-be-officer assumed authority over them and undertook to conduct them down to the ferry. After proceeding some distance, the men doubted the authority of the man in military clothes leading them, especially as they had heard many of the Perrysburg people did not think much of the war.

When the squad got near the river, they deployed into line

and with fixed bayonets closed upon their leader between their line and the river, and called on him for his commission or authority that he claimed to exercise. They told him they were full blooded Buckeye Boys, come to defend the territorial rights of the State; if he was one of them, all right; if not, they intended to know it. By this time he began to look for an opening for escape; but the boys closed up and moved steadily towards the river, with muskets at charge. Soon the officer was sitting upon his horse as far out in the river as the horse could go without swimming. The boys told him he should stay there until he showed his authority, or orders from General Bell for his release. He was kept there until he nearly perished with cold, when a number of citizens of the town came and entreated the soldiers to let him off. The report that had gone out that the people of Perrysburg did not think much of the war, did them great injustice; as the manner in which Captain Scott recruited his company, the zeal exhibited by him, and the alacrity with which they enlisted, sufficiently prove.

Governor Lucas had determined in his mind to order General Bell with his force to Toledo as soon as he could make the necessary preparations, and risk the consequences; but before he had got his preparations made, two eminent citizens, Hon. Richard Rusk of Philadelphia, and Colonel Howard of Baltimore, arrived from Washington as Commissioners from the President of the United States to use their personal influence to stop all warlike demonstrations. Hon. Elisha Whittlesy of Ohio accompanied the Commissioners as a voluntary peace-maker. They remonstrated with the Governor and reminded him of the fatal consequences to himself and the State, of a collision between the forces. They advised him to abandon forcible measures to get possession of territory, and wait for a peaceable settlement of the matter by Congress.

The Commissioners and Mr. Whittlesy had several conferences with both governors, and finally on the 7th of April submitted the following propositions for their assent; to wit:

1st. That the Harris Line should be run and re-marked pursuant to the Act of the last session of the Legislature of Ohio without interruption.

2d. The civil election under the laws of Ohio having taken place throughout the disputed territory, that the people residing upon it should be left to their own government, obeying the one jurisdiction or the other, as they may prefer, without molestation

from the authorities of Ohio or Michigan until the close of the next session of Congress.

They proposed the same arrangements in regard to jurisdiction that were entered into between Doctor Conant and Seneca Allen, two justices of the peace of Waynesfield township, in now Lucas County but then Wood County, in 1819, when they came in conflict, one holding his commission from the Governor of Michigan and the other from the Governor of Ohio. The conflict and settlement of it occurred in the following manner: Dr. Horatio Conant settled at Maumee in 1816. General Cass, then Governor of Michigan, being intimately acquainted with him, either as a joke or in earnest, sent him a commission as justice of the peace in the County of Erie in the Territory of Michigan. This portion of the Northwest Territory previous to and for some time after the organization of Michigan Territory, was called Erie County and District. The Doctor regarded the commission as a joke, and never contemplated acting under it. In 1819, Seneca Allen was an acting justice of the peace in Waynesfield township under the laws of Ohio, residing on the south side of the river, near old Fort Meigs. Waynesfield was the only organized township at that time in Maumee Valley.

His territorial jurisdiction was quite as large as the present Congressional District. He heard about Doctor Conant having a commission from the Governor of Michigan, and notified him that he must not attempt to do any business under it. Sometime in the month of December, 1819, Allen had an engagement to marry a couple on the north or Maumee side of the river. The river was high and full of running ice, and very unsafe to cross. Conant lived near the banks of the river, on the Maumee side. Allen lived near the bank on the Perrysburg side, and nearly opposite. Allen finding it impracticable to get over the river to fulfill his engagement, called to Doctor Conant across the river and requested him to marry the couple. The Doctor reminded him of the objections he had heretofore made to his right to act under his commission, and declined; but Allen insisted on his doing it, and stated that this was a case of necessity and that necessity knew no law; that his commission from the Governor of Michigan would do well enough for the occasion. Conant married the couple and received a jack-knife for pay. Some time afterwards, the two Justices met and Allen made this proposition: He proposed for himself to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over the territory on the Perrysburg or south side of the river, and that

the two should have jurisdiction in common on the Maumee or north side of the river.

Governor Lucas, on the urgent request of the Commissioners and Mr. Whittlesey, agreed reluctantly, to accept the propositions of Rusk and Howard as a peaceable settlement of the difficulty until Congress should settle it; or rather until after "the close of the next Session of Congress," and disbanded his "army." Governor Mason partially followed suit; but still continued making preparations for any emergency that might arise.

Governor Lucas now thought he could run and re-mark the Harris Line without serious molestation from the authorities of Michigan, and directed the commissioners to proceed with the work.

S. Dodge, an engineer on the Ohio Canal, had been engaged as surveyor to run the line. He addressed the following letter to Samuel Forrer, one of the canal commissioners of Ohio:

Maumee, April 11, 1835.

"Samuel Forrer, Esq.,

"Dear Sir:—We were assured a short time since, by Messrs. Rush & Howard, that no resistance would be made by Michigan. It is now evident that there will be trouble, and the Governor of Ohio will not be able to accomplish the running of the line without calling out a strong military force. This cannot be done without first convening the General Assembly, in order to make the necessary appropriations. We shall start tomorrow for the northwestern corner of the State; and the next time you hear from me, I shall probably inform you that I am at Monroe, the headquarters of General Brown. General Brown was yesterday at Toledo at the head of the Sheriff's posse of 100 armed men. They came for the purpose of arresting those who have accepted office under the State of Ohio. He informed me that any attempt to run the line would be resisted by the whole force of the Territory. That they had 300 men under arms at Monroe and 600 more would soon be there; that they have 1,500 stand of arms taken from the United States arsenal at White Pigeon. That they did not mean to be rode over rough shod by Ohio. It was replied that Ohio had not as yet put on her rough shoes; and would not unless they made it necessary; and that the line would certainly be run.

"The Governor of Ohio started on the 8th inst., for Defiance and is entirely unprepared to meet the forces of Michigan. What course he will pursue I do not know. Our party consists of 15 or 20 unarmed men; and if we proceed, we shall certainly be made

prisoners, there not being a sufficient number to prevent surprise; I think the expedition will be delayed. The State of Ohio is affording no protection to the people on the disputed territory further than through the civil authority. And those who have accepted office, have been obliged to retreat. The Governor has power to call out the Militia, but has no funds to sustain them.

"Yours, Truly, S. DODGE."

President Jackson applied to the Attorney General Benjamin F. Butler for his official opinion in regard to the United States" powers over the two parties. Butler's opinion was rather a "straddle" on the question. He believed that Michigan had the right to arrest any trespassers upon her territory, but that the act of merely re-surveying the Fulton line by the Ohio authorities was not an act of trespass.

Notwithstanding the views of the authorities at Washington, the Commissioners proceeded to run the line, commencing at the northwest corner of the state. General Brown sent scouts through the woods to watch their movements and to report when they found them running the line. When the surveying party had arrived within the county of Lenawee, the under-sheriff of that county, with a warrant and posse, made his appearance to arrest them. He arrested a portion of the party; but the Commissioners and Surveyor Dodge made a timely escape, and ran with all their speed until they got off the disputed territory. They reached Perrysburg the next day with clothes badly torn; some of them hatless, with "terrible looking heads, and all with stomachs very much collapsed." They reported that they had been attacked by a large force of Michigan Militia under General Brown, and had been fired upon and had just escaped with their lives; and that they expected the balance of their party were killed or prisoners. They formally reported these facts to Governor Lucas and he reported them to the President.

The President sent a copy of the report to Governor Mason who in turn asked General Brown of Michigan to report his version of the affair and the report of the under-sheriff of Michigan was forwarded to the President. A part of this report by the sheriff, Wm. McNair is as follows:

"From the best information I could obtain, I was satisfied the warrants could not be served without assistance from my fellow citizens. I therefore mustered about thirty men in the village of Adrian on Saturday evening, (April 25, 1835), and armed them with muskets belonging to the Territory of Michigan. Early

the next morning, I started with my small posse, intending to overtake and arrest the Ohio Commissioners and their party. About noon we came up with them encamped in a small field (owned by one Phillips, not far from now Sylvania, Ohio) seven miles within our territory. When I arrived within one-half mile of the Ohio party, I left my assistants under the charge of a deputy-sheriff and accompanied by S. Blanchard, Esq., I went forward in order to make the arrest in as peaceable a manner as possible. On arriving at the camp, I enquired for Messrs. Taylor, Patterson and Sully, the Ohio Commissioners, and was told they had stepped out and would be in, in a few minutes. While I was waiting for my party to come up, and for the Commissioners to return, my party came in sight. Colonel Hawkins observed, our friends are coming (meaning my escort) and we must be prepared for them; when eight or ten of the Ohio party armed themselves with rifles and loaded them in my presence. In a few moments my friends came up and I found the Commissioners had gone—not to return. I then commenced arresting the armed party consisting of Colonels Hawkins, Scott, Gould and Fletcher, Major Rice, Captain Biggerstaff and Messrs. Ellsworth, Mole and Rickets. After arresting Colonel Hawkins, who had in his hand a large horseman's pistol, and another in his pocket, both loaded, the balance of the party took a position in a log house and barricaded the door. When I approached with my party within about eight rods of the house, they all came out except Colonel Fletcher, and as I approached them to make the arrest, some of them cocked their rifles and directed me to stand off, for they would not be taken. As I continued to advance upon them, four of the party turned and run for the woods; a few muskets were then fired over their heads, and a rush made after them. They were pursued about thirty rods in the woods, when they were all come up with and arrested. The report of a man having a ball pass through his clothes is a mistake. * * *

"The nine persons arrested were brought to Tecumseh before C. Hewitt, Esq., and by his certificate hereunto annexed, it appears that two were discharged for want of sufficient testimony to hold them to bail. Six gave bail to appear at our next Circuit Court, and one, (Colonel Fletcher) refused to give bail, as he says by direction of Governor Lucas, and is now in custody of the jailer, who permits him to go at large on his parole of honor. I consider it my duty further to state, that the charge repeatedly made, that the officers of Ohio were arrested by a Military party

under General Brown, is not true. He accompanied me as a citizen of Michigan without any official station, and the whole movement was merely a civil operation under the sheriff of this county, to sustain the laws of Michigan. There has been no call on the Military of Michigan to my knowledge, connected with the Ohio transaction. And I am also happy to inform your Excellency, that the Commissioners made good time on foot through the cottonwood swamp, and arrived safe at Perrysburg the next morning with nothing more serious than the loss of hats and their clothing, like Governor Marcy's breeches without the patch."

The breaking up of the surveying party and the report they made of the treatment they had received, produced great excitement throughout Ohio. The press spread the news with such comments as corresponded with their views.

Most of the papers advocated the course of the Governor, and severely condemned the conduct of Michigan. However, some few of the Whig or Anti-Democratic in politics, took an opposite view, and condemned severely the conduct of Governor Lucas and those who sided with him. They treated the proceedings on the part of the authorities of Ohio as ridiculous and calculated to bring the State into disgrace. But the number of editors who spoke freely against the course pursued by the State, were very few. Governor Lucas, finding it impracticable to run the line or enforce jurisdiction over the disputed territory as proposed by Messrs. Rush and Howard, called an extra session of the Legislature to meet on the 8th of June. That body passed an act "to prevent the forcible abduction of the citizens of Ohio." The act had reference to counteracting the previous acts of the Legislative Council of Michigan, and made the offense punishable in the penitentiary not less than three nor more than seven years. An act was also passed to create the new County of Lucas out of the north part of Wood County, and embracing the disputed territory north of it, and a portion of the northwest corner of Sandusky County. It attached the county to the Second Judicial Circuit, made Toledo the temporary seat of Justice, and directed the Court of Common Pleas to be held on the first Monday of September then next, at any convenient house, in Toledo.

In the course of the proceedings, as the Government had through its commissioners proposed a compromise to allow the re-survey of the Harris line which compromise had been accepted by the authorities of Ohio, the latter now shifted the responsibility to the shoulders of the Government to see that this com-

promise was carried out. This changed the issue. The acts of the Ohio Legislature had made Richard Roe of Michigan defendant, but now the United States became defendant as claimant of the title in fee. Governor Lucas through his Adjutant General, Samuel C. Andrews, called upon the Division Commanders to report as soon as possible, the number of men in each Division that would volunteer to sustain him in enforcing the laws over the disputed territory. Fifteen out of seventeen divisions into which the State was divided, reported over ten thousand men ready to volunteer. About two thousand men were estimated for the two divisions that did not report. These proceedings on the part of Ohio made the authorities of Michigan furious. They dared the Ohio "million" to enter the disputed ground; and "welcomed them to hospitable graves." Prosecutions for holding office under the laws of Ohio, were conducted with greater vigor than ever. For a time, the people of Monroe County were kept busy in acting as the sheriff's posse, to make arrests in Toledo. The commencement of one suit would lay the foundation for many others. Probably there was no town in the West that has suffered more for its allegiance to its government than did Toledo.

The partizans of Ohio were continually harassed by the authorities of Michigan for the greater part of the summer of 1835. An attempt was made by the authorities of Ohio to retaliate in kind; but for some reason or other the accused would manage to escape into Michigan proper, or hide at home. Whenever the sheriff of Wood County attempted to make an arrest, there would generally be spies watching his coming and communicate the fact to the accused persons in time to hide, or make their escape. The town was kept in a great uproar much of the time in watching the movements of the bailiffs of Monroe and Wood counties. Major Stickney, George McKay, Judge Wilson and many others, of the Ohio partizans, were arrested and taken to the Monroe jail. When Major Stickney was arrested, he fought and resisted the officers valiantly, and was assisted by his whole family, who fought until they were overpowered by superior numbers. After the Major was arrested, the officer requested him to get on a horse and ride to Monroe. He refused. The officer, with the assistance of his posse, put him on by force. He would not sit on the horse. Two men, one on each side, held him while a third man walked ahead and led the horse. In this way they got him about half way to Monroe, when the men getting tired of holding him on, took a cord and tied his legs together under the

horse's body, and in that manner conveyed him the balance of the distance. This is the account the Major himself gave of his arrest and transportation. The deputy-sheriff of Monroe County, Joseph Wood, attempted to arrest Two Stickney, a son of Major Stickney. A severe scuffle ensued. Stickney got a small pen-knife out of his pocket and stabbed Wood in the left side, causing the blood to run pretty freely. Wood let go his hold and Stickney made his escape into Ohio proper. Wood was carried home by his friends, as was said, in a dying condition, but really was very little hurt. The grand jury of Monroe County indicted Stickney for an assault on the sheriff with a dirk-knife. A warrant was issued on the indictment, but could not be served, in consequence of Stickney fleeing into Ohio and remaining there. Governor Lucas refused to give him up, alleging that the offense, if any, was committed within the limits of Ohio and that the requisition of the Governor of Michigan was without authority of law.

On one occasion, an officer with a posse attempted to arrest Andrew Palmer, editor of the *Toledo Gazette*, in the night. Palmer had but a moment's warning of the approach of the officer, and started to run. The officer got sight of the editor and took after him. The speed of the two was in proportion to the inducement each had for running. One ran for his fee, the other for his liberty. The liberty inducement prevailed. After a run down the river for about a quarter of a mile, the pursued man jumped astride of a saw-log lying near shore, and with his hands and feet paddled across the Maumee River and made his escape. Later the *Gazette* office was visited, the front door demolished and "pi" made of the forms for the next issue of the paper. Palmer was a very active partisan for Ohio, and kept Governor Lucas informed of what was going on. He was regarded as the Governor's right-bower at Toledo, and received from the Michigan partisans the sobriquet of "Governor Palmer."

A Mr. Holloway in Sylvania township, a very good man, was elected and qualified as Justice of the Peace under the laws of Ohio. He, too, was spotted for vengeance. Apprehending the officers would be after him, he hid himself in the woods and lived alone in a sugar-camp shanty for some days. He being a very pious man, his partizan friends, who were fond of the marvelous, reported that Providence had wrought a miracle in his behalf; that little robins went to his house daily and took food and carried it to him during his stay in the woods. Many of his friends believed it; they claimed it as high proof of the justness of the

claims of Ohio to the territory, and that Providence was on their side. The miraculous part of the story rested on a slight fiction. Mr. Holloway's little children daily took food to him from the house; they had a pet robin, and usually took it with them; hence the robin story arose.

George McKay and Dr. Naman Goodsell, of Toledo, came in for their share of the vengeance of Michigan for the part they took for Ohio. Let the Doctor tell his own story about himself and McKay in the following communication to Governor Lucas:

Perrysbury, July 19, 1835.

"Sir: I am now at this place, after a voyage of twenty-four hours, via the woods. Since writing you last, the inhabitants of Toledo have been more or less annoyed by the authorities of Michigan. Yesterday, as I was sitting at dinner, Mr. McKay rode up in haste and exclaimed, I had only time to mount my horse if I meant to escape; that the Michigan forces to the amount of three or four hundred were then in the village. I snatched my rifle and mounted instantly, when we both made for the woods, as all other ways of retreat were cut off. In a short time we found ourselves pursued by a detachment, when we separated; Mr. McKay depending upon the speed of his horse, which I have reason to suppose soon left them; but as I had not a fleet horse, I soon dismounted, tied my horse, and placed my back against a tree, and determined to await their assault; but their whole attention seemed directed to McKay. I waited in my position one hour, and as they did not return for me, I went in pursuit of them, but could not fall in with any scouts. When night came on, I procured a canoe and was put across the river three miles below the village, where I remained during the night, and this morning my horse was brought across, and I have made my way to this place.

"Mr. McKay, as I understand, was taken at about six o'clock. Mr. Stickney and several others were also taken, and started for Monroe. Their treatment will undoubtedly be severe, as it is declared at Monroe, that the first man bailing a Toledoan, shall be tarred and feathered. Judge Higgins is here, and will write you on the occasion. The force which entered Toledo is differently stated as from two to four hundred, but I suspect there were not over two hundred and fifty, those of the lowest grade, led by the Governor's Aid-de-camp, Colonel Humphrey, and others. Their conduct was such as might be expected from that class under the excitement; a set of lawless desperadoes, under leaders that did not wish to exercise any restraint.

"I have it from good authority, that Governor Mason says that he has received a request from the President to comply with the arrangement of Messrs. R. & H., but that he will not, let the consequences be what they will. We suppose Mr. Secretary Cass must have been at least knowing to this late move, as he wrote to Major Stickney that he should be at this place this day, but has not come. I shall endeavor to return and take away my family tomorrow, if possible, but shall not bring them to this place, as the actions of most here seem to say "we rejoice in your troubles." Now for conclusions—our people are getting discouraged; we have no arms, nor succor sent us, which they construe into neglect. I endeavored to cheer them, but it is difficult to comfort them. The continued harassing, together with the frowns of our neighbors, are surely hard things to bear up against.

"I shall write again as soon as I find a resting place.

"I remain, dear sir, with due respect,

"Your obedient servant,

N. GOODSELL."

"His Excellency, Robert Lucas,

"Columbus, Ohio."

(Note—Lewis Cass, of Detroit, was Secretary of War under President Andrew Jackson.)

J. Q. Adams, the District Attorney of Monroe County, Michigan, reported to Governor Mason on the next day after Deputy Sheriff Wood was stabbed, a detailed statement of the whole affair, accompanied by numerous affidavits.

Adams' account of the matter was forwarded to President Jackson with an urgent appeal for his assistance. He represented that Two Stickney, who had stabbed Wood, had fled into Ohio and was protected by Governor Lucas. These representations made a strong impression upon the President, that something must be done to check the tendency towards more serious troubles.

Governor Lucas, soon after the adjournment of the extra session of the Legislature, perceiving that what had been done had caused considerable uneasiness at Washington, for the peace of the country sent to Washington, N. H. Swayne, W. Allen and D. T. Disney, to confer with the President on the subject of the boundary difficulties.

The full details of the negotiations are too long to report here. The result of the conference of the Ohio representatives with the President, was the urgent plea of the Chief Executive for the suspension of all action by both the Ohio and Michigan authorities

until the matter could be settled by Congress, and that all court prosecutions cease; but that no opposition be interposed to the marking of the Harris Line.

On the 29th of July, Governor Lucas wrote to Messrs. Patterson, Taylor and Seely, the Boundary Commissioners, informing them of the arrangements made with the President, and advised a commencement of the survey of the line on the 1st of September, at the point where they had left off.

The attention of the whole country had now been directed toward the controversy and developments arose which made it mandatory that Governor Lucas do something to preserve the honor of Ohio without waiting for the slow action of Congress. The Legislature of Ohio had created a new county out of a portion of the disputed territory and a portion of its own proper domain, and called it Lucas, after Governor Lucas. It had provided for the court to be held on the 7th of September, at Toledo, within the disputed territory. The actual holding of that court would be an exercise of a greater jurisdiction than was contemplated in the propositions of Rush and Howard, or in the concession of the President to Messrs. Swayne, Allen and Disney. If the authorities of Michigan would keep quiet, there would be no obstacle in the way of holding the court; although it would be an exercise of jurisdiction over territory not belonging to Ohio, in derogation of the authority of the United States. Although Governor Mason, whose acts had been universally approved by the people of Michigan, had been removed, and Mr. Shaler appointed in his place, who was supposed to be more conservative in his views of the controversy, yet the performance of an unlawful act in a lawful manner, was no easy matter. As it was out of the question to think of resorting to force to accomplish the object, "brains were used in the place of muscle."

Governor Lucas sent his Adjutant-General, Samuel C. Andrews, to Lucas County to advise with the judges and officers, and engineer generally the holding of the court. The Adjutant-General directed Colonel Vanfleet to call out his regiment to act as a posse subject to the orders of the sheriff, for the protection of the court. Andrew Coffinberry, an old and experienced lawyer, was engaged by the Governor to act as an assistant prosecuting attorney. Colonel Vanfleet promptly obeyed the call, and ordered his regiment to rendezvous at Miami, below then Maumee, to be in readiness to serve as the sheriff's posse. Adjutant-General Andrews, accompanied by Major-General Bell, took up quarters

at the hotel, in Toledo, demeaning themselves as private citizens, just happening to be there. According to previous arrangement, the judges, sheriff and attendants, met at Miami on Sunday afternoon of the 6th of September, to proceed together to Toledo the next morning, under the escort of Colonel Vanfleet to hold the court.

Colonel Vanfleet had only about one hundred men of his regiment on the ground. This force was deemed sufficient to disperse any mob that might collect, and it was uncertain whether there would be any obstruction at all. Just at evening, while the judges and the Colonel were arranging matters, preparatory for a start the next morning, a scout whom the Colonel had sent out to reconnoitre, came in and reported that General Brown had just arrived at Toledo with a large military force, to prevent the holding of the court. He was reported to have 1,200 men completely armed with muskets, and a train of artillery.

[Gen. Brown corrected this account by stating that his main force halted at Mulholland's, and remained there on the night of the 6th, and that he sent Col. W. Wing forward to Toledo with a detachment of 100 men, to watch the judges, and arrest them, if they attempted to open court. The main force arrived at Toledo next day.]

The judges were confounded with fear at learning these facts. Colonel Vanfleet, at once, ordered his men to form into line; the report brought by the scout was discussed by the judges and sheriff. Some of them were in favor of giving up, and not attempt to hold the court; some said they would be laughed at, if they backed out; that it was their duty to make the attempt. Judge Higgins and Andrew Coffinberry were not present, and therefore, the associate judges hesitated the more, on that account. They did not feel like taking so much responsibility on themselves alone, without the president judge and the able assistance of the "old Count."

As they could not come to an understanding among themselves as to the proper course to pursue, they agreed to leave the matter with Colonel Vanfleet and abide by his decision. While this discussion was going on, the Colonel did not say a word, but with sword in hand, walked up and down the line in front of his men, and within hearing distance of the judges. Those that were opposed to going to Toledo, were in favor of leaving the matter with the Colonel, supposing that he would not think of exposing his 100 men to be gobbled up by 1,200; and would, therefore, de-

cide not to go and relieve them from the responsibility of refusing. The Colonel, fruitful in military expedients that would have done credit to a veteran of the regular army, already had his plans arranged. He turned to the Judges and with a determined military bearing exclaimed, "If you are women, go home; if you are men, do your duty as Judges of the Court; I will do mine. If you leave the matter entirely with me, I will be responsible for your safety, and insure the accomplishment of our object; but if otherwise, I can give you no assurance."

This settled the discussion; the honour and safety of the court, and the "peace and dignity of the State of Ohio" were placed in his keeping. He addressed his men, and told them that he was about to undertake a hazardous expedition, and wanted the services of twenty of the best men in the regiment to go with him, and the balance to remain in camp ready for orders. All those who were willing to share the dangers and honor with him in upholding the authority of the State and protecting the dignity and honour of the court, were requested to advance four paces to the front. "Thirty as brave men as ever faced a foe, advanced;" and twenty out of that number were selected. He was restricted to twenty men, as he had only horses enough to mount that number. He gave orders to Capt. Granville Jones, the officer left in command of the camp, to be prepared to execute any orders that he might send him. He told the Judges that the 7th of September would commence immediately after midnight, and that there was no hour specified in the law when the court should be opened. Governor Lucas wanted the court held, so that by its records he could show to the world that he had executed the laws of Ohio over the disputed territory, in spite of the vapouring threats of Governor Mason. "If we furnish him that record, we shall accomplish all that is required. Be prepared to mount your horses to start for Toledo at precisely 1 o'clock, A. M. I will be ready with an escort to protect you."

At the hour named, the Judges and officers of court were promptly in the saddle. Colonel Vanfleet was ready with his twenty men, mounted and completely armed. Each man had a rifle in addition to his two cavalry pistols. They proceeded to Toledo, reaching there about three o'clock A. M., and went to the schoolhouse that stood near where Washington Street crosses the canal, and opened court in due form of law. Junius Flagg acted as Sheriff. The proceedings were hastily written on loose pieces of paper and deposited in the Clerk's hat. When the court

adjourned, the officers and escort went to the tavern, then kept by Munson H. Daniels, not far from where the American House later stood, kept by J. Langderfer, registered their names and took a drink all around. While filling their glasses for a second drink, a mischievous wag ran into the tavern and reported that a strong force of Michigan men were close by, coming to arrest them. They dropped their glasses, spilling the liquor, and sprang for their horses with all possible haste, leaving bills to be settled at a more leisurely time. As they had accomplished the work intended, speed was of more importance than valor.

They took the trail that led to Maumee, by way of the route nearest the river. They went at such a furious speed that if their charge had been made in the opposite direction towards the enemy, they would have pierced the most solid columns. When they arrived at the top of the hill, near where the Oliver House building now stands, not discovering the enemy in pursuit, they came to a halt and faced about. It was then discovered that the Clerk, Dr. Horatio Conant, had lost his hat, and with it the papers containing the proceedings of the court, from which the record was to be made up. Conant wore one of those high, bell-crowned hats, fashionable in those days, and which he used for carrying his papers as well as covering his head. It was then the custom in travelling to carry everything in the top of hats, from a spare collar and dickey to Court papers. The hat of the Clerk, reaching high above his head, burdened with its load of paper and other incumbrances, was steadied on by the left hand for greater safety, while the right held the reins. But in spite of this precaution, it struck against an overhanging limb of a tree with such violence that it was knocked off and fell to the ground. Notwithstanding that they all believed they had been discovered and pursued, and might be surrounded by superior numbers and taken if they delayed; yet the importance of recovering the papers was such as to nerve them to the boldest daring. Colonel Vanfleet directed the Clerk and two of the guards to dismount, and feel their way back carefully in search of the papers, while the balance of the posse kept watch to cover retreat. He cautioned them to move with as little noise as possible and if likely to be discovered by the enemy, to conceal themselves and watch their movements so that they could use the best possible advantage to accomplish their object. The search proved successful; the hat was found and the papers recovered. The party reported no enemy in sight. The State of Ohio was now triumphant; a record

could be and was made up and still exists, to prove that the State of Ohio on the 7th day of September, 1835, exercised jurisdiction over the disputed territory, by holding a Court of Common Pleas in due form of law. Here is the record made up from the recovered papers:

"The State of Ohio, Lucas County, ss.:

"At a Court of Common Pleas, began and held at the Court House in Toledo, in said County, on Monday, the 7th day of September, Anno Domini, Eighteen Hundred and Thirty-five. Present, the Honourable Jonathan H. Jerome, Senior Associate Judge, of said County; their Honours, Baxter Bowman and William Wilson, Associate Judges. The Court being opened in due form by the Sheriff of Said County. Horatio Conant being appointed Clerk of said Court, exhibited his Bond, with sureties accepted by the Court agreeably to the Statute in such case made and provided. The Court appointed John Baldwin, Robert Gower and Cyrus Holloway, Commissioners for said County. No further business appearing before said Court, the Court adjourned without day.

"J. H. JEROME, Associate Judge."

The feeling of joy at recovering the papers was so great that Colonel Vanfleet ordered two salutes to be fired on the spot. He knew that the distance was short to the line of the State, where there was no dispute about jurisdiction, and that if pursued, they could reach there before being overhauled. The party proceeded to Maumee at a leisurely pace, reaching there a little after daylight.

While the court was in session Colonel Wing, with a detachment of 100 men, was stationed in the village to watch the Judges and arrest them if they appeared and attempted to hold court. The failure to discover the Judges was no evidence of lack of vigilance on the part of the Michigan authorities. General Brown did his duty. He had never witnessed the opening of courts at that early hour in the morning, and was, therefore, taken entirely by surprise. The first intelligence that he and most of the citizens of Toledo had of the holding of the Court, was obtained after they heard the salute fired by the escort. General Brown and Governor Mason were very much disappointed. Although on the 29th of August, Mason was notified that he had been superseded by the appointment of Charles Shaler, yet he accompanied the expedition, and on the 6th of September issued a Gen-

eral Order as the Executive of Michigan, assigning General Brown to the chief command of the military forces. Charles Shaler does not appear to have accepted the appointment.

"Whatever of honor or advantage the State of Ohio gained in this contest, she owes to Colonel Vanfleet, the General Jackson of Lucas County. General Jackson saved New Orleans and upheld the honor and glory of the American Flag with the loss of only seven men in an engagement with more than twice his own number, while Colonel Vanfleet upheld the peace and dignity of the State of Ohio within the County of Lucas, against sixty times his own number without the loss of a single man or the the shedding of one drop of blood."

On the 19th of February, 1846, the Legislature of Ohio by resolution authorized the payment of $300 to Major Stickney for damages to his person and property, on account of depredations committed on him during this contest, and also authorized the Auditor of State to adjust and pay him all costs and expenses incurred by him on account of being arrested on the 8th of May and 20th of July, 1835, and being taken to Monroe jail in Michigan.

Governor Mason and General Brown finding no further use for an armed force, repaired to Monroe and disbanded their army. John S. Horner after this appears to have been the Acting Governor of Michigan. A lengthy correspondence was carried on between him and Governor Lucas which resulted in the discontinuance of the prosecutions commenced under the act of the Territorial Legislature of the 12th of February, 1835, except in the case of Two Stickney, who stabbed Deputy-Sheriff Wood, in the previous July. Governor Horner made a requisition on Governor Lucas for him as a fugitive from justice. Governor Lucas refused to give him up, claiming that the offense, if any, had been committed within the limits of Ohio, and that therefore the Courts of Michigan had no jurisdiction over him. Although this refusal was in direct opposition to the views of the authorities at Washington, no serious difficulty grew out of it.

The people of the disputed territory from this time on, were left to regulate matters in their own way. Public sentiment among the inhabitants gradually settled down in favor of the Ohio jurisdiction, and peace and quietness were restored. The Boundary Commissioners resumed the work on the second of November, and completed it without molestation.

At the next session of Congress, on the 15th of June, 1836,

Michigan was admitted into the Union with her southern boundary limited to the Harris Line, and the disputed territory was given to Ohio. Congress gave Michigan the valuable mineral lands adjoining Lake Superior to make up the loss of the Territory given to Ohio; both parties thereby acquiring lands that neither had any legal right to, after having exhibited their prowess in war without bloodshed.

CHAPTER LI

MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY RIVER SYSTEMS

OUTLINE OF THEIR TRIBUTARIES—EARLY NAVIGATION—COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES AND MILL SITES—THE BOAT BUILDING INDUSTRY—SAILING CRAFT THEN STEAMBOATS—ADVENT OF THE CANALS—STORY OF TRANSPORTATION BEFORE THE RAILROADS—THE PORTAGE RIVER SYSTEM.

From the earliest times the rivers were the great natural highways of inland travel and commerce. On their hunting expeditions, migratory movements and in times of war, the savage in his bark canoe traversed the Maumee and Sandusky and their tributary streams; and even the Portage system between.

When the first white man came, for his deep interior explorations he utilized the same method in discovering and marking the course and character of these great arteries of the forest primeval. Cartier and Champlain came up the St. Lawrence, De Soto found the Mississippi, La Salle discovered the Ohio and other adventurers located the main water courses entering the Great Lakes.

The Maumee and Sandusky were the two great roads connecting the north country and the lower lake region with the South and West. It has been told how, in the formative period of the world, these two drainage systems were formed or developed by Nature, so the waters at their source might carve their way to an outlet. The earliest people known to history in this section glided over their waters and this story is permeated with accounts of the early white traveler who in the country's progress and development, paddled along their devious windings.

La Salle in 1680 on his return from his western trip after he left the Griffin, while at Fort Frontenac wrote the information—"There is at the end of Lake Erie, ten leagues below the strait (Detroit River) a river by which we could shorten the way to Illinois very much. It is navigable to canoes to within two leagues of the route now in use." This is probably the first definite mention of the Maumee River in history. Then as to the Sandusky, Homan's map of 1707 gives the name Sandouski to the bay at the mouth of the river. And an article on the Cana-

dian Indians written in 1718 says: "A hundred leagues from Niagara, on the south side of (Lake Erie) is a river called Sandosquet, which the Indians of Detroit and Lake Huron take when going to war with the Flatheads and other nations toward Carolina. They ascend this River Sandosquet two or three days, after which they make a small portage of about a quarter of a league. Some make canoes of elm bark and float down a small river (the Scioto) that empties into the Ohio. Whoever would reach to Mississippi easily, would need only to take this beautiful river or the Sandosquet & He could travel without any danger of fasting, for all who have been there have repeatedly assured me that there is so vast a quantity of buffalo and of all other animals in the woods along that beautiful river, they were often obliged to discharge their guns to clear a passage for themselves."

The Maumee Valley includes Northwestern Ohio proper, some of Northeastern Indiana and a portion of the middle lower part of Michigan. So far as Ohio is concerned, the valley includes generally speaking, the counties of Lucas, Fulton, Williams, Defiance, Henry, Paulding, Putnam, Hancock, Van Wert, Mercer, and Auglaize, a good portion of Wood County and a small part of Hardin and Seneca. The Maumee River proper, rich in history and unsurpassed in scenic beauty, is formed by the junction at now Fort Wayne, Indiana, of the St. Marys from the south and the St. Joseph on the north. The source of the St. Marys is in Mercer County, while the St. Joseph rises in Hillsdale County, Michigan. The latter drains about 244 square miles of Michigan, 663 square miles of Indiana and approximately 226 square miles of Ohio lands. The St. Marys drains 428 square miles of Ohio and 356 square miles of Indiana. The length of the entire Maumee basin is, from north to south, 110 miles, its breadth approximately 100 miles, and it drains about 6,550 square miles of territory.

The principal tributaries of the Maumee are the Tiffin and the Auglaize. The Tiffin River enters the parent stream from the north a short distance above Defiance and drains in Ohio, a considerable section of Defiance, Fulton and Williams counties. The Auglaize River rises in the western part of Hardin County and drains a portion of Allen and Auglaize counties and in its winding course travels about seventy-five miles in reaching the Maumee in the lower part of now the City of Defiance. Its system takes the water from an area of 2,500 square miles. The

Ottawa River, a tributary, develops in what was known as the Hog Creek marsh in Hardin County, and was early called Hog Creek. The story goes that its former name came to it by reason of a government contractor of the War of 1812, abandoning a drove of hogs in that section which later developed into a large colony of the wild variety. Another account says Alexander McKee, the British Indian Agent, as far back as 1786, left some hogs in the neighborhood mentioned, a part of a plundering expedition into Kentucky. Whatever the manner of their origin, there were many wild hogs along the drainage stream of the Hardin marsh. Passing through Lima, Ottawa River empties into the Auglaize about two and a half miles north of west from Kalida, Putnam County.

The Blanchard River, the largest Auglaize tributary, originally known as the Blanchard Forks, has its source in what is now the northeast section of Hardin County, flows northerly into Hancock County, courses west through Findlay and Ottawa and reaches the Auglaize in Putnam County about two miles east of the Paulding-Putnam division line and slightly north of the midsection of Putnam north and south. It drains besides Hancock and Putnam, a portion of Hardin and Allen counties. The Blanchard drains about 925 square miles of territory. Its principal upper tributaries are Eagle, Lye and Ottawa creeks. The Little Auglaize enters the Auglaize from the south in Brown township, Paulding County, about two and a half miles below Oakwood and five miles below the mouth of the Blanchard. It drains through its tributaries the most of Van Wert County and the southeastern portion of Paulding County. Quaker River or Creek, named from the Quaker mission school once located on its banks, enters the Auglaize just above Wapakoneta.

There are only small runs entering the Maumee below Defiance until the North and South Turkeyfoot creeks are reached in Henry County below Napoleon and above Grand Rapids, entering from opposite directions.

Bad Creek crosses into Henry County from Fulton, reaching the Maumee at Texas; Beaver Creek from Wood County enters the river from the south just below Grand Rapids; and nearly half the distance from there to Perrysburg from the same side, Tontogany Creek also drains a portion of Wood County into the Maumee. Then, finally comes Swan Creek at Toledo from the west, draining portions of Lucas County, and the Ottawa River which enters the Maumee Bay at about the Ohio-Michigan

boundary line, taking its waters from Lucas County, its head being Ten Mile Creek.

In the years 1839-1842, what is known as the Independence Dam, 763 feet long, was built across the Maumee a few miles below Defiance to supply water for the Miami and Erie canal. The slack water extends eight miles above, including three miles up the Auglaize and two miles up the Tiffin River. Below the dam, the canal in its operative days took the dug channel to the slack water or pond above the second state dam across the river at Grand Rapids, built for the same purpose. The latter dam is 1,700 feet long on the north side of the island in the river there, and 661 feet in length from the island to the Wood County bank on the south side. From this point to Maumee and Perrysburg, there is a remarkable series of rapids, known in their order as the Grand, Fowler, Bear, Wolf, Otsego, Roche de Boeuf, Presque Isle and Maumee or Lower Rapids. In early days at settlement points along the river, men of enterprise built low dams, generally wing dams, to furnish power for "grist mill" and sawmill purposes. There was a complete dam built across both channels at Dodd Island, Waterville and a full dam at the Otsego Rapids. They furnished for many years water power for both flour- and saw- mills. After ice and floods, they had to be repaired, but after the canal era in 1842, they went into decay. Wing dams were built to drive mills at the Grand, Fowler, Roche de Boeuf and below Otsego. A hydraulinc canal, evidences of which can yet be seen, was dug along the right bank of the Maumee from five miles above the village to Perrysburg, to furnish power for mills at that place. As the project could not compete with the high power derived from the six high canal locks at Maumee, after several years' trial, and after the company was for a long time in the courts, the enterprise was abandoned. Presque Isle on the left bank of the river was named by the French from the fact that the topographical situation there has the appearance of a peninsula, caused by the deserted channel of the stream still further on the left.

The Maumee sources and larger tributaries at an early day furnished water power for various mill enterprises. The only natural lakes drained into the Maumee come from Michigan and Indiana through the small streams joining the St. Joseph. There is Bird Lake in Hillsdale County, Michigan, with a dam on its outlet which furnished water power for wool carding- and saw-

mills. A dam at Cambria Mills formed a large reservoir which early furnished power for extensive flouring and sawing mills, with other mills in this section. There were water mills all along the St. Joseph system.

As was the case with other streams, at an early period, there were many water power mills along the St. Marys. One of the first dams with its always accompanying mill, was constructed in 1822 where is now the town of Willshire, Van Wert County, by Capt. James Riley, one of the United States land surveyors in this section. On the Ottawa River, one of the most prominent early grist mills and dams was built at Kalida, Ohio, in 1836 by Gathrie & Sarber. Dams and mills were numerous along the Blanchard River in early days, being built in Delaware, Marion and Findlay townships, Hancock County. An extensive dam two and a half miles below Findlay five feet high causes slack water as far up as that city. A flouring mill was operated at the dam for many years. In 1835, at Pandora, Putnam County, on Riley Creek, Joseph Stout built a flouring mill, and in 1837 Elisha Stout constructed a dam and built a flouring mill on the Blanchard at Gilboa. The Blanchard mills were extensively patronized from a wide range, even Paulding County pioneers bringing their corn and wheat there. On the Auglaize in Perry township, Putnam County, are the Kilcannon Rapids, named for a very early settler there. In 1834, Samuel Myers, a Marylander, casting his fortunes in the new West, purchased large tracts of land at this point, built a dam across the Auglaize, and a flouring mill was built on the east end and a sawmill on the other bank. Especially the flouring mill was in operation for many years. In 1836, a Doctor Jacob Dewese laid out a town on the left bank of the Auglaize a short distance above the mouth of the Blanchard, he named Franconia. He constructed a dam and built a mill, but floods took out his dam and his project was abandoned in two or three years. His next enterprise, a flouring mill and dam on the Auglaize in Defiance township, Defiance County, was also a failure. The only stream of importance in Defiance County entering the Auglaize is Powell Creek, which drains besides a part of Defiance County, a portion of Putnam. A dam and mill was an early enterprise on this stream.

Then to the east of the Maumee region lies another famed and beautiful valley. And in truth, as typical of American development, combining history with the romance of the aborigine, the early wars and the struggles of advancing civilization, no sec-

tion in all this domain surpasses the story of the Valley of the Sandusky. The entire fabric of this narrative is saturated with dramatic situations along the Sandusky, from the very beginning until the finis. The earliest people known to the American continent, the Mound Builders, were habitants here with more permanence than on the Maumee and left earthen records of their handiwork. Neutral towns of the earliest tribes of the American Indian were divided by its course; the earliest white traders, passing down through the American Revolution, established themselves up and down the tortuous stream, while the stories of the first armed forces as well as the messengers of peace, the missionaries, are spread prominently upon the pages of its early records.

The Sandusky, Sah-un-dus-kee or Sandoski River, in its beginning, was formed from the springs and head streams of now Richland County. It flows in a southerly and westward course through Crawford, bends northward and then north through Wyandot and finally eastward of north through Seneca and Sandusky counties until it reaches the Sandusky Bay—"Little Lake." Its course is so notional in its wanderings that it turns to all points of the compass. As it flows through hills and plains (former prairies) it is rapid in most of its upper travels, but near the lake it broadens into a low, marshy section with wide, shallow inlets. There are two prominent rapids—one at Upper Sandusky and the second at Lower Sandusky, or Fremont; the latter in early days the head of navigation, being slack water. The influence of the northerly winds upon Sandusky Bay, often raises the water in the river over two feet above the ordinary stage up to Fremont.

Some of the finest scenic beauty of its character in all the country is found in the rolling territory through which the Sandusky passes, especially south of Tiffin in Seneca County. Above the old St. John's mill site, the river banks rise precipitately in places to approaching a hundred feet on the west bank, the little valley eastward showing wondrous loveliness. Besides Upper Sandusky and Fremont mentioned, the river runs through the heart of Tiffin.

The main tributaries of the Sandusky are Sycamore Creek, Honey Creek and Broken Sword Creek from the east, and Tymochtee Creek from the west. Sycamore Creek with tributaries drains the northwestern section of Crawford County, below the town of Lykens takes a southerly bend and in a westerly turn

enters the northeast corner of Wyandot County, passes near the town of Sycamore, and enters the Sandusky south of the Wyandot-Seneca county line. Honey Creek takes its headwaters from a territory as far east as now Huron County, flows in a westerly direction north of Bloomville, Seneca County, bends southward through the historical old town of Melmore, turns sharply northward and enters the Sandusky some two miles south of Tiffin. Honey Creek, a beautiful stream, is famous for the many springs which fed its waters, some of which give indications of flowing on to "the end of the years." The Mound Builders left evidences of their habitations along its upper banks, the American Indians of history established their villages along its course, where Missionary Badger among others visited them in his time, and its limpid waters are famed in story and the songs of the Muses. It evidently takes its name from the many swarms of wild honeybees which early fed upon the basswood and other flowering trees of that section. Even the historical character James Kilbourne, who built the pioneer turnpike from the interior of Ohio to the site of Sandusky City, establishing that town, was so impressed with the situation when he arrived there with his surveying party, that in the fullness of his heart, while sitting on its banks, he wrote a poem—"To Beautiful Honey Creek."

Broken Sword Creek, flowing a westerly then southerly direction in Crawford County, practically parallel with the headwaters of the Sandusky itself, enters Wyandot County on the east at about its center north and south, runs southerly and enters the Sandusky in the southeastern part of Wyandot County about six miles southeast of Upper Sandusky. It takes its name from the reported story that when Colonel Crawford was captured in 1782, to prevent his sword from falling into the hands of his captors, he broke it across his knee and threw it into this creek, where it was later recovered by the Indians. The story is evidently authentic.

The Indian word Tymochtee, means "around the plains." Tymochtee Creek with Little Tymochtee, takes its headwaters even from a slight portion of Hardin and Marion counties. It winds through almost the entire west central portion of Wyandot County and veering to the east, enters the Sandusky River about two miles and a half south of McCutchensville and some five miles east of Carey. "Around the headwaters of the Tymochtee" stretched the famous Sandusky Plains, containing many thousands of acres, and told about heretofore by James

Smith in his Ohio travels and by many early adventurers through the region. Coming in from the south and from the Ohio water shed which divides the waters of Lake Erie from the Ohio in the northern part of Marion County, rises the Little Sandusky. After traveling comparatively straight north, it enters the Sandusky proper about five miles above Upper Sandusky.

Lesser tributaries of the Sandusky on the west, are Wolf and Muscalonge creeks. Wolf Creek drains a large section of western Seneca County and enters the Sandusky from a southwesterly direction, about a mile and one-half north of the Seneca-Sandusky line. Muscalonge Creek is of surprising length for the volume of water it gathers. Its head drainage is in the northwestern part of Seneca County not far from Fostoria. It gradually closes in towards the Sandusky and meets it at a big bend in the latter stream four miles north of Fremont. Another western tributary is Mud Creek, which with Green Creek, South Creek and Bark Creek, flows in a northerly direction, gradually converging like the Muscalonge, and enter the Sandusky near the northern Sandusky County line. The most important of these smaller streams is Green Creek, famous for its series of Sulphur Springs. The head of its west branch rises in Seneca within three-fourths of a mile from the north boundary line, in a series of these springs, the largest of which discharges about six hundred cubic feet of water per minute. The springs at the head of the east branch of the creek or the main stream are the better known, and are called the Green Springs. They are located in Section 31, Green Creek township, Sandusky County, and in the northern part of the village of Green Springs. Here an underground "river" forces itself through fissures in the rock bed fifty feet below the surface, and from a great natural well ten feet in circumference and eighteen feet deep, without an obstruction, discharges 8,000,000 gallons of water every twenty-four hours, or nearly three hundred and thirty-four thousand gallons per hour. The water is strongly impregnated with sulphur and other mineral solutions, "which stain a rich emerald every substance coming in permanent contact with it, varying in shade under the influence of light." The water is declared to possess highly curative medical properties. The two head streams unite in the center of Section 31, the township mentioned, and flowing mostly north, reach the Sandusky about fourteen miles distant, near the bay.

Approximately, the Sandusky River, if measured in its course

by practically a straight line, would be about eighty-two miles in length. But a line run in the middle of its tortuous channel would make its length about one hundred and twenty-three miles. From State Street bridge in Fremont to its mouth (lower end of Eagle Island) a line run in the center of the channel measured seventeen and one-half miles. At Eagle Island the old channel ran on the south side into the Sandusky Bay at "the eastern extremity of what was formerly a part of Peach Island," where it is believed was located Fort Junandat—"the fort and home of Nicolas, the rebel Wyandot chief." The channel north of Eagle Island was dredged in 1865-66 to a depth of ten feet, which since that date has been regarded and used as the main channel. The Sandusky basin in its greatest extent from north to south is approximately sixty-five miles and its greatest width from east to west some forty-five miles. Its form is oval and it drains something over two thousand square miles of territory.

Between the Maumee and Sandusky River systems, lies the smaller valley drained by the Portage River system. Emptying into Lake Erie where is now Port Clinton, Ottawa County, where there are low, shallow inlets near its mouth reaching in different directions, the Portage, following up stream, passes through the entire length of Ottawa County, cuts through Woodville Township in the northwest corner of Sandusky County. In entering Wood County at Pemberville two miles from the east line thereof and about the middle of the county north and south, it spreads fan-like over the southern and eastern portions of said Wood County. At the "Portage Forks" at Pemberville, the east branch of the river passes up through Freedom Township to New Rochester, where there is a second fork; the east branch thereof from the south draining even the southeast corner of Wood County to Fostoria, and also a small portion there of Hancock and Seneca counties. What is known as the middle branch of the Portage branching westward from New Rochester, with its various upper converging head tributaries, drains a wide southern central section of Wood County and the northern edge of Hancock. The Portage north branch, so-called, heads from Pemberville southwest through Scotch Ridge, the village of Portage and with its various head streams drains southwestern Wood County and portions of Hancock and Henry, in the vicinity of Deshler. An east and west ridge through northern Hancock County divides the Portage system from the Blanchard, a part of the Maumee system. The Portage runs through Oak Harbor, Elmore and Woodville.

Artificial drainage and the clearing of the vast forests have brought great changes to the rivers and smaller streams of both the Maumee and Sandusky River systems, as well as the Portage. The water courses at an early day were much more formidable in size, the average stage of water being much higher. Streams of small character now, were then declared navigable and utilized for commercial purposes. As an example, there have been such great changes in conditions at the Sandusky Bay and at the mouth of the Sandusky River since the early explorers mapped that region, as to make the situations almost unrecognizable. The map of M. de Lery of 1754, shows the northern and southern shore lines at the west end of the bay to be nearly parallel and the bay of almost uniform width. At the present date, the west end is over six miles wide "with a deep bow southward." Along the southern shore there were once heavy forests of oak, elm and ash. Heavy seas produced by strong northern winds, finally inundated the lands to such an extent that the giant trees were undermined and destroyed and great inroads made by erosion in the shore line. Eagle Island in 1820 contained 134 acres, covered with heavy timber, mostly honey locust and walnut. At present the island is practically nothing but a marsh. The following is taken on the subject from the writings of that learned historian, the late Basil Meek: "The greatest change on the bay has been along the shore from a few miles east of Pickerel Creek, to the mouth of the river. The bay here is wider than farther east, and as the shores receive the full sweep of the northeast seas, erosion shows with greater force and extent on the south shore than on the opposite side of the bay. Several of the present land owners in this vicinity say, that the shores have washed away from eighty to one hundred rods during their recollection. The north shore of the bay has, from recent measurements compared with the original government survey of 1820 (by Sylvanus Bourne) receded as much as forty rods near Presque Isle, while at its western end it has undoubtedly receded much farther. The great northeast storms, which there so frequently occur, have produced lasting changes on the bay and marshes; and those which were most effective, because occurring at a time of the highest water, were in 1857-1862. A large part of Eagle Island, as well as many acres along the south shore, were washed away in these storms. Records show that Lake Erie reached a higher level in 1838 than ever before, so far as we have evidence, and much of the timber bordering the shores of the bay and on the islands was

killed by the stand of high water then, and also by the later high water of 1858 to 1860.

"Most of what is now marsh and open water, from Raccoon Creek to South Creek was formerly prairie, covered with joint grass and hoop-pole grass, as was also that west of South Creek to Green Creek. Records of the lake level, kept in different places, show, that at four times in the first half of the last century, the water was lower than at any time in the last half. In 1810 and in 1819 it was lower than at any time since 1820; in 1841 and 1846 it was lower than at any time since the latter date. In the absence of any record of exact measurements of lake levels west of Cleveland, we have, however, evidence that the water about Sandusky Bay and the islands was lower in the early part of the last century than it was later.

"Certain it is, that during the past century, heavy timber grew in and about the Sandusky River marshes, where there is now two or three feet of water, and no timber. From a survey made for the Winnous Point Club in 1893, in eight sections of land adjacent to the mouth of the river, there is not now more than half a section of dry land. These same sections in the survey made by the government surveyor in 1820, show five and one-half sections of dry land, most of which is now open water and marsh. In the broad water to the west of Eagle Island, were located Peach, Graveyard, Squaw and Cape Islands and the Middle Ground; the latter two have entirely washed away in late years and Peach, Graveyard and Squaw islands are so diminished in size that the noted rebel chief, Nicolas, and his band of recalcitrant Wyandots who inhabited Peach and Graveyard islands in 1745, would today have much difficulty in securing sufficient dry ground for a habitation. The same is also true of Cherry Island, where some accounts say he at first settled.

"From the statements of a number of land owners residing along the shores of the bay, who are familiar with the annual encroachment of its waters, it is safe to say that the present site of Fort Sandusky, which was, according to the Journal of M. de Lery, built on the north shore of the bay nearest to the Portage to Lake Erie in about 1745, is probably one-eighth of a mile out in the Sandusky Bay, and, of course, now under water. M. de Lery was a distinguished French Army Engineer, whose residence was at Quebec. He traversed the regions described and kept a journal of his travels."

Prof. E. L. Moseley in 1904, in an address before the Ohio

State Academy of Science on the "Formation of Sandusky Bay and Cedar Point," also says:

"The bay with the connected marshes is probably twenty per cent larger now than in 1820. So far as the enlargement is due to erosion it should proceed more rapidly the wider the bay becomes, for the waves attain greater force. The effect of the waves, however, is diminished by the bay bridge, by jetties at the entrance to the bay, by docks and by stones put on the shore purposely to protect the land. The enlargement of the bay, due to the subsidence of the land, may be partly prevented by dikes and may be effected to some extent by changes at Niagara Falls, produced by human agency. We may reasonably expect, however, that the bay will continue to spread over the adjacent lowland much as it has been doing for centuries past.

"It has been supposed that the lake, which after the melting of the southern portion of the glacier, overspread a larger area than Lake Erie does now, subsided until what are now the islands appeared above its surface. This view is doubtless correct, but there is now much evidence to show that it continued to subside until the islands formed part of the mainland and afterward rose and isolated them again, and is still rising and likely to submerge them again. The old beaches which may be traced for long distances running nearly parallel to the present shores of the Great Lakes, must have been level at the time they were formed, but they are not now level, and there has, therefore, been a tilting of that part of the earth's crust which includes the basins of the Great Lakes, as there has been on many other parts. These beaches all have gentle slopes, toward the south and southwest, indicating that in this part of North America, there has been an uplifting of the land toward the north and northeast, or a depression toward the south, southwest or both. The effect of this tilting of the basins of these lakes has been to raise the water on the south and west, as compared with that on the opposite sides, just as the tipping of a saucer partly filled with water would do.

"This rise of the water due to tilting of the land, 2.14 feet in a century, is about the same as the change of lake level that sometimes occurs within a year, in consequence of variations in the rainfall; and is considerably less than that produced in Sandusky Bay by a single northeast gale. The present generation is likely to see the water higher than it was in 1858, and in northeast gales, the lower parts of Sandusky submerged; and

before the middle of the next century the water at such times may go quite across the peninsula from Port Clinton to Sandusky Bay. After two or two and a half centuries, the water may cover this part of the peninsula for months at a time and after three centuries may do so at ordinary stages. Marblehead will then be an island and Sandusky Bay will show no resemblance to its present form."

As to the situation in this section in 1755 to 1757, reference is made to the story of James Smith in his life among the Ohio Indians. Where was then prairie is now evidently a low marsh. Below the City of Fremont to where it begins to expand near its mouth, the Sandusky is practically of the uniform width of about three hundred feet. The average depth now is about twelve feet —except at such places as the Whitaker Bar, two and a half miles below Fremont, and the bar at the junction with Mud Creek Bay.

As with the Maumee River system, the Sandusky and tributaries in early days had their dams for water power, where flouring and sawing mills were built. Honey Creek and Tymochtee had their quota, and a notable dam on the Sandusky still well intact, is at the old St. John's mill site, a beautiful situation above the City of Tiffin. At the "lower falls" just above Fremont, and where James Smith and the Indians of his party in 1756-1757 "buried their birch bark canoes" for the winter, when spending the cold season farther in the interior, there is now at Ballville dam one of the finest hydro-electric plants in this territory. There were grist mills here as early as 1821; also an early sawmill and a wool carding and fulling factory.

The Portage also had its early mills in especially the Oak Harbor, Elmore, Woodville, Pemberville, Scotch Ridge and New Rochester sections. To go into details would require much space.

Originally, the land routes were only natural trails winding through the wilderness. With settlements being located, gradually made roads appeared here and there, although at seasons they were almost impassable. Consequently with the establishment of water power mills, the rivers and even many creeks were made the early highways of commerce. Individual mill owners and the combination of two or more farmers on the Maumee system would transport their products by pirogues, some even as far as Detroit. Boating from Fort Wayne to the villages of Maumee and Perrysburg and return ordinarily required about a week's time. All kinds of current products and merchandise

were transported up and down stream; merchants bringing up their wares in exchange for products to be shipped to the eastern market. Occasional passengers took transportation on these boats. Going downstream with a good stage of water, the ride was comparatively rapid and enjoyable. Returning up the river especially at a low stage of water in these freight boats, was another story. Travelers engaging passage from Port Lawrence (Toledo), Perrysburg and Maumee to Defiance and Fort Wayne, when the various rapids were being negotiated, were often obliged to wade in the river and aid in lifting and pushing the boat over the shallow places, and also help pole the craft up the deeper, sluggish current at other points. Sometimes they would become discouraged, abandon the boat, and take the river trail on foot to their destination. Rafting was another means of taking logs to the mills down stream and timber to the lake markets. All the larger tributaries of the Maumee were navigable for canoes and pirogues at an early day. These included the head streams, the St. Marys and St. Joseph; the Auglaize with its tributaries, especially the Blanchard; the Tiffin and Swan Creek. They were ultilized for transporting mill products and merchandise. While it seems almost incredible, passage in canoes was made from Findlay down the Blanchard to the Auglaize, down the Auglaize to the Maumee, and down the Maumee to Perrysburg and Maumee villages. Of course most of these streams were traversed in early days by the traders in transporting their goods and peltries; especially the Auglaize, St. Marys, and Maumee, in transporting army supplies, and arms and equipment during the War of 1812 and before that period.

Some of the high spots regarding the craft on the Maumee not hand propelled are as follows: Among the first sail boats built on the lower Maumee for river and lake coast trade were the sloop or schooner *Miami*, 25 tons, built at Perrysburg site in 1810 by Capt. Anderson Martin for Detroit owners; the *Blacksnake*, same size, in use from 1814, Capt. James Wilkinson; the *Leopard*, 1819. The *Guerriere*, 75 tons, was built at Swan Creek and sold at auction, January 1, 1834, at Sandusky, by John Hollister & Company of Perrysburg. In 1827, the *Eagle* of 130 tons was built at Perrysburg, and with Capt. David Wilkinson, master, up to 1832, ran between the lower Maumee and Buffalo; the *Antelope*, 75 tons, was built in 1828. The latter boats were owned in Perrysburg. The *Miami* and the *Chippawa*, built at Chippawa, were captured by the British early in the War of

1812, but were recaptured by Perry in the battle of Lake Erie and used as American lake transport ships. Up to about 1845, there were some twenty schooners of record, some with a tonnage as high as 150 burden on the lower Maumee.

Among the most important schooners not mentioned some of which ran between Perrysburg, Maumee, Toledo and Detroit, Cleveland, Sandusky and Buffalo were:

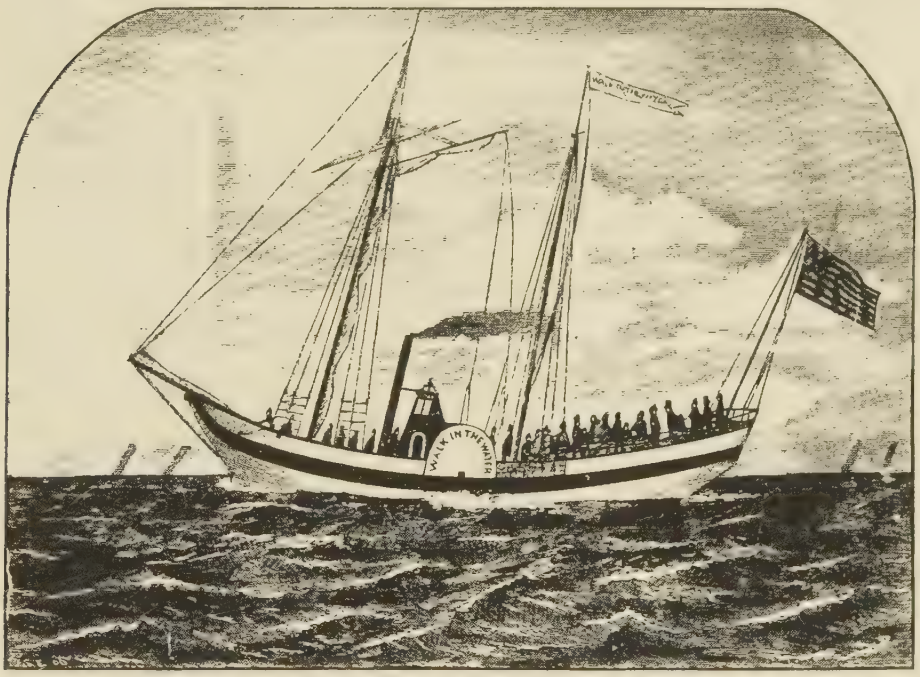
Vessel	*Tons*	*Captain*
Sally	7	William Pratt
Leopard	28	John T. Baldwin
Saucy Jane	15	Jacob Wilkinson
Happy Return	12	John T. Baldwin
Vermillion	34	John T. Baldwin
Packet of Miami	15	Almon Reed
Lady Washington	40	Almon Reed
Fire Fly	23	Luther Harvy
Essex	30	Henry Brooks
Walter Joy	130	Built in 1835, Perrysburg
John Hollister	130	Built in 1835, Perrysburg
Michigan	108	Amos Pratt
Favorite	150	Built in 1837, Perrysburg
Major Oliver	150	Built in 1837, Toledo
Scotland	100	Built in 1845, Perrysburg

The *Caroline*, 50 tons, *Gazelle*, 75 tons, and some others were also built at Perrysburg, and the *Merchant*, 75 tons, *Tippecanoe*, 50 tons, the *Maria*, 100 tons, *Robert Hollister*, 120 tons, in 1844, were launched at Maumee.

The famous *Walk-in-the-Water*, the first steamboat on the Great Lakes, was of 340 tons and built at Black Rock, Buffalo, for McIntyre & Stewart (Dr. J. B. Stewart), of Albany, New York, and others. It was named for the noted Wyandot chief whose home was at the Village of Mauagua on the lower Detroit River. An account of her maiden voyage is taken from the *Cleveland Register* of November 3, 1818:

"The steamboat *Walk-in-the-Water*, left Buffalo for Detroit on the 10th of October, having on board 100 passengers. The facility with which she moves over our lake warrants us in saying that she will be of utility, not only to the proprietors, but also to the public. She offers us a safe, sure and speedy conveyance for all our surplus products to distant markets. She works as well in a storm as any vessel on the Lakes, and answers the most sanguine expectations of the proprietors." Noah Reed,

who in coming to the Maumee Valley with "Uncle" Guy Nearing, was a passenger from Black Rock to Detroit, tells in his "memoirs" a different story. He relates that the boat left Black Rock August 18, 1819, and did not reach Detroit until September 15th. The craft was carried back to within sight of Buffalo five or six times, after getting to Dunkirk and above. The fastest time made by the *Walk-in-the-Water* was twenty-nine hours from Buffalo to Cleveland, a distance of 200 miles, or slightly



WALK-IN-THE-WATER

The first steamboat on Lake Erie, built at Black Rock, near Buffalo, launched July 4, 1818. Its owners, Messrs. McIntyre and Stewart, of Albany, New York, intended the boat to run from Buffalo to the site of a town they projected at the foot Fort Meigs, which was to be named "Orleans of the North". The boat drew too much water to get beyond Rock Bar. Dr. Stewart, one of the owners of the boat, stated that it cost $70,000, including payments to Robert Fulton and his partner, Livingston, for the patent right. In a storm on the night of November 6, 1821, the vessel dragged anchor, grounded on a sandy shore and was wrecked about ten miles south of Buffalo, her passengers and crew of over eighty persons being saved in a small boat.

less than seven miles per hour. She made several excursions over the lakes, visiting Toledo and Lower Sandusky and in 1820, sailed as far as Mackinaw.

The builders of this first lake steamboat had visions of a great enterprise. Doctor Stewart and J. J. Lovett purchased River Tracts 65 and 66, including the celebrated grounds of Fort Meigs on the Maumee, and a town site was surveyed on the lower

ground next to the river and named "Orleans of the North." It was the design of the projectors to make Orleans the chief port at the head of Lake Erie and the steamer was to be an aid to their plans. Arriving at Swan Creek, it was discovered that the *Walk-in-the-Water* drew too much water to pass over "Rock Bar" about two thirds of the way up to Orleans, and this fact with other troubles, caused the proposed port bubble to burst; followed by the wreck of the boat in a storm off Buffalo Bay in the fall of 1821, after a spectacular career of three years' service.

The *Enterprise* was the second steamboat to come into now Toledo harbor, in 1823; the third was evidently the *Ohio*, built at Sandusky in 1832. After some years the *Ohio* was abandoned at the bank of the Toledo "Middle Grounds" above the mouth of Swan Creek and her hulk was later burned. In 1832, the steamer *General Gratoit*, Captain Arthur Edwards, made weekly trips between Detroit and Vistula, Port Lawrence, Perrysburg and Maumee. It is recorded that the promoters of Vistula endeavored in 1832, to arrange for the regular Buffalo-Detroit steamboats to make that port in now Toledo. Not being successful they arranged for the steamer *Pioneer* of Sandusky to run between these two points, and connect with the Detroit boats at Sandusky for Buffalo. In 1833, a canal boat changed to steam power at Rochester, New York, was brought to the Maumee. Under Captain Daniels, with Isaac Woodcox as pilot, she ran up to Fort Wayne. Her name was changed to the *Phenomenon*, and while plying the Maumee was used for many social excursions and public dances. Under Capt. C. K. Bennett, she later ran on the lower Maumee again. In 1836, the steamer *Anthony Wayne* of 18 tons, was built at Brunersburg, mouth of the Tiffin River. After running between the upper towns and Fort Wayne, under the name of *Dave Crockett*, she was used on the lower Maumee.

The first screw-propeller to run on Lake Erie was the *Sampson*, 250 tons, built at Perrysburg in 1843. The *Princeton*, 400 tons, was built there in 1845, and the propeller *Globe*, 380 tons, was built at Maumee the same year. The first steam barge was the *Petrel*, built at Toledo in 1849, and used by Joel W. Kelsey of that city for lumber shipping from Saginaw. The first tugboat brought to Toledo was in 1857. It came from Philadelphia via the New York and Erie Canal piloted by Capt. David Miller of Toledo.

Other steamboats built on the lower Maumee between 1833 and 1843 are as follows:

Vessel	*Date*	*Tons*	*Built At*
Detroit	1833	200	Toledo
Commodore Perry	1835	350	Perrysburg
General Wayne	1837	390	Perrysburg
John Marshall	1837	35	Perrysburg
General Vance	1838	50	Perrysburg
Chesapeake	1838	412	Maumee
General Harrison	1840	326	Maumee
Indiana	1840	550	Toledo
St. Louis	1844	615	Perrysburg
Superior	1845	567	Perrysburg
Troy	1843	547	Maumee
James Wolcott	1843	80	Maumee

Taken from the manuscripts of the late C. W. Evers, a former Bowling Green editor and historian is the following:

"In 1837, the steamboat *General Wayne*, under Capt. H. C. Williams, plied between the Head of the Rapids and Flat Rock, near Defiance, so that passengers might leave Perrysburg at noon and arrive at Defiance about 7 o'clock in the evening, or leave Defiance at 6 o'clock in the morning and arrive at the Head of the Rapids about noon. In May, 1838, the *Andrew Jackson* ran between Perrysburg and Manhattan, stopping at Maumee, Oregon, Upper Toledo and Lower Toledo four times a day, and, in 1839, the *Oliver Newberry* and *Erie* made regular trips between Perrysburg and Detroit, leaving at 7:30 A. M. and arriving at Detroit about 4 P. M. Prior to this, even from 1822, a number of lake vessels called regularly at Perrysburg en route from Buffalo to Detroit.

"In 1846, the aggregate tonnage of the Maumee Valley was more than half the steamboat tonnage of the lakes in 1835, and lacked only a ton of being one-fourth of the entire steamboat tonnage of 1845. The tonnage of sailing vessels, constructed in the Valley, lacked only 1,025 pounds of being one-fifth of the aggregate lake tonnage in 1835, and only 875 pounds of being one-fourteenth the aggregate tonnage of 1846.

"Hundreds of stories relating to these days are still told. Hosmer pictures the determined character of the old lake captains of the Maumee more than once, and Capt. David Wilkinson particularly. In the fall of the year 1840, Captain Wilkinson's steamboat, *Commodore Perry*, was lying at the Perrysburg dock and the Captain was sick, and his crew were either sick or

scattered. The Captain was a great admirer of Commodore Perry, and always made it a point to attend celebrations of Perry's victory over the British fleet at Put-in-Bay. In that year the great naval triumph was celebrated in grand style at Erie, Pennsylvania. Sick as was Wilkinson, he was bound to attend the celebration, and insisted upon Shibnah Spink taking charge of the boat for the trip. A raw crew was collected, the Captain was carried to the boat and placed on a cot in his room, and the trip was made successfully, though not without many difficulties which seemed almost insurmountable. Those who knew him were not surprised at his making the trip, for all obstacles were forced to yield when he determined upon a line of action.

"The story of the *Queen Mab*, as associated with the old 'Exchange Hotel' (Perrysburg) is a familiar one to the people of Perrysburg. Inside the hotel bar was a small trap door in the floor known to but few persons. Beneath was a walled cellar deep and dark which was reached by a step ladder. This unknown vault was once stored full of the highest grades of imported liquors. How they came there, where from and when, outsiders did not know. About that time a fellow named Jack Olney frequented the Maumee a good deal. Jack was a New Yorker, a confirmed cripple, yet a jolly, open-handed sort of a fellow, a favorite with sporting men. Jack owned a little pleasure craft called *Queen Mab*. She was ship-rigged in every appointment, painted black, and as handsome as a bird and a good sailer. Jack frequented the river, bay, and lake as far as Detroit and Malden, and often indulged his friends in a pleasure ride on the *Queen Mab*, treating them with the most generous hospitality. But the report leaked out after the *Queen* had gone, that she was a sly little smuggler, false lined and equipped for the business, yet so carefully as to leave no ground for suspicion. So insignificant a craft of course received no attention from the custom officer who was stationed then at Miami (Maumee), and the dark-mantled little *Queen* had no trouble in taking on a valuable cargo at Malden in the night and making her way unsuspected to any of the lake or river ports. Whether she ever landed a cargo on the island in the Maumee in front of Perrysburg, which afterward found its way to the dark cellar, is at best only a surmise. Bensman and Thurber, the original proprietors of the house, who were favorites on the *Queen*, are gone; the cellar walls have long since tumbled in, but the impressions of our chronicler are that

Jack Olney could tell how that cellar came to be stored with the best imported high grade liquors, and that there never was a gayer smuggler than the little *Queen Mab.*

"Among the stories of wrecks by winds, or collisions, or fires, that of the schooner *Eclipse,* in September, 1822; of the schooner *Sylph,* in May, 1824; that of the schooner *Surprise,* April 28 or 29, 1826; that of the schooner *Guerriere,* May 29, 1832; and that of the steamer *G. P. Griffith,* June 17, 1850, concern the marine of the Maumee, either in ownership or personnel of people lost. In 1826, Capt. David Wilkinson commanded the *Guerriere* and rescued the survivors of the wrecked *Surprise.* In 1832, the *Guerriere* was sailed by R. Pember for John Hollister, the owner. When lost on Middle Sister Island, May 29, 1832, it was Captain Pember who saved most of the crew and passengers, a woman and her four children being lost. In 1850, Charles C. Robey was captain of the *G. P. Griffith.* He, his wife, mother-in-law and two children, all of Perrysburg, were drowned, and about 300 passengers perished in the waters of Lake Erie. Most of the crew, too, were lost, so that, all in all, the burning of the steamer, in sight of Fairport, Ohio, that 17th of June, 1850, was a calamity as appalling then as the burning of a great ocean liner would be today."

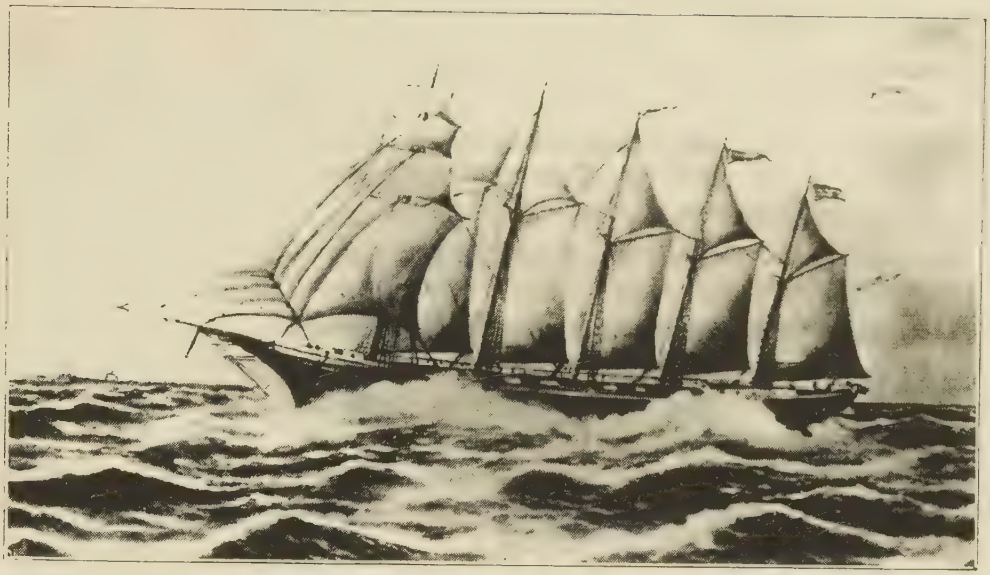
Comparisons. In 1838, the merchants of Perrysburg paid on freight from New York City at the rate of $22 a ton, via the Erie Canal and lake boats, while from Perrysburg to Chicago a sum of $10 extra was charged. The fall rates were very much higher, being no less than $4 for a package the size of a barrel between Buffalo and Chicago. The insurance was $12.50 a ton between these points, and between Perrysburg and Chicago $8.34 a ton. The completion of the Michigan Southern Railroad to Chicago, in 1852, changed all this, brought Perrysburg within a few hours ride of the Gateway to the West, and made traveling a luxury rather than an affliction. In 1841 Toledo began to take the lead of Perrysburg in marine interests; in 1842 seven steamboats were gathered under one management to run between Buffalo and Toledo, and, within a few years, the new town on the site of Fort Industry took precedence in everything except beauty of location. Perrysburg, of course, did not lose all her marine interests; for, until comparatively recent years, ship building was carried on, and several large boats were launched from her yards each year. Passenger steamers of light draft ran between Toledo and Perrysburg up to near 1910.

In later years ship building has been one of Toledo's important industries, given impetus by the Craig Ship Building Company. In 1866, John Craig, a native of New York City, cast his fortunes with the West and at Gibraltar, Michigan, established a shipyard for building wooden vessels. In connection with his son George L. Craig he followed this enterprise in 1882 by starting a second plant at Trenton, Michigan, under the firm name of John Craig & Son. Six years later these two yards were consolidated under the name of The Craig Ship Building Company. For the purpose of obtaining larger and better situated facilities, the plant was moved to Toledo, and the extensive yards established at Front and now Craig streets on the east side. The first vessel built at this plant was the schooner *Churchill*, 202 feet in length and a 38-foot beam. A drydock was constructed in 1894 with sufficient capacity to handle the largest craft on the lakes. In 1890, the first steel steamship built in Toledo, the *John W. Moon*, was launched there. One of their earlier orders was the building of the huge steel transports capable of carrying a large number of railroad freight cars, used by the then Pere Marquette Railroad Company, for connecting its lines across Lake Michigan. The Craig Company also built similar transports to carry loaded freight cars from Conneaut, Ohio to ports in Canada. They built several steel freighters and a number of passenger steamers, including the *City of Toledo.* In December, 1905, the Craig plant was taken over by The Toledo Ship Building Company, which further greatly enlarged the facilities and have built some of the largest steel freighters now plowing the Great Lakes.

The Bailey ship yards then located at Ash and Summit streets had the distinction of building the largest sailing vessel ever on fresh water—the *David Dows*, a "five-master," which on Thanksgiving Day, November 28, 1889, in a severe gale, was lost off Whiting, Indiana, near the head of Lake Michigan.

At the foot of Granada Street, east side, are located the dry docks of the Gilmer Brothers and at the foot of Columbus Street, below Riverside Park, is the James Scanes dry dock. In season Toledo with its fine harbor, is one of the busiest ports on the Great Lakes, its miles of dockage being lined with the largest freight carriers. Three passenger steamship lines also run to Toledo, The Detroit & Cleveland Navigation Company, The Pittsburg Steamship company and the White Star Line.

The first United States Custom House for the collection of



THE FIVE-MASTED SCHOONER DAVID DOWS

The only one of its kind ever on the Great Lakes, designed and built by Capt. J. L. Skeldon at Bailey's shipyard, Toledo, late in 1881. This vessel was 265 feet long, of 37-foot beam and of 18-foot depth. It was lost off Whiting, Indiana, Thanksgiving Day, 1889.

TURTLE ISLAND AND LIGHT HOUSE, LAKE ERIE

Built on a natural island, 1831. Rebuilt, 1867. Abandoned as a Light House May 15, 1904. Sold December, 1904, to Capt. John Craig.

export and import duties, established in the Maumee Valley was located at Miami in now the lower section of Maumee City. Congress passed the act establishing the Customs District of Miami March 3, 1805, but the office at Sandusky, the original port in Ohio as a subdivision of the District of Erie, continued to make any collections necessary, consequently the Miami port was not opened until same years later. The records show that Amos Spafford who had located across the Maumee River, was collector of the Port of Miami in 1810. According to his report to the Government for the quarter ending June 30, 1810, there were two classes of exports, valued as follows: Skins and furs, $5,610.85; bears oil, 20 gallons, $30. When General Hull surrendered at Detroit in 1812, Collector Spafford, with other Americans on the Maumee left the river to the British and Indians. Near the close of the War of 1812, he returned, however, as his salary for 1814 was $2.50; office rent, $10; fuel and stationery, $15.75. He also appends the following note: "There being no officer legally authorized to administer oaths, nearer than sixty or seventy miles, I have not been able to attend to that part of the duty as the law requires." There was a custom office at Port Lawrence (Toledo) in 1832, with William Wilson collector and there probably was a collector there some years before that date. As early as 1824 the custom house records show that between 1822 and 1824, there were twenty-eight sailing vessels doing business on the Maumee River.

Turning to the Sandusky River, while the canoe of the red man and the white trader in the earliest days, traversed most of its course, the head of commercial navigations was at the "falls" at Lower Sandusky (Fremont). There were English trading posts along the lower section until after the close of the American Revolution as already told about, at which time traffic between the merchants of the Sandusky and Detroit was evidently the most extensive on the lower lakes. Then with the influx of white settlers and the founding of Lower Sandusky, now Fremont, as a business center, the river commerce expanded in importance with the establishment of the boat building industry.

Among the British sailing craft that plied the Sandusky from Detroit during the Revolution were the *Faith*, *Adventure*, *Makien*, *St. Aubech*, and one or two others, names hard to decipher. Missionary Badger sailed up the Sandusky in a small craft in 1806. In the year 1816, at Lower Sandusky, was built the sloop *Nautilus*. Then in later years, among the more important

schooners built there were the *Cincinnati, Home, Almira Meeker, Wyandot, Ben Flint, Dan Tindall* and *Cornelia Amsden.* May 29, 1830, the steamboat *Ohio* was launched at Lower Sandusky and later the steamer *Fremont.* The *Tindall* was built at the mouth of Muscalonge Creek and the *Flint* with several other schooners were constructed at the yards where the L. E. W. Railroad bridge crosses the river. The last sailing craft built at Fremont was the schooner *N. C. West* in 1867. The early exports on the Sandusky included walnut and other timber with such products as wheat, corn, oats, bacon, lard, butter, leather, ashes and staves. The imports included all kinds of merchandise, groceries and salt, this as early as 1840.

The early British traders were obliged to leave the Sandusky at the close of the Revolution, but at least one of the early merchants, James Whitaker, remained in trade with the Indians and first white settlers, passing through or coming to the region until his death in 1804.

Rev. James B. Finley in his autobiography, says that in the fall of the year 1800, in company with others, he purchased a drove of fat cattle around Chillicothe and drove them through to Detroit by the way of the Sandusky Plains, Lower Sandusky and the lower Maumee Rapids, where they came to a large Indian village. "The Indians of this town had just finished their great fall dance and frolic, and were making preparations for starting for their hunting grounds. Being hungry and half starved, they demanded of us a steer for the privilege of driving through their country. I told them no, they could not have it, as the cattle were for the soldiers at Detroit. At this, one of the Indians raised his rifle to shoot a steer, but riding instantly between him and the animal, I told him that if he shot I would send a force of soldiers after him from Detroit, and he would be taken there to answer for his conduct. This had the desired effect and we passed on unmolested. * * * Soon after the sale (of the cattle to the Government contractor) we left for home with provisions sufficient to last till we reached the Maumee Rapids, where our stock being exhausted, we found it impossible to purchase any, and taking a string of corn, on which with some hazel nuts, we subsisted for two days, we arrived at Lower Sandusky. At this place we purchased of Whitaker a few quarts of flour and a half of a small deer."

At this time Hugh Patterson also kept a store at Muncietown. But the first stock of goods of then modern merchandise was

opened up at Lower Sandusky in 1817, by J. S. and G. G. Olmstead. J. S. Olmstead in 1830 shipped by boat down the Sandusky and to Buffalo, the first important cargo of wheat from Lower Sandusky port. The price received was 60 cents per bushel, which with shipping expenses of 20 cents per bushel, left comparatively no profit. In April, 1840, according to newspaper files, there were four schooners being loaded with wheat at Lower Sandusky for Buffalo. From the writings of the historian Basil Meek is taken the following:

"As many as fourteen lake vessels have been in port here at one time loading and discharging freight. Some idea of the shipping on Sandusky River in early days may be had by the following clipping from the *Fremont Journal* of August 27, 1869, showing the marine news for that week:

"Marine News. Schooner *H. D. Root*, Captain Tyler, from Buffalo, arrived 16th, with merchandise; cleared 18th, for Buffalo, with lumber.

"Scow *Vampyre*, Captain Large, from Saginaw, arrived 18th, with pine lumber. Cleared for Buffalo 21st, with 8,500 bushels wheat.

"Scow *Lime Rock*, Captain Corbin, arrived from Buffalo, 22d, light.

"Steamer *Oliver H. Perry* from Sandusky, arrived 22d, with excursionists, cleared same day.

"Scow *D. E. Baryman*, Captain Grant, arrived from Buffalo, on the 23d, light.

"Schooner *N. C. West*, Captain Skinner, from Buffalo, 23d, cleared 24th, with 9,000 bushels wheat for Buffalo.

"Schooner *Wm. Kelley*, Captain McKay, from Buffalo, arrived August 23d, light.

"Steamer *Reindeer*, Captain Orr, from Sandusky, arrived 24th, light, cleared with excursionists for Put-in-Bay, 25th inst.

"For many years the schooners *H. D. Root* and *N. C. West* with the barge *Fostoria* and others, traded between Fremont and Lake Erie ports, being towed up and down the river from 1866 to 1879 by the tug *L. Q. Rawson.*

"Gradually the marine shipping grew less as the railroads were extended and the last of our river fleet, the schooners *West* and *Root*, were disposed of and Fremont ceased to be a regular port of entry except for an occasional cargo of lumber.

"Among the first passenger and freight steamers trading at Lower Sandusky were the steamers *Commerce* and *Jack Down-*

ing. The *Commerce* was running between Lower Sandusky and Venice in 1840.

"In 1851 the steamer *Islander* began making regular trips between Fremont and Sandusky, stopping at local docks for passengers and freight. The *Islander* was succeeded on this route in 1855 by the new steamer *Island Queen*, Captain Orr, master. Later the steamers *Bonnie Boat*, *General Grant*, *Evening Star*, and *Reindeer* plied the river route and the steamer *Young Reindeer* in 1877 was the last passenger steamer to make weekly trips to Sandusky.

"In 1866 the propeller *City of Fremont* was built by The Fremont Transportation Company and ran on the route from Fremont to Buffalo for two seasons.

"Many excursions to Sandusky and the Islands were taken on the steamers *Island Queen*, *Bonnie Boat*, *General Grant*, *Reindeer*, *Oliver H. Perry*, *Islander*, and in later years on the steamers *B. F. Ferris* and *R. B. Hayes.*

"Before the advent of the gasoline launch there were a number of small steamers on the river owned by Fremont parties.

"In 1867, the *Mary Sutor* was running on the river and later the *Young Reindeer*, *Fred*, *Gem*, and several small steam launches formed the pleasure fleet. In 1886 John Smith built the steamer *Colonel Bartlet* on the east bank of the river and for the next nine years it was used in picnic excursions and fishing trips to the bay.

"On the banks of the river and on Pickerel, Raccoon, South and Mud creeks, many thousand cords of wood, hickory butts, stave bolts, piles, and saw-logs were piled during the winter months to be freighted to Sandusky or lake ports at the opening of navigation. Gradually the streams began to fill up as the country began to be drained, so that at present none of these streams are navigable for commercial purposes. The once thought-to-be-endless, but now fast failing supply of timber for shipping purposes gave out about 1890; and save an occasional cargo of lumber from some Michigan port for our local lumber yards in Fremont, there has been little or no freight traffic on the Sandusky River for the past twenty years. (Up to 1910.)"

Lower Sandusky was made a port of entry about 1833. In the season of 1851, the schooner *Hamer* made the run between Upper Sandusky and Buffalo in seventy-eight hours, the best record for a sailboat between these points. The value of Fremont exports for the season of 1851 was $337,279.58; imports $201,-

026, with eighty-eight boat arrivals and clearances. Newspaper files report eight vessels at the docks receiving and discharging freight, September 22, 1854.

During the War of 1812, the Government purchased a tract of timber land on the east side of the Sandusky for the purpose of establishing a navy yard there, but as no additional armed craft were required, after peace was declared, the land was later disposed of to private parties.

With the completion of the canal along the Maumee and the advent of the railroads in the Sandusky region, the importance of river commerce on the Maumee and Sandusky began to wane.

THE CANAL ERA

The first suggestion of canals in now Ohio was apparently made by James Smith in his "Life and Travels" in 1757, among the Indians of this territory. In speaking of the portage between the headwaters of the Sandusky and that of the Scioto, he says that this portage is "level and clear of rocks, timber or stone, so that with a little digging there may be water carriage the whole way from the Scioto to Lake Erie;" making water communication with the Ohio.

As has been shown in the story of navigation on the Maumee and Sandusky systems, the chief roads for early commerce were the rivers. However, artificial waterways (canals) were discussed seriously at an early period. Even before the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, and the establishment of the Northwest Territory, George Washington and Thomas Jefferson had discussed the advisability of a canal connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River as part of a national system which should join the Mississippi with the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic. Generals Wayne and Harrison in the records of their military campaigns set forth the practicability of such artificial methods for commerce. Capt. Robert B. McAfee in his "History of the Late War in the Western Country," (1816) often referred to in this history, says: "The Miami (Maumee) is navigable for boats from this place (Fort Wayne) to the Lake. The portage to the nearest navigable branch of the Wabash is but seven or eight miles, through a low, marshy prairie, from which the water runs both to the Wabash and St. Marys. [The latter a head stream of the Maumee.—Editor.] A canal at some future day will unite these rivers and thus render a town at Fort Wayne, as formerly, the most considerable place in this country."

Maj. Benjamin F. Stickney who figured so prominently in the early history of Toledo, and who was Indian agent at Fort Wayne, at the time wrote in 1818 as follows to the *Western Spy*, a Cincinnati publication:

"The Miami River of the Lake (Maumee) is formed by the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers at Fort Wayne; pursues a general course northeast with its meanderings about 170 miles, discharging into the Maumee Bay. This river is navigable for vessels drawing five to six feet of water to Fort Meigs, sixteen miles from its mouth, and for smaller craft to its head. Although it is not large, yet, in connection with the Wabash, the importance of its navigation will not be exceeded by any discharging into the northern lakes or the Ohio River. The Wabash pursues a diametrically opposite course to its junction with the Ohio. At the highest waters of these rivers, their waters are united at the dividing ridge, and you may pass with craft from one river to the other. There is a wet prairie or swamp, covered with grass, that extends from the headwaters of the Wabash to the St. Mary's, and discharges its water into both rivers, about seven miles from one to the other. At low water this swamp is six to ten feet above the water in the rivers. It is composed of soft mud that can be penetrated twenty feet with a pole. Of course it would be a small expense of labor to connect the waters of these two rivers by a canal that would be passable at the lowest water. Those rivers will be the great thoroughfare between the lakes and the Mississippi; and, of course, will constitute an uninterrupted navigation from the Bay of St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, except for the short portage at the Falls of Niagara."

Major Stickney communicated his views to Governor Clinton, of New York, who replied: "I have found a way to get into Lake Erie and you have shown me how to get out of it. You have extended my project 600 miles."

It was also an Ohio man who introduced into American politics a practical policy of projecting and constructing internal improvements. Thomas Worthington in 1814 Governor of Ohio, while United States Senator from Ohio in 1807, offered a resolution in Congress asking the Secretary of the Treasury, Gallatin, to report to the Senate a plan for Government aid in opening roads and canals. As a "History of Ohio Canals" says: Nothing was done at this time though Gallatin, in 1808, vigorously took up the project of national aid to roads. The country was

the construction of the canal between the mouth of the Maumee River and the Head of the Rapids. The several contractors gathered about two thousand laborers along the line of the canal and the first wages were paid in Michigan "wild-cat" bank bills borrowed for the purpose. From the very beginning of the work the contractors labored under difficulties "to an extent that no other work in the state has been subjected," says the Board of Public Works, in its report for the year ending on December 31, 1839. First, the financial panic of 1837 made it impossible for the contractors to obtain funds for the prosecution of the work, and in May, 1838, the laborers had received no wages for about five months. Many of them threatened to quit, but the matter was finally adjusted by the contractors giving due bills, orders on stores, etc., all of which were fully paid in good money in June. An occasional keg of whiskey was also an inducement to continue work. Second, the high price of provisions, which had to be brought from long distance, the consequent high wages, and the sickness which drove many of the laborers out of the valley, all combined to cause vexatious delays.

Toward the close of 1839 the contractors were advised that the prospect of obtaining money to continue the work was doubtful and they were recommended to use their discretion about the prosecution of the work. Consequently, not much was done during the first three months of 1840. By the 1st of April, however, financial conditions were better and during the remainder of the year better progress was made. In June, 1842, the canal was opened for traffic between Toledo and the Rapids. In its annual report of January 2, 1843, the Board of Public Works said:

"The whole of this work is now so far completed as to admit the water when the proper season for using the same shall arrive, and nothing but unforeseen accidents will from this time prevent, at all proper seasons of the year an uninterrupted navigation. For the last fifteen months there has not been paid one dollar in money to the contractors on this canal, and the amount due is equal to $500,000. Almost the whole resources and credit of that portion of the state in the vicinity of this work have been used up and invested in the construction of the canal."

Contracts for that portion of the canal between the Rapids and the Indiana state line were let in October, 1837. The following summer the Wabash & Erie Canal was opened for traffic between Fort Wayne and Logansport, Indiana. The Ohio portion of this canal was only eighteen miles in length—from the Indi-

ana state line to the junction with the Miami & Erie Canal in Paulding County. On May 8, 1843, the canal was opened between Toledo and Lafayette, Indiana. The first boat to make the through trip was the *Albert S. White*, Capt. Cyrus Belden, of Toledo. A great celebration was held at Toledo, speeches being made by H. D. Mason, George B. Way, Myron H. Tilden, Benj. F. Stickney, John Fitch, Herman Walbridge and others. The first packet, fitted for passengers, followed soon afterward under Capt. William Dale. Fort Wayne advertised a grand celebration on July 4, 1843, when representatives from Toledo, Detroit, Lafayette and other cities were present. Gen. Lewis Cass delivered the principal address. A fleet of canal boats from Lafayette arrived at Toledo April 16 to 18, 1844, carrying 471,922 pounds of lard, 415,098 pounds of bacon, 41,949 barrels of ashes, 3,983 bushels of wheat, 1,445 barrels of pork, 860 barrels of flour and other products.

Owing to the heavy forest growth south of the junction of the two canals in Pauding County, there was considerable delay in the construction of that portion of the Miami & Erie Canal. The result was that the first boat from Cincinnati did not arrive at Toledo until June 27, 1845. The following year the United States Government made its first use of the canal in transporting troops from points in the Northwest to Cincinnati on their way to Mexico, the commissioned officers being carried upon the packets and the non-commissioned officers and privates upon freight boats. On June 28, 1847, the packet boat *Empire* left Dayton for Toledo and arrived on the 30th. Among the passengers were the Governor of Ohio, William Bebb, Ex-Gov. Thomas Corwin, Robert C. Schenck and other distinguished men. The trip was made in 48 hours. Until 1856 these canals were regarded as part of the great military thoroughfare between New York City and the South. Besides the use of the canals for military purposes, they proved to be the safest, easiest and cheapest modes of transportation devised up to this date. During the year 1846 the value of the produce brought to Toledo by the canal was $3,000,000 and the cargoes sent out from Toledo were valued at $5,000,000.

Slocum, in his "History of the Maumee Valley," gives the following description of the canal packet, or passenger boat: "The sleeping berths for the first class passengers were ranged on each side of the upper cabin, generally in two rows one above the other, but occasionally in three rows and some were made to shut up or swing out of the way by day. Hammocks and cots

were provided for the overplus passengers and many would sleep on the deck. The dining-room was below, generally midboat, but sometimes forward, and the food was generally good. These boats carried express freight and some of them carried the United States mail. They were drawn by two to six horses, according to the size of the boat and the load, and the horses were generally kept on a trot by the driver, who rode the saddle (left rear) horse, attaining a pace of from six to eight miles an hour. Relays of horses were sometimes carried in a narrow stable in the center part of the boat, especially the freight boats, but usually the packet relays were stationed at convenient ports."

The canal packets were considered both rapid and comfortable and were liberally patronized. The journey from Toledo to Lafayette, a distance of 242 miles, was advertised to be made in fifty-six hours, or a little less than five miles an hour. The rate of fare was usually three cents a mile on the packets and two-and a-half cents on the freight boats. For long distances berth and meals were included in the regular rates. From thirty-five to forty persons were considered a good passenger list, but if more sought passage they were rarely turned away. The average canal boat captain was a resourceful individual. He knew how to "handle a crowd" and would manage to take care of all that came, even if the boat's capacity was overtaxed. Competition was keen among the boats and only as an absolute necessity was business, either passenger or freight, refused. This competition extended to the operation of the boats. In meeting and passing, the rules for the position of horses, tow lines, etc., must be strictly observed, as well as those providing for the precedence of packets over freight carriers. Failure to observe the regulations was certain to start an argument, which sometimes resulted in an exchange of blows. At wharves, and particularly at the locks, the slightest unnecessary delay was sure to be resented with an outburst of profanity, if nothing more. However, one good thing resulted from the competition. The time between Toledo and Cincinnati was reduced to four days and five nights, which was looked upon as "rapid transit" in those days. And it was good time when one stops to consider the numerous stops to receive and discharge passengers and freight. Often an hour would be required to load and unload freight and delays also occurred on almost every trip on account of the precedence of other boats.

For a long time the largest boat on the canals was the *Harry of the West*, which was brought through Lake Erie from the New

York & Erie Canal in 1844, by Capt. Edwin Avery. The following year the first steam canal boat, the *Niagara*, was built for Samuel Doyle at a cost of $10,000, but it could not successfully compete with the horse-power boats. During the next ten years several steam canal boats were tried, but objections were raised to their use because the commotion caused by the propellers had a tendency to injure the banks of the canal and interfere with other boats. In November, 1859, the steam propeller *Scarecrow* made her first run from Toledo with a load of lumber for Franklin. On May 25, 1862, the propeller *Union* arrived at Toledo from Lafayette, with a cargo of 1,750 bushels of wheat and having in tow a boat carrying 2,050 bushels more; besides twenty barrels of pork and two casks of hams, 115 tons in all. Capt. William Sabin reported that he had made the trip in five days, three and one-half hours.

While the canals were in operation, it was no unusual matter for three thousand to four thousand boats to clear from Toledo annually. Frequently fifty or sixty boats would be at the Toledo docks at one time, loading and unloading or waiting their turn. Many of the laborers on the canals while they were under construction, entered or purchased land and brought their families to the Maumee Valley. In this way the canals proved a powerful stimulus to the development of the country. Slocum gives the course of the canal through Toledo as follows: "The course of the abandoned canal is now occupied in its northern part by the Wheeling & Lake Erie Railway to Cherry Street, thence the course turns nearly south, crossing Oak Street at Allen, crossing Adams between Ontario and Michigan, Madison at Ontario, Jefferson a little nearer Ontario than Erie, Monroe nearer Erie, Washington at Erie, thence turning westward to cross Lafayette at Ontario, thence southward crossing Nebraska Avenue just west of Thirteenth Street and Swan Creek just east of Wyandotte Street." The canal tolls in Toledo in 1847 amounted to $63,869. The number of boats in commission was 417. The number of canal boat clearances in 1848 was 3,753; aggregate tonnage 142,071,204 pounds. Tolls paid, $117,220.25.

There are yet living in Toledo (1929) men who remember when the canal was in operation through the heart of Toledo; when there were docks along near now Ontario Street between Monroe and Adams and when schooners loaded and unloaded their cargoes, near where now stands the Toledo Public Library and the old Central High School building.

After the advent of the railroad the canal traffic began to decline. Wherever the two came into competition rates were reduced to such an extent that profits disappeared. The railroads then raised rates at points away from the canal to make up the loss. An instance is recited where the railroad rate on wheat from Tontogany, Wood County, to Toledo, a distance of twenty-three miles, was seven cents per bushel. The same road (the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton) carried wheat from Troy to Toledo, 120 miles, for six cents per bushel. The reason was that Troy was on the line of the canal while Tontogany was not. In like manner the Wabash Railroad charged fourteen cents per bushel to transport wheat from points only sixty miles from Toledo, but not on the canal, and carried wheat all the way from Indiana for ten and twelve cents.

As the canals were the property of the state, the Legislature in March, 1852, while railroad building in Ohio was still in its infancy, requested the Board of Public Works "to report by what authority railroad companies have been permitted to erect bridges over the canals of the state for the passage of cars; the means adopted by such companies to obtain the transportation of freight which, at proper rates for transportation, would pass upon the canals; what effect the removal of such bridges would have upon said roads; and whether any legislation be necessary for the removal of said bridges."

The board at that time was composed of George W. Monypenny, A. P. Miller and James B. Steedman. In replying to the demands of the General Assembly, the board made a long report, in which it was declared that the bridges had been erected without the permission of the board or authority of law. Then, after explaining how the board had undertaken to maintain canal traffic by reducing the rates, the report said: "We have ordered our engineers and superintendents to prevent the erection of any more bridges across the canals by railroad companies. We would also suggest the propriety of passing a law prohibiting railroad companies from shipping produce, merchandise or other articles from within twenty miles of the canals, at less freight per mile than the highest rate charged for transportation on any other part of the road. * * * If these railroads would be content with doing their legitimate business, both they and the canals might prosper; but unfortunately they are owned and controlled mostly by foreign capitalists, who feel no sympathy with the people of the state or its prosperity, and are guided only by the

hope of large dividends. Against the efforts of these capitalists, the state should early erect barricades and carefully guard them, or it will soon find, when too late, the public works are entirely at their mercy."

Not long after this the Central Ohio Railroad began building a bridge over one of the state canals near Zanesville. The pit for one of the abutments was filled up by order of Commissioner Manypenny, when the railroad company applied to the court for an injunction. Judge R. C. Hurd, of the Licking Common Pleas Court, granted the injunction, holding that the right granted by the Legislature to the railroad company to construct a road on a certain line included the right to build bridges where necessary and that the canal was no exception. This opinion was sustained by the higher courts.

Meantime other opposition to the canals developed. The people of Paulding County, living near the large reservoir upon which the canal depended for water, set up the claim that the reservoir was detrimental to the health of the community. They appealed to the state authorities to abate the same as a nuisance, but the request was not granted and some "unknown parties" destroyed the banks of the reservoir, rendering it useless, though that part of the Wabash & Erie Canal through Indiana had been abandoned some years before.

Another source of opposition was certain private corporations which desired the canals for their own use. Emissaries of these companies went among the people and explained that better service could be given if the canals were leased to such companies. In this way public opinion was molded and in 1861 the Legislature passed an act authorizing the leasing of the canals for a period of seventeen years. Soon after this the lessees discontinued the use of the two locks connecting the canal with the river at Manhattan and they were abandoned by an act of the Legislature, approved on March 26, 1864. It was about this time that the Wabash & Erie Canal between Fort Wayne and Lafayette was abandoned, though that section between Fort Wayne and the Miami & Erie Canal continued in use until about 1886. With the abandonment of the Manhattan locks, connection with the lower Maumee was made through the Toledo side-cut, which dropped fifteen feet into Swan Creek by two locks. By the act of January 31, 1871, the Legislature abandoned that portion of the canal between the Manhattan locks and the Toledo side-cut (3.75 miles), together with the aqueduct over Swan Creek.

During the life of the lease, the business of the canals continued to decline, while that of the railroads increased. When the canals were returned to the State in 1878 "their condition was deplorable." The lessees had failed to keep them in repair and for several years the State expended annually from $15,000 to $40,000 in excess of the receipts to maintain and operate them. A few sections, where there was no railroad competition, were operated for a longer period, but as canals, once such a potent factor in transportation and the development of the Maumee Valley, they are now nothing but a memory. In December, 1922, the City of Toledo, for $300,000, acquired that part of the canal extending from its intersection with Swan Creek in the city to the Village of Maumee. It is the purpose of the city to make of the canal property a boulevard entrance into the city's business center.

Besides the natural streams for canal feeders, Ohio constructed vast reservoirs at the proper summits for artificial water supply. The Miami and Erie Canal had only one summit, but it was supplied from three reservoirs—the Grand, or St. Marys, the Lewistown, and Loramies. The St. Marys Reservoir, located mostly in Mercer County, was constructed in 1837-39, at a cost of $528,222.07 and contains 17,603 acres. It was formed by closing in a natural basin and is from three to five miles in width and nearly ten miles in length. It is pronounced the largest artificial body of water in the world. The Lewistown Reservoir, Indian Lake, in Logan County, encloses 7,200 acres, was constructed in 1851 to 1860, and cost $600,000. It is now famed as a fine summer resort, its banks being lined with delightful summer homes. Loramies Reservoir, on the line of Loramies Creek in Shelby County, contains 1,900 acres, was constructed in 1844 at a cost of $22,000. All these "lakes" have been made popular resorts and favorite places for boating, hunting and fishing. Six Mile Reservoir in Paulding County, abandoned, is now in one of the prosperous agricultural sections of that locality.

Many prosperous hamlets sprang up along the canals which became important trading points, with flouring mills, sawmills, stave factories and other establishments. Florida and Texas in Henry County, Providence in Lucas County, are examples of this early day prosperity. Along the flats at Maumee were carding and woolen mills and other manufacturing enterprises. It of course was claimed for the canals that they would not only develop agriculture, but manufacture and commerce and in some

sections the mining industry. In 1839, there was leased water power from the canals capable of operating 207 pairs of four and one-half foot mill-stones. In 1857 there were 2,200 flouring mills in Ohio principally moved by steam or canal power.

THE INDIAN ELM AT MAUMEE, NEAR ERIE STREET

This picture was taken about twenty-six years ago. No trace of the tree remains.

CHAPTER LII

FIRST SETTLERS ON THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY

GENERAL WAYNE'S CHOICE OF RESERVATIONS—LOCATED AT STRATEGIC POINTS—FIRST WHITE ARRIVALS—THEIR LOCATION AND EXPERIENCES—OPENING OF WAR OF 1812 CAUSES THEIR FLIGHT.

The Treaty of Greenville, concluded by Gen. Anthony Wayne with the Indian tribes August 3, 1795, was the great opening wedge for civilization and the establishment of permanent white settlements in the valleys of the Maumee and Sandusky. While it is true that most of Northwestern Ohio remained Indian lands for several years after the treaty was concluded, the farseeing Wayne provided for certain important United States reservations which had much to do with the development of these two wonderful valleys. Among other reservations, as has been related, were the six miles square reserve at the mouth of the Auglaize (Defiance) and the six miles square reservation where is now Fort Wayne, Indiana. But the two most important to this story were the "one piece twelve miles square at the British fort on the Miami of the lake (Maumee) at the foot of the Rapids" and "one piece two miles square at the lower Rapids of the Sandusky." The northeast corner of this twelve miles square reservation took in the mouth of Swan Creek and where Fort Industry was located, foot of now Monroe Street, Toledo. It consequently included where was built the earliest business establishment of Toledo, the old "warehouse." The southeast corner of the tract is now the southeast corner of Perrysburg township, Wood County. The south line of the reservation cut through the lower end of Station Island, later known as Parker's Island, in the Maumee River, and the southwest corner of the reservation is consequently in now Lucas County a short distance from the west river bank. The west reservation line running north twelve miles from this point, makes the northwest corner of the reservation where this west line intersects now West Dorr Street, Toledo; the north line of the tract consequently being on a line with this latter street. The 92.160 acres of land within the reservation is nearly equally divided by the Maumee River, slightly more than

one-half being in now Lucas County and the other portion in Wood County. Therefore, besides a large section of the southern district of Toledo (including the south part of Toledo, east side), Rossford, and Perrysburg, Wood County, and Maumee, Waterville, Monclova, and Holland, Lucas County, are within the old Twelve Miles Square Reserve, and within which occurred the battle of Fallen Timbers, and wherein was located Fort Meigs and old Fort Miami.

The City of Fremont is situated directly upon the two miles square reserve "at the lower Rapids of the Sandusky" with old Fort Stephenson almost in the center of the tract. Among two other reservations was "one piece six miles square at the mouth of said river (Maumee) where it empties into the lake" (Erie) and "one piece six miles square upon Sandusky Lake (Bay) where a fort formerly stood."

The point in here making specific reference to these reservations, is to show that General Wayne located them at strategic military points and where later were made the first permanent settlements on the Maumee and Sandusky. The Treaty of Fort Industry followed in 1805, the Detroit Treaty 1807, the Brownstown Treaty 1808, and then the Great Treaty at the Foot of the Rapids (Maumee City) in 1817, opening all Northwestern Ohio to civilization.

When Wayne made the Treaty of Greenville, 1795, there were French traders and trappers along the Maumee and the south shore of Lake Erie and at the mouth of the Sandusky. With the Western Reserve opened up in 1805, emigrants began to locate along the south shore of the lake west of Cleveland. The ship building industry followed and Lockport, Erie, Black Rock and Buffalo soon had boats running to Conneaut, Cleveland, Huron, Sandusky Bay and up the Sandusky River; also, to the Maumee Bay and up to the Rapids and to Detroit and other lake points. In the meantime, Elias Glover, United States Deputy Surveyor, with his corps of assistants, arrived in 1805 on the lower Maumee as elsewhere noted, and surveyed and marked the outlines of the United States twelve miles square reserve at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids, resurveys being made in 1816 and later. Surveys were also made of the reservations at the lower Rapids of the Sandusky (Fremont) and at the mouth of the Sandusky.

As has already been shown both the lower Maumee and Sandusky were most attractive by reason of their surrounding fur trade. Both valleys were occupied, especially in winter, by Indi-

ans, from their headwaters to the lake. The Foot of the Maumee Rapids and the Lower Falls of the Sandusky were the heads of navigation for these respective streams. To both these places the traders and merchants shipped their goods, from Detroit and other points. On the Maumee, up or along the margin of the Rapids, the traders hauled or had packed their merchandise, and from the head of the Rapids to Fort Wayne the carriage, in season, was by pirogues and canoes. Fort Wayne was a great distributing point for a wide section, and as late as 1822 the fort was in charge of an army officer, and around about were the traders' huts and a "motly population of Indians and half-breeds —'Canucks'." For the Sandusky River, Lower Sandusky was the distributing point in that territory. These half-breed subordinate traders were employed by their superiors to transport goods on pack-ponies to distant points. Two boxes or parcels of goods about equally balanced were placed on the pack-saddle, like a sack, with a jug in each end. In the center between the two packs was a keg of whiskey, some bags of shot, kegs of lead for making bullets, or a batch of steel traps. Sometimes canoes were used on the upper tributary streams for distribution. When the stock was disposed of, the subordinates would return with loads of furs, which in turn found their way down the Maumee or the Sandusky in boats for the outside market.

The under-traders who conducted these packs to the interior from the main ports, were described as "generally a rough, uncouth, intractable lot, sometimes but little in advance of the savage. A coat made of a blanket or smoked deer-skin, a skin cap, if they wore any head covering, with deer leather leggins and moccasins, comprised their dress. A rifle, hatchet and knife was their equipment for guarding their goods and for procuring their supply of meat in the forest. Thus provided for, they traveled among the scattered Indians. While wholly unschooled in the politer forms of civilized society or customs, these rough, swarthy men were brave and nearly always trustworthy. The per cent. of profit was less than under the more modern surroundings of later years."

The requirements of this extensive traffic with the Indians, the force of helpers and clerks of the merchants necessitated these transportation lines along the Maumee and Sandusky long before the land came into market "or the axe of the pioneer was heard in the bordering forests and fertile valleys." And such was the situation in either section, of this then land of the savage, except-

ing in the reservations, when arrived the first permanent white settlers.

It was to these reservations that the first emigrants came and their location shows the great understanding of General Wayne in their establishment. They were the fruits of his victory on the lower Maumee, the first lands the United States obtained clear title to in Northwestern Ohio. When U. S. Deputy Surveyor Glover's men in 1805 drove the first stakes outlining the government landmarks, it was the formal entry here of civilized possession. The field notes of these surveys are interesting in their observation as to valuable mill sites and their estimate of the forests, soil, water and other points. They are the undeniable and official records of the beginning of civilized improvements.

History, however, at this point forces a digression. All during the campaign of General Wayne, and back even to the march into the regions of the upper Maumee of Generals Harmar and St. Clair, then when Wayne was making his treaty at Greenville and had won a greater victory there than at Fallen Timbers, there was a white man on the Sandusky, who established on that river the first home of civilization in Ohio. He was no other than James Whitaker and the remarkable story of James Whitaker and Elizabeth Whitaker, his wife, is related later in these pages in detail. And on the Maumee was another noted character whose famous family, although not then permanently located, was at the Foot of the Rapids of that river years before that date and whose descendants have been long established there.

On the river boulevard running between Toledo and Maumee City, and in the northern or eastern borders of the latter city, reposes a staid old mansion built in 1825, and one of the first frame residences in this valley. At the time of this writing (1929) this historical home was owned and occupied by Miss Antoinette Knaggs. Her father was the late George Knaggs, its builder, and then owner, and who figured prominently in the early days of the Northwest.

The grandfather of this Mr. Knaggs was also named George Knaggs, a native of England. He married Rachel Sly of the same country and on coming to America they located in Philadelphia. Some three years before Pontiac's conspiracy and about 1760, western activities brought them to Detroit and among the traders of the lower Maumee, where they were located near the site of where later Fort Miami was built. There was evidently

no permanence to their location, for the records show that their son James was born at Roche de Boeuf in 1765 above now Waterville. However, it is stated that the other children of George and Rachel Knaggs, born in the vicinity of later Miami, were: Whitmore, born in 1760; Elizabeth, born in 1772; Thomas, Rebecca, James and William. Mrs. Rachel Knaggs despite her environment was a woman of unusual refinement and character and the children were educated to a surprising degree under the conditions.

Whittmore Knaggs, the oldest son, was married in Detroit to Josette Labadie, daughter of Pierre Des comptes Labadie. Her family was of the nobility of France and prominent in the early history of Quebec and Montreal. Labadie later figured conspicuously in the history of Detroit. At the age of eighteen Whitmore Knaggs had become an Indian agent and interpreter, the appointment being made by Washington. He was interpreter for General Wayne and was with him at the battle of Fallen Timbers. When the Americans took possession of Detroit he became further noted as an Indian Agent with wide experience. Growing up among the Ottawa Indians on the Maumee and associating with them in his younger years, they had become greatly attached to him, as he had early given them valuable counsel. Consequently, in 1785 when he was twenty-five years of age, the Ottawa head men presented him with near four thousand acres of land located on the Maumee above the present City of Toledo. The original grant was lost and in 1795 the tribe issued a second grant signed by all their leading chiefs. The United States Government subsequently objected to the amount of the gift and a part thereof was transferred to other parties. The bulk of the land, however, was finally confirmed to the three living sons of Whittmore Knaggs—George, John and James.

Whittmore Knaggs in his later career was a resident of Detroit. After General Hull's surrender of that place in 1812, official business called Knaggs to Washington. As a part of his journey compelled him to enter British territory, he secured safe conduct by a passport through their region. In January, 1813, he returned to this then West by way of the Maumee. At the Lower Rapids he found only desolation and ruin, perpetrated by the Indians when they took the war path at the outbreak of hostilities. At the River Raisin (Frenchtown) where his mother and brother James lived, he found General Winchester and his Kentucky forces. He witnessed Winchester's defeat and the

slaughter of his men by the British and Canadians under Proctor and his Indian allies. Succeeding in making his escape, Whittmore Knaggs fled to the river bank and came upon General Winchester. Soon after the General and Knaggs ran into a band of six or eight wounded Indians who made them prisoners. Two chiefs among the Indians recognized Knaggs and it was stated that later his presence was all that saved a considerable further number of Winchester's men from being massacred. Knaggs was with Winchester when the latter was escorted before General Proctor and the report says that they were handcuffed and treated with great indignity. On account of his influence with the Indians the British were wary of his presence. Together with General Winchester, Colonel Lewis, Major Madison and some others, he was sent by way of Montreal to Quebec, at which place and at Beaufort they were confined in prison until the spring of 1814, when a general exchange of prisoners took place. Knaggs was charged with breaking his parole of safe conduct and participating in the River Raisin engagement on the side of the Americans. His own emphatic denial and that of Winchester was of no avail.

The children of Whittmore Knaggs and his accomplished French wife were: Whittmore, George B., John, James and Elizabeth. All the children were born in Detroit. About 1819, the father gave George B., his second son, a farm on the Maumee River just below the site of Fort Miami, and carved from his large Indian gift. He also gave his son John a tract below that of George B. Knaggs. It is said that in 1819, George, only a boy, was made an Indian chief. After this ceremony he signed some important papers at Saginaw, Mich. At the age of sixteen he came to the Maumee River and took charge of building a house below old Fort Miami not far from Rock Bar. It was evidently on his father's land and was designed as a fur trading post in connection with the business of his father. Here George for a time was in trade with his brother John. At Detroit some time during this period, George B. Knaggs attended St. Thomas College, Detroit, and also West Point. For a time he was a clerk for Henry I. Hunt, then a Detroit merchant. He gravitated between Detroit and the lower Maumee and in 1824 after his marriage to Matilda Lee, daughter of a Detroit physician of the family of Lees of Virginia, he brought his bride to Fort Miami and immediately began the erection on his land of an elaborate mansion for the times, and upon its completion in 1825, he occupied it as

his permanent home. The residence stood on the bank of the Maumee in the rear of where is now located the Lucas County Children's Home. Among the distinguished personages who were guests of Mr. Knaggs at this estate were Gen. William Henry Harrison, who was entertained during his campaign for the presidency in 1840; Richard M. Johnson, vice president under President Van Buren; Governor Lewis Cass, Mrs. Cass and their daughter Belle; Mrs. George B. McClellan, wife of General McClellan; Governor Lucas of Ohio (at the time of the Ohio and Michigan boundary dispute); and it is said, former Governor Hull of Michigan and his nephew, Isaac Hull (Isaac lived at Maumee); Col. George Croghan (the hero of Fort Stephenson), and many other distinguished persons.

Upon Mr. Knaggs' death the home was still occupied by his daughter Antoinette, first spoken of, who was the child of George Knaggs' second marriage, to Laura Bosley, daughter of John Bosley, a New Yorker who owned flouring mills at Perrysburg and Fremont. In 1916 Miss Knaggs had this fine old mansion moved from the river bank to where it now stands as a monument of pioneer days, on the Toledo-Maumee City Boulevard. With this digression in a way, the thread of the narrative concerning the Maumee is continued.

The treaty made at Detroit in 1807 with the Indians by Governor Hull of Michigan Territory, acting for the United States, affected only the upper Maumee section as far down as the mouth of the Auglaize, but it "let daylight into the long benighted Maumee Country and the Sandusky." The Brownstown Treaty one year later laid the basis for the Maumee and Western Reserve Road, 120 feet wide, direct from the Foot of the Maumee Rapids (at now Perrysburg) through present Fremont to the west line of the Connecticut Western Reserve and the east line of now Sandusky County; also a strip one mile wide on each side of said roadway was ceded to pay for its construction. As one writer observed, this route was or is nearly on the same course of one of the old trails used by the French and afterwards by the English, in their expeditions by land between Detroit and the Ohio down the Scioto. Only their trail kept on the higher ground, thus often deviating from a straight course. This early highway opened communication from Detroit to the developing settlements of the Reserve and eastward, and was also a connecting link for eastern emigration to the southern Michigan and northern Indiana section and the head of Lake Michigan, now Chicago. Even consid-

ering this early date, this historian observes, "The Foot of the Rapids, then recognized as the head of navigation on the Maumee, stood in high estimation as a point of future commercial importance. It gave most promise of all locations in the wilderness at the head of Lake Erie."

The time was now ripe for the permanent settlements on the lower Maumee. However, the first white people to establish homes here except those holding Indian grants were in fact only squatters, for the government had not yet put the lands upon the market. Who the very first of these were is not vital to history but interesting. There were scattered along the east bank of the Maumee at least previous to 1807, a few French, where is now Toledo, east side, including the Navarres, Antoine La Point, Peltier and Mominie. There were some other French on the west bank in the vicinity of Fort Miami, including J. B. Beaugrand and Gabriel Godfrey.

As related by Peter Navarre in 1807, "the Indians of the Ottawa tribe lived in a village on the Maumee nearly opposite later Manhattan. It was a grassy plot; the houses of logs about sixty in number, were built in two rows, whitewashed, and presented a cheerful and pleasant appearance. The village had been in existence since the days of Pontiac and marked the site of his encampment on the Maumee at the time he left Detroit in 1764. The head chief of the nation, Fish-qua-gun, was a descendant from Pontiac. He was a kindhearted, peaceable old man. At this time also, the widow of Pontiac and Pontiac's son Otusso dwelt at the mouth of the river. Mesh-ka-man, a cousin of Otusso, was a chief on the west side of the river. He was the finest orator in the nation and the foremost speaker at all the treaties. The English visited the Indians in great numbers during the years 1810 and 1811, for the purpose of interesting them in the coming war against the United States."

According to the U. S. Engineers who ran the outlines of the Twelve Miles Square Reserve in 1805, there was a licensed trader or a sort of garrison sutler at that time at Fort Industry; but not considering Knaggs, and one or two others identified with the Indians, the first write man of prominence to be identified permanently with the lower Maumee was Amos Spafford. He was with the party of New Englanders headed by Moses Cleaveland which came west along the south shore of Lake Erie in 1796 and landed at Conneaut, and later was with the surveyors at the mouth of the Cuyahoga where Cleveland was founded. In 1805 Spafford came

with the surveyors to the Maumee Rapids. He did not remain here at that time, but evidently selected a tract of land adjoining where was afterwards built Fort Meigs, upon which he later raised a cabin and in 1810 established his family. As has been stated, Spafford was chosen Collector of the Port of Miami, Erie District. In June, 1810, he was also appointed postmaster and the sparse settlement had mail delivery every two weeks. Benoni Adams was the mail carrier from Cleveland to the Rapids. The round trip, made usually on foot, generally occupied the full time of the two weeks schedule. Miami was the only post office on the route between Cleveland and Fort Dearborn (Chicago) excepting River Raisin (Monroe). When the Reserve survey was made, it placed these lands in the Detroit Land District, where they remained until 1816, when they came under the Land District of Wooster, Ohio. Congress by a special act on April 16, 1816, granted title to Collector Spafford for the lands he had settled upon and the 160 acres was thereafter known as "Spafford's Grant." This was the first passing of title from the United States to a private individual in this section.

While Spafford was the first resident land owner on the Maumee, unless the Knaggs family is considered, other squatters had built their cabins on the lower river banks long before his arrival. Evers, the early Wood County historian, tells it like this: "When Wayne swooped down on the Maumee Indians in 1794, Col. John Anderson, British Indian Agent at the time, had a little trading establishment and a garden and corn field above Fort Miami. Wayne's followers devoured the Colonel's roasting-ears and destroyed everything outside the fort. * * * Anderson seems for some reason, not to have been seriously interfered with when the United States took possession. The Missionary David Bacon says (year 1802): 'Mr. Anderson, a respectable trader, was at Fort Miami, and was opposed to selling whiskey to the Indians.' This would indicate that Anderson, who was at Miami at the time of the battle (1794), and was yet there in 1802, had been a squatter resident for at least eight years. Mr. Anderson afterwards lived at Monroe, Michigan. * * * The French settlement proper was down opposite (later) Manhattan. Another early trader by the name of Courtmanche made transient trips through the valley.

"It looks as though Colonel Anderson with his corn fields, garden and store, was best entitled to the honor of being the first settler. The first comers were in fact all squatters and in some

sense transient occupants. [This was not the case with Amos Spafford, the first permanent landholder—Editor.] The title to the honor (of Anderson) however, is not so clear as to bar other claimants. Among the first Americans was James Carlin, government blacksmith to the Indians, who came from the River Raisin in November, 1807. He moved first from Auburn, New York, to Erie, Pa., then came over the lake to Detroit. The Ewings, Races, Carters, David Hull, a trader and tavern keeper, Daniel Purdy and some others, came in the year 1807. ['Old Andy Race' was with Wayne at Fallen Timbers—Editor.] The years 1808 and 1809 brought a number more families, Americans and French, the latter mostly from Detroit and the Raisin. They were the avant-couriers of the great population which has since taken possession of every acre of this vast domain. Like the scouts and skirmishers in the advance of a great army, they cautiously felt their way ahead, and the main army followed and took up the burden of the battle. Gradually the settlements increased."

Here Evers mentions the facts already given about Spafford, and remarks:—"He was the first man who possessed title from the United States government, * * * his patent being signed by James Monroe. The lands he first squatted upon and made improvements on, he afterwards paid for, and there he died in 1817."

In the year 1810, also came some New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians by way of Buffalo, in a schooner, and a number of them landed where is now Port Clinton for inspection of that section. Andrew Race, the "Andy" already referred to, who was with them on his return to the Maumee, with his brothers Bob and Dave guided the party through to their destination. Besides the Race brothers, there were Jesse Skinner, Cyrus Hitchcock, Daniel Murray, Samuel Merritt and a few others. A majority of the delegation located lands and remained while a few of them returned to the East. Skinner selected what was surveyed by Engineer Wampler in 1816, as River Tract No. 50, in now Wood County, below the Waterville bridge. One of the Ewings had previously established himself three miles farther down the river on the same side. A Frenchman who did some trading, occupied a squatter's shanty near the mouth of Tontogany Creek, and not far from where later the Maumee Indian Mission was established. Nearly opposite was an Ottawa Indian village. Samuel H. Ewing, Daniel Murray and another family located at now Mon-

clova, where Ewing built a dam on Swan Creek and started the construction of a sawmill. Added to these were Thomas and Halsey W. Learning, Stephen Hoyt, George Blalock, Thomas Dick, William Peters, Ambrose Hickok, Richard Gifford, Capt. David Wilkinson, and some others.

Further idea of the condition of the lower Maumee for some years after Wayne's campaign may be gathered from the following extract from the letters of Judge Jacob Burnet of Cincinnati, who traveled from there through the Maumee Valley to attend court at Detroit. After assigning his reasons for the downfall of the Indians, he says: "My yearly trips to Detroit from 1796 to 1802 (after Detroit was taken possession of by the Americans until near the time Ohio became a state) made it necessary to pass through some of the Indian towns, and convenient to visit some of them. Of course I had frequent opportunities of seeing thousands of them in their villages and at their hunting camps and of forming a personal acquaintance with some of their distinguished chiefs. I have eaten and slept in their towns and partaken of their hospitality, which had no limit but that of their contracted means. In journeying more recently through the state in discharging my judicial duties, I sometimes passed over the ground on which I had seen towns filled with happy families of that devoted race, without perceiving the smallest trace of what had once been there. All their ancient settlements on the route to Fort Defiance and thence to the Foot of the Rapids, had been broken up and deserted. The battle ground of General Wayne, which I had often seen in the rude state in which it was when the decisive action of 1794 was fought, was so altered and changed that I could not recognize it, and not an indication remained of the very extensive Indian settlements which I had formerly seen there. It seemed almost impossible that in so short a period, such an astonishing change could have taken place."

Judge Burnet in another article tells of another time about 1797 or 1798, when the court and bar from Cincinnati to Detroit stopped at an Ottawa Indian town on the Auglaize (Wapakoneta) and remained over night. The next day a game of ball was arranged between the bucks and squaws, especially for their entertainment. It possessed the rudiments of present day football. There was a level field, with goal posts, the game being played with a large ball. The squaws lined up at one end of the field and the bucks on the other end and the feat consisted in the attempt of each side to carry the ball between the posts and over

the goal line of their adversary. Says Burnet: "The contest continued about an hour with great animation and with various prospects of success. But was finally decided in favor of the fair sex, by the herculean strength of a mammoth squaw, who got the ball and held it in spite of the efforts of the men to shake it from her grasp, till she approached the goal to throw it through the stakes."

On the trip to Detroit their route was by Dayton, Piqua, Loramies, St. Marys and the Ottawa towns on the Auglaize; from thence down the Auglaize to Defiance and down the Maumee and across the River Raisin. On one occasion on their return from Detroit the "bench and bar" crossed the Maumee at Roche de Boeuf by the advice of Black Beard who lived in that neighborhood, and with whom the party breakfasted. To show them this new route they employed Black Beard's son as a guide. He led them through a succession of wet prairies, probably including Jackson Prairie, now the garden spot of Wood County, over some of which it was impossible to ride; and it was with great difficulty that they were able to lead or drive their horses through the deep mud which spread in all directions. They were two days going from the Maumee to Wapakoneta Village on the Auglaize where they had witnessed the Indian ball game. Here they found that Blue Jacket had just returned from Cincinnati with a large quantity of whiskey and his people were engaged in a high, drunken frolic, including the women. "The Indians were scattered at this early day along the Maumee, mostly on the north side along the rapids, because the country was drier and more open from the bay to Defiance, and on the Auglaize and Blanchard. The Indian corn and truck patches were frequent on Bean Creek, Swan Creek and the smaller tributaries. Occasional camps for hunting and sugar making were found on the Portage River and its branches and at other points favorable to the Indian mode of life."

When the settlers began gathering along the lower Maumee they also began to test the productiveness of the soil, by planting islands and rich bottom lands in grain and vegetables and the yield was enormous. And while from 1794 until 1812 there was comparative peace with the Indians along the Maumee, in the outlying districts in the later years, Tecumseh was visiting the various tribes spreading the propaganda for war, and in the offing was heard the rumblings of another American conflict with the annoying British. Finally the smoldering embers burst into

flame and the American army assembled at Dayton under General Hull. While some of the Indians remained loyal to the Americans or were neutral, others readily took up the hatchet. In the tumultuous situation the Maumee settlers clung to their cabin homes and little cultivated clearings.

The story has already been told of the march of General Hull's army from Dayton to Urbana, and north through the forests to the Maumee River and Detroit. No professional engineering skill was used either in the location or construction of Hull's Trail. Instead of engineers they employed three expert woodsmen, Isaac Zane, Robert Armstrong and James McPherson, as guides to pilot the army through the woods and keep it from getting lost. There were some sixty-seven white families within or tributary to the lower Miami settlement on the Maumee when Hull's army passed through there.

"But after the capitulation of Hull, how fared this infant settlement?" asks an early authority. "If they were electrified when they saw the army arrive, and felt security to some degree the first time in months, they were depressed and paralyzed when a few weeks later word came of Hull's surrender of that army, and that the British had adopted their former infamous plan in warfare of employing the savages as allies. Here was this little, scattered settlement of whites in the very midst of the Ottawa tribe—at their mercy in fact. All north of the Maumee was practically in the hands of the enemy. No settlements south of them to the Greenville Treaty line; west of them the turbulent followers of Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet on the Wabash and the Pottawatomies on the St. Joseph; east of them the nearest white neighbors were [outside the Whitaker family at Lower Sandusky and perhaps a few others—Editor] the weak settlements at the mouth of Huron River, now in Erie County; north of them was Detroit and adjacent settlements at the time headquarters for the British, active in their efforts to stir up the Indians by bribing and the most extravagant promises, to take up the tomahawk against the Americans. Tecumseh was there and had sworn allegiance to the King, and was effectively rallying the disaffected warriors to his standard. Even the lakes were under the control of the enemy who had several armed vessels patroling their shores.

"Gloomy indeed was the outlook for this little isolated settlement at the Maumee Rapids. To make matters worse, the small detail of soldiers left (by Hull) for their protection, abandoned

their temporary fortification, told the settlers to help themselves to the stores deposited there and retreated to the interior. There was no choice left these pioneers, they had to go too. They abandoned their crops ungathered; took such of their worldly effects as they could and fled, they scarcely knew whither. The Indians and British soon came and the torch obliterated nearly all the homely habitations of the people on the Maumee. The settlement was wiped out of existence. In its stead came hostile armies, and soon the war and din of the deadly conflict proclaimed that new issues hung in the balance to be decided in this court of last resort; or rather, old issues were to be fought over again."

But with it all the spirit of '76 had not died in the hearts of the patriots and when General Harrison raised the American colors at Fort Meigs, overlooking the beautiful valley and the smoldering ashes of these pioneer cabins, it was never after hauled down by an enemy and proudly waves there at this writing.

The flight of the settlers from the Maumee on the surrender of General Hull can best be told by those who were there. Peter Manor, a Frenchman, had been adopted by a chief named Tontogany or Ton-tog-a-nee under the name of Sawendebans or "the Yellow Hair." In his story Manor stated that the first intimation the settlers had of Hull's surrender at Detroit manifested itself by the appearance of a party of British and Indians at the Foot of the Rapids a few days after it took place. The Indians plundered the settlers on both sides of the river and departed for Detroit in canoes. Three of their number remained with the intention of going into the interior of the state. One of these was a Delaware chief named Sac-a-manc. Manor won his confidence under the pretense of friendship for the British and was by him informed that in a few days a grand assemblage of all the Northwestern tribes was contemplated at Fort Malden, and that in about two days after the gathering, a large number of British and Indians would be at the Foot of the Rapids, on their march to relieve Fort Wayne, then under the investment as supposed by the American army. He also told Manor that when they came again they would massacre all the Yankees found in the valley. A day or two after this Sac-a-manc left for the interior of the state.

The day after the chief's departure Manor called upon Major Spafford and warned him of the coming danger as told by Sac-a-manc. The Major gave no credence to the story and said he was determined to remain on the river until a new army arrived from

the interior. A few days after this conversation a man named Gordon was seen by some of the anxious settlers hastily approaching Spafford's cabin on the east side of the river adjoining Fort Meigs site. Gordon had been brought up among the Indians and had at some time received at the hands of Spafford a trifling favor. The Major met him in his cornfield and was told that a party of some fifty Pottawatomies on their way to Malden had taken that route, and in less than two hours would be at the Foot of the Rapids. He urged the Major to make his escape immediately. Most of the settlers with their families had already fled after receiving the news from Detroit. Spafford immediately assembled those who were left on the river, where they put in as good sailing condition as possible an old barge used by army officers the year before in descending the river from Fort Wayne. They had barely time to assemble on board such of their effects as were portable and row down the bend below the settlement, before they heard above the shouts of the savages. Finding the settlers gone, the Indians passed on to Malden. In their "crazy vessel" the fleeing inhabitants headed by Spafford sailed out of Maumee Bay to the mouth of the Huron River to the Quaker settlement on that river, where the families remained until the close of the war.

Sac-a-manc on his return from his tour a few days after the event, showed Manor the scalps of three white persons he had killed during his raid, at Owl Creek near Mt. Vernon. About this time a detachment of British forces under command of Col. Matthew Elliott, whose trading post on the east side of the river Wayne's forces had burned in 1794, accompanied by about five hundred Indians, arrived at the Foot of the Rapids. The Indians wanted Manor to act as their guide up the Maumee, but he feigned lameness and ignorance of the upper country, and by this means avoided being pressed into service farther than the head of the Rapids (Grand Rapids), to which point he accompanied them with his cart and pony. Colonel Elliott had not accompanied the party and on Manor's return he met Elliott at the foot of Presque Isle Hill (Turkey Foot Rock), who stopped him and on learning where Manor had been, with curses permitted him to go on. A mile below (just above present Maumee City) Manor met a party of some forty Pottawatomies, who also asked him what he was about. After telling them he was returning to the Foot of the Rapids to procure forage for the army he was again permitted to proceed and the British and Indians

marched up the Maumee until they saw the American flag waving over General Winchester's camp at Defiance, when in double quick time they returned to Canada. On their return they burned the lower Maumee settlers' cabins, stole their horses and destroyed the corn fields and other crops.

Manor next went down the river to the British fleet then lying at the mouth of Swan Creek, under the command of Captain Mills. Here he reported himself, repeated what he had done for the British army and desired leave to go to his family at the mouth of the river. Captain Mills having no evidence of his loyalty save for his own statement, put him under the hatches as a prisoner of war. Through the aid of his friend Beaugrand, Manor was released in a few days and joined his family. Later the Indians destroyed the crops of Manor, plundered his store and took away his ponies, but did not molest his family. He was afterwards a scout in the American army during the remainder of the War of 1812. As has been related elsewhere, at the request of his Indian father Ton-tog-a-nee he was granted a reservation of land at the head of the Maumee Rapids, by the government, where is now Providence, Lucas County, which town he laid out. Upon his death he was buried on the farm set apart to him by the government. His wife "was equally noble and generous" and was a great help to the pioneer women of her day. Many of their descendants are now living in the Northwest including the City of Toledo.

In 1808 Isaac P. Case of Connecticut arrived in Southern Ohio down the Ohio River with his wife, one son and three daughters. In the spring of 1811, with another family and two men named Scribner and Lapeer, they started for the Maumee Valley. At Wapakoneta they constructed a large pirogue of two basswood logs and passed down the Auglaize River to the ruins of old Fort Defiance. At this point they came upon Burgess Squire and wife and the latter's mother, the women also being mother and sister to Mr. Case. The Burgess family had spent the winter at Defiance with the only white resident, a French trader and his Indian wife. Taking all the families of the relatives and the two men in his pirogue, Case and party floated down the Maumee River and arrived at the Foot of the Rapids (Maumee and Perrysburg site) May 1, 1811, as the account says "after an exciting experience." Mr. Case was evidently later one of the well known Case family of Norwalk. Mrs. Philothe Case Clark, one of the daughters, wrote her early Maumee experiences for the *Firelands Pio-*

neer. After describing the sickness and deaths from wilderness privations, the burials being "in coffins made by friends from basswood trees, split and hewn with axes," she tells of the flight of the settlers from the Maumee after the news of Hull's surrender. Some left in boats, but her father and family with twelve other families fled in wagons drawn by oxen. Their route was southward over the old Hull's Trail. They crossed the Maumee near Turkey Foot Rock, passed through now Wood County and Hancock County, and by way of the Portage block-house, Fort Findlay and Fort McArthur (near now Kenton) reached Urbana, "after a toilsome journey of two weeks through the mud, greatly annoyed by mosquitoes and sometimes with no water except what was gathered from the cattle-tracks." At Urbana they drew military rations and after being sufficiently rested, resumed their journey to their relatives in the interior.

Mrs. Amelia W. Perrin, a daughter of Capt. Jacob Wilkinson, one of the river and lake boat skippers, told this: "Among the incidents I have heard my mother relate is the following: One morning in the summer of 1811 (this was one year before the abandonment of their homes by the settlers) a man came riding down the river warning the settlers that a large body of Indians, hideously painted, were forming above, and their appearance and actions indicated that they were upon the war-path. The rumor created terrible alarm in the vicinity, and the thoughts of each were immediately directed to finding a place of refuge for themselves and their children. Father took his family to the woods some distance away, and there left them (mother and four children) concealed in a brush heap, with the promise to return as soon as he was assured of their safety, and enjoining them to keep quiet and closely concealed. All that long day they remained there, scarcely daring to move for fear of attracting the attention of some lurking savage. In his haste father had forgotten to bring anything to eat; but fear of the Indians kept the little ones quiet and caused them to forget their hunger, except the baby, which nursed until it drew blood. As the dead hours of that long, weary, terrible day passed slowly one by one, and father failing to come, mother's anguish grew almost unendurable, for she imagined that he had fallen at the hands of the Indians. When he finally appeared, just as the darkness of night was closing around us, there was a most joyful reunion. It seems that the uncertainty of the purpose of the Indians had prevented him from returning to us sooner. The savages were merely out on

'a lark'; and had gobbled up a number of white men, father among the number, and pestered them just by way of amusement."

Mrs. Hester Green's story: "I moved to the Maumee Rapids in 1810 with my father Daniel Purdy from the State of New York. There came with us from the same place with their families, William Carter, Andrew Race (son-in-law of Carter), Mr. Hopkins, Stephen Hoit and Mr. Porter. David Hull (a nephew of General Hull) kept a store and tavern. Being a bachelor, his sister kept house for him and I lived with them part of the time. Hull had a clerk by the name of Antoine La Point, a pretty shrewd fellow who could speak English, French and Indian. Among the names of the French who were there when we came, were M. Beaugrand, Peter Manor, Lorgeny, M. Emell, Baptiste Momeny, M. Guilliam, and Peter Williams, half French. Among the others remembered were Spafford, a man of very fine appearance, who was port collector, receiving four hundred dollars a year salary for collecting taxes on goods brought on boats; his son Aurora; Amos Hecock (son-in-law of Spafford); Mr. Blalock who lived about a mile south of us, a gunsmith, and who was said to make counterfeit money; John Woods; Jesse Skinner; Mr. Carlin, a blacksmith; Mr. Scribner; John Kelly, who taught our school; James Ruling, silversmith; Peter Momeny; John Carter and two or three families south of Blalock's.

"Our 'town' was at the Foot of the Rapids and my father lived about eight rods from the river opposite an island. Fish were very plenty; large ones could be caught in abundance with the hook and line. We would throw them on the bank as we caught them, and then selecting the finest for the table we left the remainder for the hogs to eat. Among the fish caught were sturgeon, muskalonge, pickerel, and bass. We gathered huckleberries about two miles from home. It was amusing to see the squaws gathering; they would hold a kettle or pan under the bushes and beat the berries off with a stick. I have seen forty and fifty lodges of Indians encamped here; they were on their way to Malden to get their presents. We got our milling done at the River Raisin, about thirty miles away. Game was abundant, live stock was easily raised on the prairies, and we enjoyed a free and easy life until the mutterings of war began to fill us with alarm; then the arrival of General Hull and his splendid army reassured us. He left a small command here who built a fort or blockhouse for our protection. [At or near old Fort Miami—Editor.] Thus

we lived in security until a messenger arrived informing us that General Hull had 'sold his army' and that we would have to leave. Then all was fright and confusion. We, and most of the others, excepting the soldiers, gathered what we could handily and left. We stopped at Blalock's a short time, and an Indian messenger arrived telling us to come back as they would not kill us, but only wanted some of our property. Looking around until he found Blalock's gun, he took it and went out and got a horse my mother had ridden to this point, and departed. We went back and remained three days, in which time the Indians were pretty busy in driving off our live stock (we lost sixteen head) and plundering the houses of such as had not come back. Mr. Guilliam was one who fled, leaving everything behind, and had not the presence of danger filled us with alarm, we would have been amused to see the Indians plundering his house. The feather beds were brought out, ripped open and the feathers scattered to the winds, the ticks alone being deemed valuable. But our stay was short, only three days, when the commandant of the fort informed us that he would burn the fort and stores and leave, inviting us to take such of the provisions as we might need. Consternation again seized upon us and we hastily reloaded our wagons and left. We staid the first night at a house eight or ten miles south of the Rapids. In the Black Swamp the load became too heavy and they rolled out a barrel of flour and a barrel of meat which they had abandoned at the fort. Mr. Hopkins, John Carter, Mr. Scribner and William Race went back the next fall to gather their crops and they were all killed by the Indians. John Carter was attacked while in a boat on the river and they had quite a hard fight before they got his scalp. [Mrs. Green is in error about the time Carter was killed by the Indians. It was on his return after the war.—Editor.] After many years the government gave Purdys four hundred dollars for the crops and stock left behind them in their flight."

[Note—The Purdy delegation evidently took Hull's Trail in their hasty leavetaking. The house they occupied the first night out was evidently the blockhouse on the Portage River and just south of the present town of Portage, Wood County; although it was some over "eight or ten miles south of the Rapids."—Editor.]

In Everett's "History of Sandusky County" is an account of a French Colony from the Maumee, which located near Lower Sandusky in 1812-1813, and is as follows: "After peace had been restored in 1815, this township (Rice) became the home of

many of the French families of the colony which left the Maumee and came to Lower Sandusky three years earlier. The original settlement of these people after coming to America was at Monroe, Michigan. They afterward established themselves on the Maumee, where they settled down to habits of industry. But the opening of British and Indian hostilities in 1812, compelled another removal and doomed them to four years of migration and unsettled life. In January, 1813, by direction of the government, about twenty families packed their possessions and started for Lower Sandusky (Fremont). It was a fortunate circumstance that heavy ice well covered with snow, gave them an easy course of travel, and at the same time made it possible to avoid the savage enemies of the forest. All being in readiness a French train was formed [on the lower Maumee—Editor.] This consisted of a procession of one-horse sleighs, the runners of which were made of boards. The train was placed under the direction of a Frenchman named Peter Maltosh, who had been an Indian trader. The journey to Locust Point over the ice was made in one day. On the following day, the Portage (Port Clinton) was reached and the third day Lower Sandusky. The colony was given quarters in the government barracks until spring, when cabins were built for them. In August, 1813, they were by order of the government, removed to Upper Sandusky until the conclusion of the war, when they were moved back (to Lower Sandusky) in government wagons. They had been wards of the government during the war, and the able-bodied among them bore their parts bravely in the lines of soldiery. The names of these refugees, some of whom returned to the Maumee at the close of the war, so far as can be learned were: Joseph Cavalier and wife, who died at Fort Stephenson; Albert Cavalier, their son; Mrs. Jaco, Gabriel O'Dett, de La Point, Thomas DeMars, Bisnett and Joseph and John and Peter Momeny, Peter Manor's family, Charles Fountaine, Christopher Colombo, and the Devoir family, consisting of five brothers, together with Maltosh the guide." Those who returned to the Maumee and the number who located in now Sandusky County were about equal. A few French on the lower Maumee joined the British when war was declared and others went to Canada.

Before taking up the story of the return of the white settlers to the lower Maumee, at the close of the War of 1812, a later phase of this struggle concerning the Maumee and Sandusky will be exploited, about which little has been written.

CHAPTER LIII

LAST PHASE OF WAR OF 1812

BRITISH EFFORTS TO REGAIN LAKE CONTROL—ESTABLISH NAVAL BASES —THEIR WORK AMONG THE INDIANS—WESTERN UNEASINESS OVER THE SITUATION—AID OF THE OHIO MILITIA—THE FINIS.

There is a latter phase of the War of 1812 which concerned especially the Great Lakes Region and consequently the Maumee and Sandusky, of much importance, which has by most historical writers upon the Northwest, never been sufficiently exploited. These stories usually end with Perry's victory on Lake Erie and General Harrison's annihilation of the British army under Proctor and his Indian allies, October 15, 1813, at the Canadian River Thames. It is true this was the climax and terminated the British rule of the Great Lakes and forever put a quietus upon their operations on the northern borders of Ohio. But they still had aspirations to again gain control of the lakes and even renew their military activities with the Indians, their former allies in the Maumee and Sandusky territory.

As has been before reviewed, with Harrison's American forces returned to Detroit from their Canadian expedition with their booty and prisoners, General Cass was left in command at Detroit where he later became civil and military governor of Michigan Territory. But his presence being required at Albany at the courts-martial proceedings against General Hull, the command of the fort at Detroit devolved upon Col. Anthony Butler. This post which had borne the name of Fort Lernoult since 1778, was repaired and its title changed to Fort Shelby, in honor of Governor Shelby of Kentucky who had distinguished himself by his valuable war service. The Kentucky foot troops returned to the mouth of the Portage River (Port Clinton site) by way of the River Raisin and the lower Maumee, gathered in their horses left on the (Marblehead) peninsula and returned to Kentucky. The mounted Kentucky troops returned home up the Maumee route. General Harrison and Commodore Perry had planned an expedition against Mackinaw and had intended to sail on the 12th of October (1813) but, the expedition for the time being

was abandoned on account of severe lake storms; nor had they received the expected supply of provisions and baggage which were on board the schooners *Chippawa* and the *Ohio*, the former from Bass Island (Put-in-Bay) and the latter from Cleveland. These boats had arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River where they were so distressed by severe gales that the marines threw all the baggage and provisions overboard. The decision to abandon the Mackinaw expedition was reached after a conference between General Harrison with McArthur and Cass of the army and Commodore Perry and Captain Elliott of the American fleet. It was also believed that General Proctor of the British had ordered the commanding officer at Mackinaw to destroy that post and retreat by the way of Grand River.

Some of the Indian tribes had sued for peace and were mostly subdued, therefore General Harrison decided to proceed down the lake in the fleet with General McArthur's brigade and a battalion of rifleman Regulars under Colonel Smith. Believing that General Cass with his brigade would be able to cope with the Indian situation and hold the American conquests and advantage in that quarter, the Commander-in-Chief left him in command at Detroit and sailed down the lakes with the rest of his troops. Orders to this effect had been sent from the War Department by a Captain Brown who was lost when the schooner he had boarded foundered when she grounded at the lower end of Erie. The Secretary of War was at Sackett's Harbor when he received the news of Perry's victory, and September 22nd, twelve days after the engagement, he had dispatched Captain Brown with orders to General Harrison to secure Malden, proceed down the lake with his forces and throw himself in the rear of De Rottenburg who was investing Fort George, then in the hands of the Americans. A reinforcement of 3,000 men on both sides of the Niagara was to be ready to join him on his arrival and Harrison was expected to drive the British from the country between lakes Erie and Ontario.

On the 22nd of October General Harrison arrived at Erie, where Perry's fleet had been built, and soon sailed on to Buffalo, where he arrived on the 24th, with an aggregate of 1,300 men, which afforded, however, but 1,000 effectives. He had received no communication from the War Department, and was entirely uninformed as to the situation of affairs where he was going. He determined, however, to proceed down the Niagara to Fort George. De Rottenburg had long since abandoned that place,

and retired to Burlington Bay. General M'Clure, of the New York militia, was commanding at the fort when General Harrison arrived; and as the enemy was still at Burlington, they determined to march against him and drive him from that position. The troops in the meantime were marched down by the falls and stationed at Newark. A communication was now opened with the Secretary of War at Sackett's Harbor, and to obtain a sufficient force for the intended enterprise, a call was made on the militia of the adjoining counties. But before an adequate force could be collected, and the necessary arrangements made, a letter was received by General Harrison from the Secretary, informing him that the brigade of M'Arthur was required at Sackett's Harbor, and that he would be permitted to make a visit to his family, which he understood as an order to retire to his own district. The letter was dated on the 3rd of November, and on the 16th of that month, Commodore Chauncey arrived at Newark, the headquarters of General Harrison, with vessels to transport his troops to the harbor. The troops were accordingly embarked, and the General set out immediately for Washington City, which he included in his route on the visit to his family at Cincinnati. On his journey he received all those marks and demonstrations of public confidence and gratitude, with which the American people were accustomed to greet their distinguished defenders.

General Cass, as stated, being required to attend the trial of General Hull at Albany, the command at Detroit devolved on Colonel Butler, and the former before his return to the Western country was appointed Governor of the Michigan Territory. The greater part of the American fleet was stationed for the winter in the harbor of Erie, some of the larger vessels being left in Put-in-Bay, and the necessary precautions were taken to guard the whole against any enterprise for their destruction by the enemy.

The campaign on the northern frontier, under the immediate superintendence of Armstrong, Wilkinson and Hampton, having terminated most unfavorably to the American cause, apprehensions were entertained by the government in December, that the British, thus encouraged, would make great exertions to reestablish their affairs in the Maumee and Sandusky, and particularly to regain the friendship of the Indians, and perpetuate their influence among them. With the latter views, it was ascertained that one Dickson had been sent up from York with a large quan-

tity of goods. Our government hence determined to take the most effectual and rigorous measures to counteract these designs of the British. Instructions were therefore sent after General Harrison on his return home, that the settlements on the Thames, which would afford the enemy the means of advancing towards Detroit, and intermeddling with the Indians, must be entirely destroyed and converted into a desert; that peace must be made with the Indians on the most liberal terms; supplying all their wants and allowing them to retain all the lands they had held before the war; and that they must be engaged to take up arms on our side, and be let loose on the British frontier early in the spring, so as to drive away every British settler to be found on the west of Kingston.

The activities and failures of the American army at the center (east of the Ohio region) will not be given in detail, but the successes of the British there brought anxiety again to the local region. The enemy had crossed into the American settlements on the Niagara frontier and laid the whole country in ruins, destroying everything before them in the most wanton and barbarous manner. It seemed almost necessary to retaliate in kind.

As to the local situation Gen. John S. Gano of the Ohio Militia wrote Governor Meigs at Chillicothe as follows:

Headquarters Ohio Militia,
Lower Sandusky, January 16th, 1814.

Dear Sir:—I have the pleasure to inform you that after repeated solicitations, and much delay, the paymaster has succeeded in obtaining two months' pay for the troops under my command. I have sent him on to Detroit, as the men there are in great want of money to purchase necessaries, etc.

Yesterday the Lieutenant and Surgeon of the Navy, Champlain and Eastman, left this post for Put-in-Bay. They arrived the evening before, and report they have everything arranged to give the enemy a warm reception should they visit them. About forty pieces of cannon can be brought to play upon them at any point. I find, however, they want men. I shall send in the regulars from Seneca, (on the Sandusky River) as soon as possible, to reinforce them, which is absolutely necessary from the Lieutenant's representations to me. We have not had the detailed account from Buffalo, etc. Majors Vance and Meek have just arrived from Detroit, and give me a favorable account from that quarter as to the exertions of Colonel Butler, to whom I sent Major Vance as an express. There is a detachment under

Major Smiley, up the River Thames, who will, I hope, fare better than Larwill. The militia are very tired of the service there, and all are beginning to count days. They have had an immense deal of fatigue and severe duty to perform. The fort at Portage is progressing, and is the best piece of work in the Western country as to strength. The men draw the timber to admiration—eighty or ninety logs a day without a murmur. The teams have been, and are useless for want of forage. The greatest part have actually died. I wrote in November to Quartermaster Gardiner for funds to be sent to the Quartermaster's assistant here to purchase forage, which could have been obtained two or three hundred miles from here. If three hundred dollars could have been sent on, I think it would have saved the United States three thousand; and I assure you I have used every exertion to preserve and protect the public property. As I before observed, nothing will induce the militia to remain after their term of service expires, which will be the last of next month. Is there any information from General Harrison or the Secretary of War on this subject? I am only anxious on account of the public property that may be left exposed. I have this post in a tolerable state of defence, as well as all the posts I command, which, you know, are scattered from Dan to Beersheba; and each must rely on its own strength for its defence. I have had an immense detail business in communication, etc. Flour is very scarce at all the frontier posts. I have been between "hawk and buzzard"—the commissary and contractor; and between the two, as is usual, must fail. What a wretched system of warfare! From the best information I can collect, it is my opinion we shall have a warm spring. I have in reserve much to say when we have an interview. I have had some severe chills and fevers, but have recovered, and make it a point to have the men attended to as well as possible. It is allowed that the troops here exercise and maneuvre equal to the regulars, and are very orderly.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

JOHN S. GANO.

To His Excellency R. J. Meigs.

P. S. Six o'clock, P. M.—An express by a naval officer has just arrived from Erie. Lieutenant Packet has given me a full account of the loss of the posts below, at Niagara. The enemy possessed themselves of the artillery, military stores, etc., to a large amount; and there is no doubt but an attempt to take or

destroy the vessels at Put-in-Bay will be made soon, and Captain Elliott has requested a reinforcement of two hundred men to send to the Island, which I have not the power to furnish. I have ordered about thirty regulars from Seneca, and will send a few militia. My troops are so scattered, I have no disposable force without evacuating some of the posts that contain considerable military stores. I wrote some time since to General Harrison, recommending him to send on the recruits. They certainly will be wanted as soon as the British can move on the ice or by water to Detroit or the Islands. I fear we shall lose all that has been gained, unless great exertions are used to reinforce; and supply of provisions is much wanted.

JOHN S. GANO.

[Note by Editor.—The "fort at Portage" was evidently at the mouth of that river, where now is Port Clinton.]

Fort Meigs still garrisoned had suffered greatly from a shortage of rations and about January 16, 1814, a detachment of soldiers from the fort went up the Maumee where they procured such supplies as could be spared from Fort Winchester (at Defiance), and brought them back to the Lower Rapids. General Gano reported two hundred barrels of flour at Winchester. Gano January 27th (1814) wrote General Harrison that "I think I would hang half of the quartermasters and all the contractors if I was to remain in service much longer; and I am astonished how you have managed with them to effect the objects you have, for there appears no system or regularity with any of them."

Much of the material of this chapter is taken from the writings of Capt. Robert B. McAfee who further relates that while the British did not think proper during the winter to send up any formidable force to the Northwest, yet Colonel Butler, the commanding officer at Detroit, was scarcely in a condition to contend with their advanced posts, and the individuals of the militia who were disposed to be troublesome. The brigade of General Cass, which was left at Detroit, was originally very weak, and during the month of December, (1813) it suffered extremely from a violent epidemic which resisted all the skill of its physicians. At one time its whole effective force did not amount to 300 men. A small corps of the Ohio and Pennsylvania militia, as indicated, were hence kept in service through the winter, to assist in garrisoning the different posts, and in protecting the vessels of the fleet.

About the first of January (1814), the British posted a corps

of observations at Delaware on the Thames, thirty miles above the Moravian town, under the command of Captain Stewart, who frequently sent foraging and reconnoitering parties down the Thames and into the vicinity of Sandwich. Colonel Butler was hence induced to place a corps for similar purposes, and as a check to the movements of the enemy, on the Thames at Dobson's some distance below the Moravian town. It consisted of 30 men under the command of Lieutenant Lowell. The British, being apprised of the situation of this corps, descended the Thames from Delaware and surprised it in the night, capturing the whole party without much loss in killed and wounded on either side. The colonel did not think proper to reestablish the post, but occasionally sent reconnoitering and foraging parties up the Thames, one of which, under Captain Lee, who commanded a company of Michigan rangers, captured and brought away Colonel Bagby, Captain Springer and several others of the Canadian militia, who were the most active in the cause of the enemy. Captain Springer was a native of the United States, having been born near Albany in New York, and had been naturalized by the British and made a magistrate as well as a militia officer. Captain Lee some time afterwards caught Major Townsley, a native of Connecticut, who had been the most active and vindictive partisan of the British in Upper Canada.

In February Colonel Butler determined to make a stroke at some of the advanced posts of the enemy. The execution of the enterprise was confided to Captain Holmes, with a detachment of regulars and some Michigan rangers and militia. He was directed to march against a small post called Fort Talbot (north shore of Lake Erie) situated about 100 miles down the lake below Malden, or if he should deem it more eligible to make an attack on the enemy at Delaware, he was authorized to change his destination to that place. He marched from Malden about the 20th of February, with two six-pounders in his train, but he soon found it impossible to proceed down the lake with artillery; he was so much obstructed by fallen timber, thickets, and swamps. He was obliged to leave them and depend on his small arms. Captain Gill, who had pursued some Canadian militia up the Thames, with a small company of rangers, was to cross the country and form a junction with Holmes. After this had been effected, the route down the lake was found to be so difficult that Captain Holmes determined to leave it and go to the Thames, with a view either to attack the enemy at Delaware, or to intercept

any detachment that might be sent down the river. He struck the Thames below the Moravian town, and immediately marched towards the enemy's post. When he had arrived within fifteen miles of it, he learned that a detachment about 300 strong was coming to meet him. As the force which he commanded was much weaker, he determined to retreat till he could find a strong position to resist them. He fell back five miles to Twenty Mile Creek, a stream which runs into the Thames from the north. Having crossed it on a bridge, he posted his men on the summit of an adjoining height, and began to strengthen his position with a breastwork. The enemy soon appeared on the opposite heights over the creek. The captain now called a council of officers, to determine whether they should endeavor to maintain their position or retreat still further. On this question there was much difference of opinion. Many of the detachment had suffered so much from cold and fatigue that they were now unfit for duty, and others had been permitted from the same causes to return home, so that the whole effective force did not exceed 160, while the force of the enemy was believed to be double that number. Captain Holmes and his adjutant, Ensign Heard, a grandson of the celebrated General Morgan, were strenuously opposed to a retreat, and it was at last determined that they would perish or triumph in their present position.

The enemy did not pretend to annoy them that evening, but early in the morning a party of British regulars came to the bank of the creek, fired a few times at the camp and then retired. After waiting some time for a more formidable attack, Captain Holmes sent out Lieutenant Knox with some of the rangers to reconnoitre. He returned in a few minutes and reported that the enemy had fled with precipitation, leaving their baggage scattered along the road, and that they did not appear to have been more than seventy in number. Mortified at the idea of having retreated from such a diminutive force, Captain Holmes immediately pursued them, with a determination to attack their position at Delaware next morning. Having pursued them about five miles, Captain Lee, of the advance guard, reported that he had come up with the enemy in considerable force, and that they were forming in order of battle. Captain Holmes now apprehended that they had retreated to draw him from his position, with a view to gain his rear with a superior force, which would compel him to advance towards their post at Delaware, or to cross the wilderness towards Fort Talbot without forage

or provisions. It was not their plan, however, to intercept his retreat, and in a short time he regained the position he had left on Twenty Mile Creek.

Some of the officers again insisted on a retreat, but the captain determined to wait at his place for an attack from the enemy. He continued to strengthen his camp which was a hollow square, and post his regulars on the north side, and on the brow of the hill without breastwork. His rangers and militia were posted on the west and south, the horses and baggage being placed in the center. Late in the evening the enemy appeared again on the opposite heights, upwards of 300 strong, under the command of Captain Basden. Their militia and Indians immediately crossed the creek above the road, surrounded the camp, and commenced an attack on the north, west and south. Their regulars crossed on the bridge and charged up the hill within twenty paces of the American line, which had been ordered to kneel so as to be effectually protected by the brow of the hill. The fire of that line was now opened with such effect that the front section of the enemy was immediately cut down, and those which followed were very much injured. He then displayed his column along the hillside and took open distance behind trees, in which order a warm contest was maintained for a considerable time. On the other lines the militia and Indians fought behind trees at a more respectful distance, but were also much thinned by the deliberate fire of our men. Finding it impossible to make much impression on the camp, the enemy at length retreated under cover of the night, having lost in the action, according to their own statement, no less than sixty-seven killed and wounded, but in the opinion of Captain Holmes, their loss was between eighty and ninety. Of the British Captain Basden and Lieutenant M'Donald were wounded, and Captain Johnson and Lieutenant Graham were killed. The loss on the American side was but seven in killed and wounded.

The brave detachment under Holmes received much applause for this victory, which formed a fine counterpart to the brilliant affair of Major Croghan at Lower Sandusky.

As the American authorities still expected that the British would make exertions during the approaching summer to regain the ground they had lost in the Northwest, particularly to re-establish their influence with the Indians, a plan to counteract this was set on foot. One great apprehension was the report that the British were building armed vessels with a view of re-

habilitating their navy and gaining their lost control of the lakes. The American Commodore Sinclair on April 15, 1814, received a letter from the Secretary of the Navy containing the following:

"April 15th, 1814.

"You will immediately on your arrival at Erie, open a communication with the military commander at Detroit, asking of him all the information he may possess, relative to the passage into and navigation of Lake Huron, and all the circumstances connected with your expedition, the nature and extent of which you will explain to him. You will also request him to have in readiness to join your force, a body of 300 hardy, intrepid volunteers, one-half of which should be riflemen, for which, I have no doubt, the secretary of war will have directed the necessary measures to be taken.

"The information we possess, relative to the designs and movements of the enemy (British) rests upon report, and is rather probable than certain. There is, however, reason to believe that the enemy have sent two small detachments of seamen, and perhaps mechanics to Lake Huron, where they are constructing some sort of naval force—rumor says two brigs, but if the last is so, they must be of small force. They are also said to be building a number of boats on Lake Simcoe, and have recently transported considerable quantities of naval and ordnance stores to York, the distance from which to Lake Simcoe is not above 40 miles over a good road. The boats are doubtless intended to convey those stores, through the waters emptying from Lake Simcoe into Lake Huron at Gloucester Bay, on the southeast extremity of Lake Huron. It is on the shores of this bay they are constructing their naval force. For this place you will make a prompt and vigorous push, destroy or capture whatever they may have prepared, and proceed, before the alarm can be extended, to St. Joseph at the mouth of French River, which place it is expected you may readily reduce and get possession of all the property and stores deposited there, and leaving a force to protect that post if tenable, or not likely to be attacked by a superior force, you will thence proceed to Mackinaw, with which the communication of the enemy being entirely cut off, and the place being destitute of provisions, it will doubtless prove an easy conquest. Having accomplished these objects, you will be governed by the season, the state of your provisions and the information you may receive, whether to leave a small garrison at that place

and a part of your squadron on that lake, during the ensuing winter, or return to Erie with the whole."

Another communication from the War Department to Colonel Croghan reads:

"Information has been received, that the enemy is making a new establishment at Mackedash on Lake Huron, and that from 500 to 1,000 seamen, mechanics and others are now employed there, in the construction of armed vessels, etc. This establishment must be broken up. The safety of Detroit, the command of the lakes, the general security of that frontier depends upon it. Captain Sinclair will, accordingly receive orders to pass into Lake Huron, with part of the flotilla, and to carry such troops as may be destined to cooperate with the fleet, in the reduction of this and other places. His means of transportation will probably not accommodate more than 800; but the safest rule will be to embark as many as can be accommodated, taking yourself the command, and leaving behind you a competent force, to guard against Indian attacks, which at present are alone to be feared. If on reaching and reducing the place, it be found to be important, as I believe it will, it ought to be fortified and garrisoned, and become the left of a new line of operations, extending by the way of Lake Simcoe from Gloucester Bay on Lake Huron, to York on Lake Ontario. In this last view of the subject, supplies of cannon, ammunition, and provisions ought to be carried with you.—Armstrong."

Accordingly as related by an authority:

Early in July, 1814, a squadron of vessels left Detroit for the capture of Fort Mackinaw and other posts in that region important to the British fur trade. Some time had been given to preparation for this expedition. Arthur St. Clair was in command of the vessels *Niagara*, *Caledonia*, *Scorpion*, *St. Lawrence* and *Tigress*, and George Croghan, now a lieutenant colonel, was in command of the five hundred United States troops and two hundred and fifty militia which had quarters on the vessels. When the squadron arrived at Fort Gratiot, recently built by order of General M'Arthur at the head of St. Clair Strait or River, Croghan's force was augmented by Col. William Colgreave's regiment of Ohio volunteers and Captain Gratiot. A desired attack on a new British post on Matchadach Bay was abandoned after several days' trial to get through the narrow channels between the islands in the fogs, and without a familiar pilot. Sailing to Fort St. Joseph, toward Lake Superior, they

found it abandoned. The buildings here were destroyed by part of the expedition while others pressed forward to the Sault Ste. Marie where they arrived July 21st to find that John Johnson, "a renegade magistrate from Michigan," agent of the British Northwest Company, had just departed with his assistants, carrying away all the property possible, but setting fire to the company's sloop. This fire was extinguished by the Americans but the vessel proving unseaworthy she was again fired. After destroying the buildings, the Americans returned to St. Joseph, and the squadron arrived at Mackinaw July 26th, where they were to suffer repulse. Deciding it unwise for the vessels to attack the fort in front, Croghan's men were landed and proceeded to a rear attack. They were met, however, by such severe fire by the British and concealed savages, that they retreated to the boats with a loss of thirteen killed, including Major Holmes, and fifty-five wounded, including Captains Van Horn and Desha, and Lieutenant Jackson. Two were missing. Passing to the Nautawassaga River, they captured the block-house three miles from its mouth, but the valuable furs of the Northwest Company had been removed, and their vessel burned. The vessels now sailed for Detroit excepting the *Tigress* with Captain Champlin and the *Scorpion* with Captain Turner, with crews of near thirty men each, which were left as a blockade to cut off supplies from the garrison at Mackinaw. This they did effectually until the night of the 3rd of September when the *Tigress*, being alone, was captured by a stealthy and overwhelming force; which force, in turn, deceived the *Scorpion's* officers and crew to a close contact when she was also boarded and overwhelmed. These disasters, with the loss of the post at Prairie du Chien on the 17th of July, again increased the apprehensions of the Americans throughout the Northwest.

The savages becoming more aggresive around Lake Michigan, General M'Arthur was directed to gather mounted men to proceed against them. He arrived at Detroit by way of Urbana, Upper Sandusky, Lower Sandusky and across the lower Maumee through Ohio the 9th of October, with about seven hundred men gathered from Ohio and Kentucky. The American army under Gen. Jacob Brown being sorely pressed on the Niagara frontier, General M'Arthur, deciding to divert some of the British forces from that point, executed the most daring raid of the war through Canada. Starting northward from Detroit after the middle of October with seven hundred and fifty men and five

field cannon, he circled around Lake St. Clair, crossed the River St. Clair on the 26th, moved rapidly through the Scotch settlement of Baldoon, the Moravian towns on the Thames, and London, arriving at Oxford the 4th of November. Here he found a considerable force of militia which he disarmed and paroled; and he punished those who viciously opposed him by burning their houses. He moved eastward and passed through Burford to Brantford on the Grand River. Here, being opposed by the Iroquois aborigines resident there, the militia and British, he turned southward, attacked the militia at Malcolm Hill by the Grand River, killing and wounding seven and taking one hundred and thirty-one prisoners. The only American loss on this raid was one killed and six wounded at this point. The flouring mill and its belongings were here destroyed; also several mills on his way to Dover on Lake Erie. These mills had been the chief source of supply to the British in their operations against the Central army. At Dover General M'Arthur turned westward passing through Simcoe, St. Thomas and near the Thames, being pursued some distance by eleven hundred British regular troops. The 17th of November this successful American raid ended at Sandwich, where all the volunteers so desiring were discharged.

Returning to Ohio from this most daring of marches through the enemy's country, Brig.-Gen. Duncan M'Arthur, then commanding the Eighth Military District, wrote a confidential letter to Thomas Worthington, then Governor of Ohio, under date Chillicothe, December 13, 1814, as follows:

(Confidential)

Chillicothe, December 13th, 1814.

Sir:—With serious concern for the safety of the Northwestern frontier, I have the honor to submit to your consideration, and that of the Legislature of Ohio, a statement in relation to the situation of affairs in this district.

The contractor failed in November to supply the troops at Detroit with the flour part of the ration, and they are now subsisting upon the immediate resources of the adjacent country. The advanced state of the season precludes the hope that any flour can be forwarded by lake transportation, should it have been collected at Erie, of which there is no authentic account. A considerable supply is reported by the contractor to be in readiness, to be taken down the St. Marys and Miami of the

lake (Maumee) as soon as praticable, of which there can be no certainty until April.

Three or four thousand hogs are reported by the contractor to be in readiness to proceed to Detroit by the route of the Auglaize, and Hull's road. Subsequent information as to the number collected and the price allowed to sub-contractors, induces a belief that not more than one thousand will reach that place. These facts have been communicated to the Government, with a request that funds might be transmitted to this place to enable a special commissary to endeavor to supply the troops of the frontier. There is reason to presume that a delay for an arrangement of this kind would be fatal; more especially as it is the intention of the Government to increase the military force of the Northwestern Frontier. I have, therefore, to request of your Excellency to solicit the Legislature of Ohio to aid the United States in effecting this important object in such a manner as they, in their wisdom, may deem most expedient.

The loan of thirty thousand dollars would probably enable a person duly authorized to forward to Detroit, by the way of Sandusky, five hundred barrels of flour, and fifteen hundred hogs.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

DUNCAN MCARTHUR,
Brig.-Gen. U. S. Army Comd'g.

His Excellency Thomas Worthington, Governor of Ohio.

Chillicothe, December 13th, 1814.

Sir:—I had the honor to receive this evening your confidential communication of even date herewith, and will tomorrow morning communicate copies of it to both branches of the Legislature.

Very respectfully,

T. WORTHINGTON.

General McArthur, commanding Eighth Military District.

(Confidential)

Chillicothe, 14th December, 1814.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I send you copies of a confidential communication of Brig.-Gen. Duncan McArthur, commanding the Eighth Military District, from which you will perceive the situation of the posts on the Northwestern frontier. Should the United States fail to

supply these posts, and no other provision be made to support them, they must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy before the opening of the next campaign. Such a state of things would lay the whole frontier of Ohio open to the incursions of the enemy. With this view of the subject, I cannot hesitate to recommend to the Legislature to furnish, with the least possible delay, the means to supply these posts, believing they will in this way save both the blood and treasure of the State.

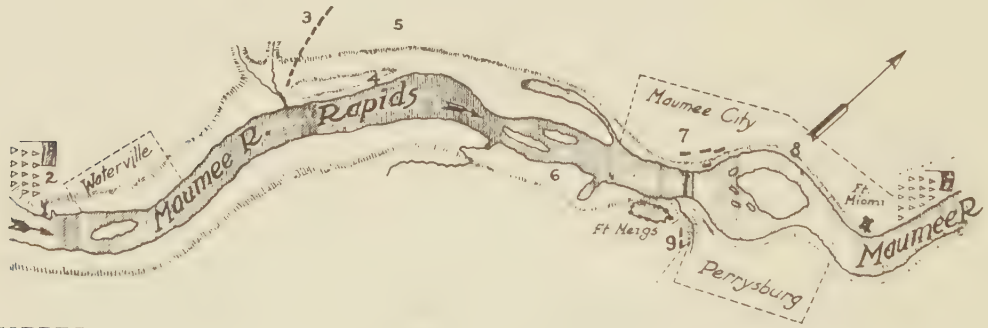
I cannot hesitate in believing the General Government will take the earliest opportunity to refund the amount which may be advanced for the contemplated object.

Very respectfully,

T. WORTHINGTON.

However with negotiations for peace being established and peace commissioners appointed, all action was consequently suspended.

As stated in another chapter, while peace came to the Maumee and Sandusky region so far as concerned activities on local soil with Harrison's victory over Proctor on the Canadian Thames, there was apprehension and alertness all during 1814, with the attendant military engagements with the British as related, beyond our local borders.



CORRECTED MAP OF THE ENGAGEMENTS ALONG THE MAUMEE RIVER, 1794-1813

(1) Site of Roche de Boeuf, sometimes called Roche de Bout; (2) Wayne's camp, August 19, 1794; (3) Wayne's battle line, Battle of Fallen Timbers, August 20, 1794; (4) Turkey Foot Rock; The north approach to Presque Isle Hill; (5) The Fallen Timbers; (6) Site of the engagement between Gen. Green Clay's Kentucky troops and the Indians, May 5, 1813; (7) British batteries spiked by Colonel Dudley's Kentucky troops May 5, 1813; (8) Scene of the Dudley massacre, May 5, 1813; (9) British batteries at the siege of Fort Meigs.

CHAPTER LIV

SETTLERS RETURN TO THE MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY

SITUATION IN THE MAUMEE SECTION—PERRYSBURG AND THEN MAUMEE ESTABLISHED—OTHER SETTLEMENTS OPENED—A GENERAL SURVEY

On that July morning, 1813, when General Proctor and his British forces, after his second attempt to capture Fort Meigs, sailed down the Maumee, and on that memorable night of August when the same British army fled precipitately out of the Sandusky after the American boy Croghan had so gallantly defended Fort Stephenson against their persistent assaults, it was the last time the hostile flag of a foreign foe floated either upon the Maumee or Sandusky. Then in September following, when Commodore Perry with the American fleet obtained control of Lake Erie and when General Harrison in October that year put the British Proctor to an ignominious flight at the Canadian Thames, the last fond hope of the British to hold control of the wondrous valleys of the Maumee and Sandusky was forever blasted, although they still made some further efforts to regain their lost ground. The grand finale came with the great victory of General Jackson over the British on that never-to-be-forgotten January day, 1815, at New Orleans.

Three years of strife had wrought a great change in the Maumee and Sandusky country. As was written, peace and calm again reigned throughout these regions; but the scars of continuous warfare were painfully visible on every side. The waste fields of the Maumee settlers were grown up and choked with weeds and brambles and the mocking bloom of the cheery, wild sunflowers. Ashes and charred cinders marked the places where contentedly had nestled their little cabins, and by the same sign were noted the absence of the wigwam of the savage. The fresh earthen mounds told where slept the fallen heroes as the rippling waters of the yet beautiful Maumee sang their requiem. At Fort Meigs, now manned by only a small garrison, the American colors proudly waved over the grim cannon as they frowned

in silence from the huge bastions. Dudley and his intrepid band who had perished just over the river were the last martyrs upon the altars of barbarism which had begun its hideous sacrifices across the Alleghenies near a century before. The bugle call to arms was silenced. The military had taken up the pursuits of industry. The sword and tomahawk were now to be succeeded by the peaceful implements of husbandry. Civilization had laid firm hold upon the country of the Maumee and the Sandusky.

The treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain now gave the settlers who had fled from their new homes a renewal of confidence and they again turned their faces toward the land of promise. Among the first to return in the summer of 1815, to begin life again and resume his official duties for the Government as collector of the Port of Miami, was Amos Spafford. He had been preceded a short time by John Carter and John Rice who had built a cabin on the north or west side of the Maumee at Presque Isle Hill, near Turkey Foot Rock. With them Spafford took up temporary quarters. The Indians still had a village above that point and as he did not like their threatening attitude, Spafford moved his family down the river to the east side on the flats, at the foot of Fort Meigs, where they lived in a tent until he could finish his new cabin. A number of abandoned scows or flatboats built for shipping army supplies down stream from Fort Defiance lay along the river bank. They came in great service to the settlers in building their new homes. These Spafford used largely in building his house which stood on the flats northwesterly from the fort near the old apple orchard, the trees of which remained there for many years. When Spafford left the river at the beginning of the war, Miami post office was naturally discontinued. In the summer of 1815, two vessels came up the river and most of the fort ordnance was dismantled and with other Government property taken to Detroit. Later in the season the schooner *Blacksnake*, Capt. Jacob Wilkinson, took away a cargo of guns and stores, and the fort which had been in charge of Lieut. Almon Gibbs and forty men, as has already been told in the story of Fort Meigs, was abandoned. For the convenience of the fort garrison and the few settlers, the previous year, on May 9 (1814) Gibbs had been appointed postmaster, the office being named Fort Meigs. After the fort was abandoned (1815-16), Gibbs left the army, established a store on the other side of the river (later Maumee) and moved the post office to his new location. The post office was still called

Fort Meigs and for some time after that, all the lower Maumee country went under that name.

A majority of the new arrivals were by way of Cleveland and other Lake Erie ports on the south shore. Wayne's soldiers had seen the lower Maumee under favorable conditions, when they had viewed the vast fields of corn and other products and they had spread the account of the soil's productiveness as well as the scenic beauties of the valley. Soldiers who came by way of Hull's Trail through the Black Swamp and became afflicted with the fever and "shakes" (ague) told a somewhat different story. But Providence had set the time for the opening of civilization here and home seekers began to gather. Settlers sometimes utilized the old fort block-houses as living quarters until they could build their own cabins, and as long as it lasted the palisades and other timber came into use for many purposes. As heretofore told, strife as to the priority of rights to occupy the block-houses arose, and they were fired by someone and destroyed.

There were yet some hostile Indians along the river. During the summer of 1815 the settlers engaged John Carter and John Rice to go upstream in a pirogue for supplies. Some time after they left, their empty boat was sighted floating down the river. Sensing trouble, Spafford procured assistance and went up to their cabin. Here he found their bodies and the evidences of a desperate engagement with the Indians. Both men had been shot and tomahawked. Later the same season Levi Hall went down to the woods at the present site of Perrysburg to drive home his cattle. Soon after he left several gunfire reports were heard in that direction. When Hall did not return, search for him was begun. Near where now stands the Methodist Church in the upper part of Perrysburg, the searchers found his body. He had been shot and scalped. Such happenings although few, caused care and anxiety among the inhabitants, but retarded little the additions to the new community.

In due time the settlers who suffered losses from depredations by the Indians and British and from other causes during the war, presented claims to the Government for payment therefor. A meeting of these claimants was held November 24, 1815, at the home of Amos Spafford and he was named their agent and authorized to proceed to Washington and make application to the proper authorities for indemnity. The list of applicants were: Daniel Purdy, Oliver Armstrong, James Carlin, William Carter, George Blalock, James Slawson, Amos Spafford, Samuel Ewing,

Jesse Skinner, William Skinner, Stacy Stoddard, Jacob Wilkinson, Thomas Dick, Samuel H. Ewing, William Peters, Amos Hicox, Richard Gifford, Samuel Carter, Baptiste Momeny, Thomas McIlrath, Chloe Hicox, David Hull, John Redoad, and some others. James Carlin's claim was for his cabin burned, $110; blacksmith shop, $55; two-year-old colt taken by Wyandot Indians, $30. Oliver Armstrong's claim was for a lost horse, value $60; six acres of wheat in barn burned; four tons of hay; clothing and bedding burned or stolen and other articles, including standing corn used by the U. S. troops. All claims aggregated over four thousand dollars. This with some other amounts the Government after some delay allowed and paid.

No better idea of the situation of the developing settlements can be obtained than by quoting from the statements of the early arrivals themselves gleaned from the historical memoranda of W. V. Way, who endowed the present Way Public Library, Perrysburg. Capt. David Wilkinson, at the age of fifteen years, on his first visit to the valley, sailed up the Maumee River in May, 1815, as a deck hand on board the schooner *Blacksnake*. The vessel, of about 25 tons burden, was commanded by his uncle, Jacob Wilkinson, and owned by his father and this uncle. The passengers were incoming settlers who embarked at Cleveland, their intentions being to establish themselves in the valleys of the Maumee and the River Raisin. Among the latter was the Mulhollen family who later kept the famous tavern at Vienna; also a Mr. Hunter and family, Scott Robb and a Mr. Hopkins, who settled on lands above now Perrysburg. The schooner landed her passengers and cargo from the bayou at the upper end of this later established village, there being then no dockage facilities for commerce. At the time of landing David Hull and Thomas McIlrath were there trading with the Indians and besides, "keeping taverns" in their log houses standing on the hillside or river bank between Fort Meigs and the river. Halsey Leaming then lived in a log house in the vicinty, his brother Thomas residing with him. The family of Jesse Skinner lived on the flats near Fort Meigs, his close neighbor being Thomas Dicks, an Irish bachelor. Samuel Ewing was another neighbor. Fort Meigs at this time was garrisoned by some forty soldiers, as has been stated, under Lieut. Almon Gibbs. It was about this time that the fort was dismantled and abandoned.

Fishing by the use of seins was an important industry at this

period. The *Blacksnake* made two trips from Cleveland to the Lower Rapids, the season of 1815. The second trip being made for a load of fish. Captain Wilkinson also made two runs the season of 1816 and in September of the latter year, built a house on the flats below Fort Meigs near David Hull's. These flats were later the location of the plat of Orleans of the North. Seneca Allen, the first resident justice of the peace in now Wood County, came in 1816 with his family from Detroit. On the same vessel arrived the families of Jacob Wilkinson, Elijah, Charles and Christopher Gunn. The Gunns and Allen located on the north or west side of the river. Allen opened a trading place with the Indians at Roche de Boeuf, where another noted character, Isaac Richardson, had a mill. The Gunns settled permanently between that place and now Maumee City. Charles Gunn as justice of the peace under the jurisdiction of Champaign County performed the first marriage ceremony in that section, February 20, 1817; the contracting parties being Aurora Spafford, son of Maj. Amos Spafford, and a Mrs. Mary Jones. The county seat was at Urbana, and the route traveled was the old, or not so old then, Hull's Trail. Two years later Allen moved to Fort Meigs and held the office of justice for several years. As noted, the family of Jacob Wilkinson who had been on the river before the war, on their return and settling on the flats, kept a stopping place or tavern. It was rather strange that the newcomers located on this first river terrace, for in high waters the flats overflowed. It was probably because the land needed little preparation for tillage. One night on a sudden rise in the river, the Wilkinsons were obliged to scramble up the ladder stairway to the loft of their cabin, from which position they were rescued by boatmen. In the excitement their baby was enirely forgotten. But noting something floating on the water, investigation proved it to be the infant's "crib," the half of a section of hollow log with boards nailed on each end, making a regular dugout canoe in which the baby was sleeping unconscious of its surroundings.

In 1816, came Wilson and Samuel Vance, who the following spring opened a trader's store for their brother Joseph Vance, later Governor of Ohio. It was the first store in now Wood County.

According to these Way Memoirs, Almira Hull, daughter of David Hull, was the first white child born in this vicinity in settlement days (1817). Thomas McIlrath also settled on the

flats in 1815. It was in the spring of 1818, that Ephraim and Thomas Leaming, carpenters and millwrights, moved from here to Monclova and rebuilt the sawmill begun there before the war on Swan Creek by Samuel Ewing. Much of the lumber used by the early settlers was sawed at this mill. H. P. Barlow taught school in the Fort Meigs settlement in the winter of 1816-17. It is the first or second record of a school on the lower Maumee.

The earliest traders, except McKee, mostly had their locations on the north or Maumee City side of the river. Besides those mentioned who had located on that bank before the War of 1812, after this conflict, arrived in 1816 Dr. Horatio Conant, who was for about a year associated with Almon Gibbs in the mercantile trade. In the winter of 1817-1818 Doctor Conant taught the community school and at the same time practiced his profession; his circuit including as far up the Maumee River as Defiance, north to the River Raisin and long distances east and west. On one of his professional visits to Defiance, he swam his horse over eight of the Maumee tributaries. Reaching Defiance he left his horse there and returned down the river to Maumee in a canoe. He was collector of the port at Maumee for a time, clerk of the courts of Lucas County and a justice of the peace for nearly fifty years. In 1848 he was mayor of the village and was prominent in the affairs of the Northwest until his death in 1879, aged 94 years.

John E. Hunt came to this west side community in 1816, and was the first state senator from the district in which Lucas County belonged after its organization. He resided in Maumee City until 1853. Judge James Wolcott located on River Tract No. 21, west side of the Maumee in 1826. The Wolcott mansion built in 1827 and still standing on the Maumee-Toledo Boulevard, was a social center for the community in early days, where gathered the families of Judge Robert Forsythe, Gen. John E. Hunt, Isaac Hull, Curtis Hull, the Spaffords, Hubbels, M. R. Waite, Samuel M. Young and others. Mr. Wolcott was married at St. Louis in 1821 to Miss Mary Wells, daughter of Capt. William Wells and granddaughter of the famous Miami Chief Little Turtle.

The foregoing characters were among the early pioneers of Maumee City which was laid out, platted and named by Maj. William Oliver in 1817. The plans were drawn by A. I. Wheeler and three lots at Broadway and Conant street were set apart for public use; two lots at Broadway and Gibbs street and two

lots at Broadway and Allen street reserved for church and school purposes. There was no Lucas County then and no Wood County. Being in Waynesfield township and under the jurisdiction of Logan County, the plat was acknowledged before Seneca Allen, justice of the peace of the County of Logan. Wood County which then included Lucas County, was established in 1820, and the plat of Maumee City is of record in that county. Mr. Allen was then a resident of Orleans of the North.

In 1816 the United States authorities dispatched one of their agents, Alexander Bourne, to locate and survey the site for a town at the foot of the Maumee Rapids. Looking over the various locations and topographical conditions and perhaps influenced by some of the local arguments produced by such men as Amos Spafford, he selected the present site of Perrysburg and Deputy United States Surveyors Joseph Wampler and William Brookfield laid out and surveyed the streets and lots. This was one year before the establishment of Maumee City. It is quite easy to identify towns and cities laid out by Government surveyors, by reason of the width of the streets. Louisiana Avenue, Perrysburg, is one hundred feet wide. In those days the expanse was broad and land cheap. In speaking of acreage, they talked in the thousands and millions. Regarding the name for the new town site as well as that at Lower Sandusky, Josiah Meigs, then Commissioner of the General Land Office, wrote to Amos Spafford as follows:

Washington City, April 12, 1816.

Dear Friend:

As you will have a town on the Miami of Erie, it will be well to think of the name it is to bear. The act does not give it a name. Who is to christen it? I wish you would think on the subject and let me have your wishes. For my part I will barely suggest to you that if it would be named Perryville, or Perrytown—or in some other form, which may always remind us of the victory of Erie—it would be *good policy*. We ought to make the best profit we can of the blood of our countrymen, which has been shed for the confirmation of our Independence.

If it were left to me to name the town at Lower Sandusky, I should name it in honor of the gallant youth, Colonel Croghan—and would say it should be Croghansville.

I believe it is in your power to give the names.

I am respectfully yours,

JOSIAH MEIGS.

(To) A. Spafford, Esq.

The suggestion of Commissioner Meigs was carried out, but instead of the addition of "town" or "ville," it was "burg"—making Perrysburg. There was also a Croghansville laid out in the Lower Sandusky Reservation. The contest over the final name "Fremont" for the whole town or now city will be told later.

At this point a thoughtful writer of the time observes that "below Perrysburg about two miles is a ridge of rock across the river channel called Rock Bar, where vessels drawing over six feet of water cannot pass safely in the summer stage of water. The light craft on the lake in 1816 were not obstructed by the 'bar,' but the heavy vessels of a later date found it dangerous. Rock Bar destroyed the hope of any town above it becoming the commercial emporium of the Maumee country, and forced the selection of a new site below it. Had the Government agent located Perrysburg below the 'bar,' there was a possibility that it might, with the early start and prestige of Government paternity have been the great city of the valley instead of Toledo."

Perrysburg was laid out from the Reserve one year before the Indians at the great treaty on the lower Maumee ceded the balance of Northwestern Ohio to the United States opening up all of the Maumee and the Sandusky region to settlement. Not to be outdone by the settlers on the Perrysburg side of the river, Maumee City was established the same year of the treaty. Besides the founding of Perrysburg and Maumee, another helpful move in aid of the new developments, was the resurvey of the Twelve Miles Square Reserve the same year Perrysburg was laid out (1816). In this work a change was made and the land abutting the river was subdivided into "River Tracts" instead of into the usual square sections. The Maumee river lands were then thrown upon the market at auction as to selection, at the Land Office at Wooster, Ohio, in February, 1817. The sale proved a success, was of great advantage to the settlements and gave a permanency to the improvements which followed in consequence. As squatters there was little incentive to permanency, but now settlers held absolute and undisputed title. The chief business was fishing and the fur trade, but wheat, corn and vegetable production gradually grew in importance.

Still another helpful act, besides the removal of the Greenville Treaty line barrier by the Maumee 1817 treaty, was the establishment the same year of a new county, taken from Champaign County, as shown by the article on the "Evolution of Counties." This new county extending to the Michigan line and in-

cluding much of Northwestern Ohio was named Logan with Belleville, now Bellefontaine, the county seat. While this county seat was still on the north and south road for communication, Hull's Trail, it was eighteen miles nearer than Urbana. Waynesfield township which took in the Maumee settlements was also formed soon after this act, proving a further great convenience with local officials and a closer home government. The years 1818 and 1819, were devoid of special or startling events and characterized by a steady, permanent growth. By the end of 1819, the lower Maumee villages and adjacent settlements, exclusive of Indians, numbered over six hundred individuals. It was at this time that a petition was made to the Ohio Legislature for the formation of a new county or counties. Of the fourteen new counties named in the act passed February 12, 1820, the organization of only two counties was provided for—Wood and Sandusky. Maumee was named in the law as the temporary county seat of Wood County and the organization of the county took place there, but Perrysburg was chosen as the permanent seat of justice. As stated heretofore, the counties of Hancock, Henry, Putnam, Paulding and Williams were attached to Wood until further provided for. In addition, out of the territory of the original six counties under the jurisdiction of Wood County, named for Col. E. D. Wood, the engineer who built Fort Meigs, Lucas, Fulton and Defiance have been formed.

In this act of 1820 Seneca County was attached to Sandusky for civil purposes and Croghansville was designated as the temporary seat of justice. Including Seneca, the population of the new county was less than one thousand. But evidently the first civil government affecting lower Sandusky was when the county commissioners of Delaware County annexed it to Radner township that county, April 29, 1811, to "enjoy township privileges." However, there is no available record of proceedings of any character regarding the annexed territory. Under the organization of Lower Sandusky township, while the township was under the civil jurisdiction of Huron County, an election was held August 15, 1815, at which township officers were chosen. The second election was held October 10, 1815, the list of voters being as follows: Israel Harrington, Elisha Harrington, William Andrews, Daniel M'Farland, Thoda A. Rexford, Asa Stoddard, William Ford, Randall Jerome, Jeremiah Everett, Moses Nichol, Anthony Arndt, Joseph Doane, Obediah Morton, Jonathan Jerome, Joel Thomas, Thomas D. Knapp, Peleg Cooley, Antoine Laurent, Isaac

Lee, Joseph Nominee, Charles B. Fitch, John M. Clung, Henry Disbrow, James Whitaker (son of the original Indian trader, James Whitaker), Nathaniel Camp, Samuel Avery, Peter Menore and Lewis de Leonard.

Like the first occupants of the Maumee section, the earliest white settlers were squatters. The Two Miles Square Reserve was surveyed into four sections in June, 1807, by William Ewing, deputy United States surveyor, two years after the lines of the Twelve Miles Square Reserve at the Foot of the Maumee Rapids were run. Like the Maumee Reserve, the lands were not then put upon the market. Of the first white settlements on the Sandusky the subject will be treated in connected form in a subsequent chapter. When Sandusky County was established in 1820, unlike Wood County, two townships, Sandusky and Croghan, had been formed and composed the territory before its organization.

On the Maumee River the settlements gradually extended upstream from the Lower Rapids and into the interior forests. During the garrisoning of Fort Defiance, an occasional American trader operated in that vicinity, but no permanent white settlements were attempted. Up to the War of 1812 the traders and their families on the Upper Maumee were, generally speaking, all French and British Canadians. As was the case on the Lower Maumee, at the close of hostilities, several soldiers who were located at Fort Winchester, returned to now Defiance and its vicinity. Those who came back in 1815-16, as settlers and occupied the buildings of Fort Winchester after its abandonment by troops, were James Partee, John Perkins, John and William Preston, John Plummer and Montgomery Evans. Later the timber was used for cabin building and fuel for the fireplace. In 1820 Defiance Village contained three stores and about one hundred white residents. In the interior of now Wood County, Collister Haskins settled at the site of Portage in 1824.

While detailed stories of Williams, Wood, Lucas, Fulton, Henry, Hancock, Wyandot, Seneca, Ottawa, Paulding, Putnam, Defiance and Sandusky counties will appear later, a few high spots are here mentioned.

In now St. Joseph township, Williams County, on the west bank of the St. Joseph River, below where was once a town site named Denmark laid out by a pioneer Judge Parker, was a low piece of meadow land called the "Indian Meadows." There were squatters and Indian traders in now Williams County earlier,

but James Guthrie, who arrived in that section in 1827, was evidently the first settler in Williams County.

Concerning the old trail on the west side of the Maumee, above Maumee and through now Henry County, a writer of the time has penned this: "In 1836 after leaving Maumee City, the first house the traveler would meet would be at Waterville, and vicinity six miles above, where he would find five or six dwellings. (Isaac Richardson, the earliest, then Gilbert Underwood, 1816; John Pray, 1817; the Adams family, 1817; Orson Ballou, 1818; Whitcomb Haskins, 1822, and others.) Passing up seven or eight miles further he would reach the tavern of Tiehean, a half-breed Indian. The next house, eighteen miles above Maumee, would be a group of three or four cabins at Providence (established by Peter Manor); thence would be reached the hospitable house of Samuel Vance (of the prominent Governor Vance family), occupying the site of a farm which was found by Wayne's army in a high state of cultivation in 1794, and which was then known as Prairie due Masque and now as Damascus. This point would bring the traveler twenty-seven miles above Maumee. The next house, about two miles above Damascus, was a tavern and trading post occupied by John Patrick. Three miles above this the traveler would reach Napoleon, where were Judge Alexander Craig, James G. Haley, Gen. Henry Leonard, James Magill, John Powell, Hazell Strong, George Stout and John Glass. Amos Andrews had a log cabin tavern." Above Napoleon five miles lived Elijah Gunn; and a few rods west of his home, on Girty's Point, was earlier the trading cabin of George Girty, brother of Simon Girty, opposite Girty's Island."

As to now Hancock County, there were two prominent Indian villages on the Blanchard River, and as late as 1815, there were a few Indian families hovering around old Fort Findlay in now the center of the City of Findlay. It is said that the Blanchard River, or forks of the Auglaize, takes its name from Jean Jacques Blanchard, a romantic Frenchman, who settled among the Shawnees of this section as far back as 1770 and married a squaw. The tradition is that he died in 1802 and was buried at the site of Fort Findlay, on the south bank of the river. As was generally the case, the first white arrivals of that section soon after the War of 1812, clustered about the old stockade and with the Indian's leaving built their cabins in that vicinity.

The first settlers when Seneca County was organized were naturally along the Sandusky River and mostly near the Fort

Ball and Fort Seneca sections. When the Seneca Indian Reservation was established in 1817, Rev. James Montgomery, who was appointed Indian Agent, located at Fort Seneca where he brought his family that year in November. Prior to that time he preached for several years as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church and was for a time commissary of the troops of the Ohio militia. For seven years they resided in the Fort Seneca block-house, when Montgomery occupied a tract of nearby land where he built a large log home. In 1819, there were only five families living between Fort Seneca and Fort Ball (Tiffin)—Abner Pike, William Harris, the Dumond family, a Widow Shippy and an old man named McNutt. William Spicer, a white man and Indian captive who married a Seneca squaw, lived on Honey Creek as early as 1806, and as late as 1817. Others who lived here early among the Indians were John Vanmeter, Joseph Williams and some others, who at the latter year received land grants.

As to the early settlements in Wyandot County, and other Maumee and Sandusky sections, reference is made to the interesting story of Wyandot County and chapters on other Northwestern Ohio counties.

CHAPTER LV

MORE CONCERNING THE SANDUSKY REGION

STORY OF THE WHITAKERS — OTHER EARLY SANDUSKY SETTLERS— REVIEW OF EARLY FREMONT SECTION — OPERATIONS OF SARDIS BIRCHARD AND OTHER PROMINENT CHARACTERS

The Maumee and Sandusky regions are the warp and woof, the structural fabric, from which is wöven the story of the two greatest historical sections of the Northwest. They have been inseparably entwined throughout this narrative. Separating the parts somewhat, the beginning of permanent white settlements upon the Maumee and adjacent regions have been set forth and attention is turned in more detail to the beginning of civilization on the Sandusky.

The traditions of the obscure Neutral Aborigine Nations and the Neutral Cities separated by the waters of the Sandusky have been recorded; the establishment of a post at the "St. Dusky" in 1745 by British traders and its later French and British and finally American history has been set forth; Pontiac's Conspiracy, the expeditions of Bouquet, and then Bradstreet accompanied by Gen. Israel Putnam to Lower Sandusky have been told about; the Sandusky travels of James Smith, the British traders of the Revolutionary period, the narratives concerning Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton and the Moravians, together with the Renegades, have followed with the campaign of Col. Robert Rogers; and finally the War of 1812 and Fort Stephenson. Now as to the permanent Sandusky white settlements.

In the account of the first settlements of the Maumee Valley, the story of the Knaggs family who first came to the lower Maumee as early as 1760 is given; but they were not then permanently located there. Therefore is accorded to James Whitaker and Elizabeth Whitaker, his wife, who established their home on the Sandusky in 1782, the honor of being not only the first permanent white settlers in the Maumee and Sandusky region, but within the borders of Ohio. Their life story is taken from the C. M. Burton Historical Collection of Detroit, from the histories of Sandusky County by the Honorable Homer Everett and the late Basil Meek and from other sources.

James Whitaker according to the best authority was born in London, England, in 1756 and in 1768 shipped for New York at the age of twelve, with his uncle, Capt. John Whitaker, in a schooner, of which the latter was not only the skipper but owner. It is not definitely known how he came to join the forces at Fort Pitt but he was a member of that garrison which was then (1780) in command of Colonel Brodhead. In May that year when Brodhead learned that the British and Indian army were gathering on the Sandusky River in preparation for an attack on Fort Pitt, he dispatched Capt. Samuel Brady, the famous scout, to the Lower Sandusky towns and gained information as to the situation at this British and Indian center. It is said that in his boyhood days Brady had been a playmate of Simon Girty who with his brother and McKee and Elliott, the famous renegades, had a short time before this gone over to the British. Brady on his dangerous mission was accompanied by two or three companions, all dressed and painted as Indians. Upon their long and perilous journey they traveled only in the night. Arriving at the Sandusky, Brady and his men under the cover of darkness waded from the river bank to the island opposite the Indian town of Lower Sandusky (Fremont) where they lay in a thicket for three days watching the movements of the savages. A thick fog enveloped the valley on the first morning. Near noon the sun dispelled the mist and before the secreted scouts was revealed in its splendor the whole romantic surroundings and Indian activities. Among other amusements, the villagers were engaged in a series of horse races along the river bank and entered into the contests with great hilarity. In his account, Hassler says, the town was "overcrowded with warriors and their festivities indicated preparations for the warpath." However, the races and other sports did not indicate that they were preparing for hostilities and Brady and his companions left the scene as stealthily as they came. Experiencing many dangerous situations on their return, they arrived safely at Fort Pitt after an absence of thirty-two days.

In another scouting journey to the Sandusky Brady was surprised by the Indians, overpowered and bound. He was taken to the head Sandusky town and amidst great rejoicing his captors prepared for his torture and burning at the stake. To all of the prisoner's appeals, Girty, his "old time friend," who was present, made no apparent efforts to save Brady from the terrible ordeal. Preparations were made for the torture and

execution and the prisoner was tied to the stake and a fire lighted. Whereupon Brady with almost supernatural power, suddenly snapped the withes binding his arms, seized a squaw standing near-by and hurled her upon the burning pyre. Amidst the turmoil and excitement he dashed from the midst of the gathering. Getting a good start he outdistanced his pursuers and regained the forest. But the savages followed him relentlessly, as the account runs, for more than a hundred miles to where he made his famous leap, across a narrow gorge of the Cuyahoga River in now Kent, Portage County, and after secreting himself in the waters of "Brady's Pond" finally reached headquarters. There is little left to show the situation where he made his broad jump, said to have been the distance of twenty-two feet. Detroit during this period was under the command of Captain Lernoult and then de Peyster, heretofore spoken of.

This apparent digression in the Whitaker story is made to show something of the situation when he was at Fort Pitt. The historian's (the Hon. Homer Everett's), account of Whitaker's capture by the Indians as told him by Mrs. Rachel Scranton, James Whitaker's daughter, is as follows:

"About the year 1780 two brothers, Quill and James Whitaker, in company with another young man, left Fort Pitt one morning on a hunting expedition. They wandered a considerable distance from the fort, intent upon securing game with which to gratify their friends, but at an unexpected moment a volley of rifle balls rattled among the trees. One took mortal effect in the body of the unnamed young man, another passed through the hat of Quill Whitaker, who saved himself by flight; a third ball shattered the arm of James, the younger brother, and in a few minutes he was the prisoner of a band of painted Wyandot warriors. After several days' hard traveling, the Indians with their captive reached a village within the present boundaries of Richland County, Ohio. Here the lines were formed and Whitaker's bravery and activity were tested on the gauntlet course. The boy, wounded as he was, deported himself with true heroism. The first half of the course was passed without a single scratch, but as he was speeding on toward the painted goal an old squaw who cherished a feeling of deep revenge, mortified by the captive's successful progress, sprang forward and caught his arm near the shoulder, hoping to detain him long enough for the weapon of the next savage to take effect. The prisoner instantly halted and with a violent kick sent the vicious squaw and

the next Indian tumbling from the lines. His bold gallantry received wild shouts of applause along the line. Attention being thus diverted, he sprang forward with quickened speed and reached the post without material injury. Not satisfied that this favorite amusement should be so quickly ended, it was decided that the prisoner should run again. The lines for the second trial were already formed, when an elderly and dignified squaw walked forward and took from her own shoulders a blanket which she cast over the panting young prisoner, saying: 'This is my son. He is one of us. You must not kill him.' Thus adopted, he was treated with all that kindness and affection which the savage heart is capable of cherishing."

Whitaker at the time of his capture was twenty-four years old; this according to his age at the time of his death recorded on his tombstone, which dates correspond with the statement of his daughter that he was born in 1756.

Judge Everett's story of the Whitakers as told to him by Mrs. Scranton continues:

"About two years after the capture of Whitaker, another party of warriors made an incursion into Pennsylvania and captured at Cross Roads, Elizabeth Foulks, a girl eleven years old, whom they carried into captivity and adopted into a family of the tribe. Both captives lived contentedly and happily, having adopted the manners and customs of their hosts. A few years after—probably here on the Sandusky River, at a general council of their tribe, these two adopted children of the forest made each other's acquaintance. A marriage according to the customs of civilized life was at once arranged and the couple, ardent in their love and happy in their expectations, set off for Detroit, where the Christian ritual was pronounced which made them man and wife.

"The Indians seemed well pleased by this conduct of their pale-faced children. They gave them a choice tract of farming land in the river bottom. Mr. and Mrs. Whitaker reared a large family, for whose education they expended considerable sums of money. Mr. Whitaker entered into mercantile business, for which he was well fitted. He established a store at his residence, one at Tymochtee (Creek) and one at Upper Sandusky. He accumulated wealth rapidly, having at the time of his death his goods all paid for and 2,000 pounds on deposit with the Canada house where he made his purchases. At Upper Sandusky he had a partner, Hugh Patterson, with whom in the year 1804 he drank

a glass of wine and died a short time afterwards, his death being attributed to poison in the wine. Mrs. Whitaker, to whom a reservation was granted in the treaty of 1817, survived her husband many years." Patterson, a Canadian from Sandwich, according to Mrs. Whitaker's will, owed her on a judgment for $1,300, on which Richard Patterson was security.

According to the writings of that able Sandusky Valley historian and talented writer, Miss Lacy Elliot Keeler of Fremont, who is here quoted, Helen Scranton (1907), a granddaughter of Mrs. Whitaker, related that "Elizabeth Foulks was taken prisoner by the Wyandots during the first years of the War of the Revolution, 1776, when eleven years old, at Beaver Creek, Pa. The children of the neighborhood were making sugar when they were attacked by the Indians, her brother, John Foulks, was tomahawked and killed, and her brother George, who was several years older than Elizabeth, was taken prisoner with her. Both were carried through to the vicinity of Detroit. She remained with the Indians at Detroit, being very kindly treated by them, until she was married to James Whitaker, also a prisoner at Detroit, some five years and three months after her capture, namely in 1781 or 1782. She was adopted by the Wyandots, but in common with the white prisoners, including her brother George, she was freed a short time before her marriage. George Foulks returned at once to Beaver Creek, Pa., where he married, leaving at least ten children. Elizabeth was married to James Whitaker according to rites of civilized life, but whether by a civil or a religious ceremony is not known. In 1782, very soon after their marriage, Whitaker and his wife left Detroit and returned to the banks of the Sandusky River, where they built a log cabin three miles below Lower Sandusky, now Fremont. A few years after settling on the Sandusky, Whitaker traded his furs and Indian supplies for lumber from Canada, and after rafting it up the Sandusky River built a large frame, two-story house, also a warehouse and store building. When her first child, Nancy, was nine or ten months old, Mrs. Whitaker started on her first trip home to Beaver Creek, carrying her baby on her horse in front of her and being accompanied by two Wyandot squaws. She was the mother of eight children, from her marriage in 1782 until the death of her husband in 1804, then at Upper Sandusky. She made several trips to her old home in Beaver Creek, going for the last time in 1823 to attend a family reunion at the home of her sister. An incident of that occasion is that her sister sat at

the table with twenty-two of her own children, two others having died. Of the twenty-two, a quartet of boys, born at one birth, were dressed in suits of handsome green cloth presented to them by President Monroe. Mrs. Whitaker died suddenly in 1833, while on a visit to Upper Sandusky, where her husband also had died nearly thirty years before. She was buried at Upper Sandusky, although her husband's body had been taken back to Lower Sandusky."

A copy of the will of Mrs. Whitaker furnished the writer of this history by Judge Coonrod of the Probate Court of Sandusky County, where the will was filed, shows the document of the date of February 15th, 1833, admitted to probate September 13, 1833. Isaac and James Whitaker, her sons, were named as executors. The contents of "a chest containing valuable articles" was upon opening found to hold a silver castor, cruets, sugar tongs, table spoons, Indian arm-bands and silver shoe-buckles.

The children of James and Elizabeth Whitaker were Nancy, whose birth is given as 1782; Isaac and James; Mary, according to her tombstone born in 1791 and died in 1827; Elizabeth, who died in 1813; Charlotte, who died in 1824; and Rachel, the youngest, born in 1801.

On one of Whitaker's mercantile visits to Montreal he was accompanied by his daughter, Nancy, then in her early 'teens. They stopped with a family named Wilson, whose daughter the Wilsons had planned to send to school at Glasgow, Scotland. Whitaker arranged to send Nancy with her where she remained at school for some three years. Upon her return she did much toward raising the social and educational standard of the entire family. After Nancy's arrival from abroad William Wilson, an English officer and son of the Montreal merchant, who had evidently met her at Montreal, came for a visit to the Whitakers and on a later visit he was married to Nancy at the home of her parents.

Charles Johnston, a Virginian of some note, in making a business visit to Point Pleasant on the Ohio River, while passing down that stream with a party of three men and Peggy and Dolly Fleming of Pittsburg, was hailed by two white men, according to Johnston's story, published in 1827, who implored to be taken on board and rescued from the Indians by whom they had been captured. These white men were simply used as decoys and when the boats containing Johnston and his companions approached the shore they were fired upon by a body of over fifty

Indians. Dolly Fleming and one of the men were killed and the balance of the party, including Peggy Fleming, were taken prisoner. The date was March 20, 1789. The prisoners were separated and one of them, William Flinn, was burned at the stake on the Sandusky River. Another of the prisoners named Skyles was condemned to the same fate, the torture to take place on the Maumee River, but he made his escape to Detroit. The part of Johnston's narrative concerning Peggy Fleming as related to Lower Sandusky is as follows: When they arrived at Upper Sandusky they met a Canadian trader named Francis Douchouquet who after much bargaining purchased Johnston from the Indians for 600 silver broaches. Says Johnston further: "The small band of Cherokees, three in number, to whom Peggy Fleming had been allotted in the distribution made of the prisoners on the Ohio, brought her to Upper Sandusky while I was there. She was no longer that cheerful, lively creature such as when separated from us. Her spirits were sunk, her gayety had fled; and instead of that vivacity and sprightliness which formerly danced upon her countenance she now wore the undissembled aspect of melancholy and wretchedness. I endeavored to ascertain the cause of this extraordinary change, but she answered my inquiries only with her tears; leaving my mind to its own inferences. Her stay with us was only for a few hours, during which time I could not extract a word from her, except occasionally the monosylliables yes and no. Gloom and despondency had taken entire possession of her breast; and nothing could be more touching than her appearance. Her emaciated frame and dejected countenance, presented a picture of sorrow and of sadness which would have melted the stoutest heart, and such was its effect upon me that I could not abstain from mingling my tears with hers. With these feelings we parted. When we met again it was under far different and more auspicious circumstances, as will hereafter be seen.

"Mr. Duchouquet sold his goods and collected his peltry at Upper Sandusky. The season had arrived for transporting his purchases to Detroit; and with a light heart I began the journey to that post in his party. The Sandusky River is not navigable from the upper town; and Mr. Duchouquet's peltry was carried on pack horses to Lower Sandusky; whence there is a good navigation to Detroit. When we reached Lower Sandusky, a great degree of consternation prevailed there, produced by the incidents of the preceding day, and of the morning then recently past. The

three Cherokees, who had possession of Peggy Fleming, had conducted her to a place where they encamped, within a quarter of a mile's distance from the town. It was immediately rumored that they were there, with a white female captive. The traders residing in the town instantly determined to visit the camp of the Cherokees and to see her. Among them was a man whose name was Whitaker, and who like the one that I had met at Upper Sandusky had been carried into captivity from the white settlements by the Wyandots in his early life. He was not so entirely savage as the first; could speak our language better; and though naturalized by his captors retained some predilection for the whites. The influence which he had acquired with his tribe was such that they had promoted him to the rank of chief; and his standing with them was high. His business had led him frequently to Pittsburg where the father of Peggy Fleming then kept a tavern in which Whitaker had been accustomed to lodge and board. As soon as he appeared with the other traders at the camp of the Cherokees, he was recognized by the daughter of his old landlord, and she addressed him by his name, earnestly supplicating his efforts to emancipate her from the grasp of her savage proprietors. Without hesitation he acceded to her request. He did not make an application to the Cherokees but returned to the town and informed the principal chief, distinguished by the appellation of King Crane, that the white female captive was his sister; a misrepresentation greatly palliated by the benevolent motive which dictated it.

"He had no difficulty in obtaining from the King a promise to procure her release. Crane went immediately to the camp of the Cherokees; informed them that their prisoner was the sister of a friend of his, and desired as a favor that they would make a present to him of Peggy Fleming, whom he wished to restore to her brother. They rejected his request. He then proposed to purchase her; this they also refused with bitterness, telling him that he was no better than the white people and that he was as mean as the dirt; terms of the grossest reproach in their use of them. At this insult Crane became exasperated. He went back to the town; told Whitaker what had been his reception and declared his intention to take Peggy Fleming from the Cherokees by force. But fearing such an act might be productive of war between his nation and theirs, he urged Whitaker to raise the necessary sum in value for her redemption. Whitaker, with the assistance of the other traders at the town, immediately made up

the requisite amount in silver broaches. This was not accomplished until it was too late to effect their object on that evening. Early next morning King Crane, attended by eight or ten young warriors, marched out to the camp of the Cherokees, where he found them asleep, while their forlorn captive was securely fastened, in a state of utter nakedness, to a stake; and her body painted black; an indication always decisive that death is the doom of the prisoner. Crane, with his scalping knife cut the cords by which she was bound; delivered her the clothes of which she had been divested by the rude hands of the unfeeling Cherokees; and after she was dressed, awakened them. He told them in peremptory language that the captive was his, and that he had brought with him the value of her ransom. Then, throwing down the silver broaches on the ground, he bore off the terrified girl to the town, and delivered her to Whitaker; who after a few days sent her, disguised by her dress and paint as a squaw, to Pittsburg, under the care of two trusty Wyandots. I never learnt whether she reached her home or not; but as the Indians are remarkable for their fidelity to their undertakings, I presume she was faithfully conducted to her place of destination.

"The Cherokees were so incensed by the loss of their captive, that they entered the Wyandot town of Lower Sandusky declaring they would be revenged by taking the life of some white person. This was the cause of the alarm, which was spread among the traders at the time of our arrival, and in which our party necessarily participated; as it was indispensable that we should remain there several days for the purpose of unpacking Mr. Duchouquet's peltry from the horses, and placing it on board the batteaux in which it was to be conveyed to Detroit. The Cherokees painted themselves, as they and other savages are accustomed to do when they are preparing for war or battle. All their ingenuity is directed to the object of rendering their aspect as horrible as possible, that they may strike their enemies with terror, and indicate by external signs the fury which rages within. They walked about the town in great anger, and we deemed it necessary to keep a watchful eye upon them and to guard against their approach. All the whites, except Whitaker, who was considered as one of the Wyandots, assembled at night in the same house, provided with weapons of defence, and continued together until the next morning; when to our high gratification they disappeared and I never heard of them afterwards. * * * At Lower Sandusky we found Mr. Angus McIntosh, who was exten-

sively engaged in the fur trade. This gentleman was at the head of the connection to which Mr. Duchouquet belonged, who was his factor or partner at Upper Sandusky, as a Mr. Isaac Williams was here. Williams was a stout, bony, muscular and fearless man. On one of those days which I spent in waiting until we were ready to embark for Detroit, a Wyandot Indian, in his own language, which I did not understand, uttered some expression offensive to Williams. This produced great irritation on both sides and a bitter quarrel ensued. Williams took down from a shelf of the store in which the incident occurred two scalping knives; laid them on the counter; gave the Wyandot choice of them; and challenged him to combat with these weapons. But the character of Williams for strength and courage was so well known, that he would not venture on the contest and soon afterward retired."

Johnston further in his narrative declares that James Whitaker was with the Wyandots under Chief Crane at the defeat of General St. Clair by the Indians in 1791, and was with the same contingent in General Wayne's victory at Fallen Timbers, 1794. As his family consisted of his wife and four young children housed at his cabin on the Lower Sandusky at the time of the last engagement and at least three little ones at the time of St. Clair, and as he went to war evidently as a matter of compulsion or policy, it can easily be imagined the anguish in the heart of his young companion as he passed over the Sandusky-Maumee wilderness trail westward, possibly never to return to his loved ones. No doubt with her clinging little ones, at each morning and evening, she stood in the cabin door looking longingly for some sign of his coming, and when he appeared with strident step down the deep woods path, there was joy and gladness at the meeting.

Incidentally it may be mentioned here that there was a British Post at Lower Sandusky during the Revolutionary war as indicated by an order issued by Brigadier-General Irvine dated at Fort Pitt November 11, 1782, to Maj. Isaac Craig, which among other things says: "Sir: I have received intelligence from various channels that the British have established a Post at Lower Sandusky."

Miss Keeler in her writings makes observation that "it is a curious fact that of the first settlers of the Ohio Company at Marietta, the first organized settlement in the Northwestern Territory, who were captured by the Indians to be taken for ransom to Detroit, two of their number, Maj. Nathan Goodale, the Revo-

lutionary hero, and Daniel Convers, then a young lad, should have been treated with great kindness by the Indian trader James Whitaker and his family, the first permanent white settlers in Ohio, at their home near Lower Sandusky. In fact Major Goodale died at the home of the Whitakers and was buried by them; while young Convers makes personal mention of their kindness to him, in his 'Reminiscences.'

"The lad Daniel Convers was captured by nine Indians on the 29th of April, 1791, just outside of Fort Frye, while engaged with three armed soldiers in cutting a tree for the purpose of making a hoop for the body of a drum. They were fired on, when the three soldiers ran, leaving Daniel, who was unarmed, to be captured by the Indians. He was hurried into a canoe on the river which crossed over to the mouth of Wolf Creek. On arriving at Lower Sandusky, on the 9th of May, he found oxen and other cattle that had been taken from the settlement at Marietta. Some young Indian boys ran with him up the river bank to keep him out of sight of the other Indians who lived in the large Indian village, and he thus received only kind treatment, except in the case of a drunken Indian, who knocked him down several times. Hildreth's Pioneer History says that they moved the next day down the Sandusky, 'and stopped a short time at Mr. Whitaker's (an Indian trader). He had a white wife who like himself had been taken prisoner in childhood and adopted into the tribe. The trader made them a present of a loaf of maple sugar, giving Daniel a share. Whitaker said but little to the prisoner, lest he should excite the jealousy of the warriors! On arriving at the mouth of the Portage River, near the ruins of old Fort Sandusky, Convers was delivered to his new master, a Chippewa. The price paid for him was a horse and several strings of wampum. He was then taken to Detroit, where on the 14th of July he escaped and after secreting himself for several weeks was finally taken to the hospital by the son of the British Commandant, who treated him kindly and sent him on down to Montreal and then on to his relations in Killingly, Connecticut. He returned to Marrietta in February, 1794.' "

Miss Keeler further says that "Of the many acts of kindness extended by James Whitaker and his wife during their residence among the Indians at Lower Sandusky, the most noted person whom they were able to assist was Major Nathan Goodale. Gen. Rufus Putnam, the intimate friend of Washington and his chief engineer and the 'Father of Ohio' in its first organized settle-

ment, was warmly attached to Major Goodale, who had served as an officer in his regiment through the entire war. General Putnam, in a remarkable letter to General Washington written at Massachusetts Huts, June 9, 1783, calls Washington's attention to the numerous conspicuous acts of personal bravery and of the gallant duty performed by Major Goodale during the Revolutionary war. Major Goodale was a native of Brookfield, Mass., but joined the Ohio Company in 1788. He removed to Belpre, near Marietta, in 1789, where he was captured March 1, 1793, while working on his farm within fifty rods of the garrison, by eight Wyandot Indians, who hurried him off toward Detroit in order to secure a large ransom. While en route, near Lower Sandusky, he fell sick and could not travel. The Whitakers learning of his condition took him to their home, where Mrs. Whitaker carefully nursed him until he finally died and was probably buried in what afterward became the Whitaker family graveyard. Mrs. Whitaker said the Indians left him at her house, where he died of a disease like pleurisy without having received any very ill usage from his captors other than the means necessary to prevent his escape."

James Whitaker may be regarded as the first educator of this region. About 1800, at large expense, he hired a teacher from the East to instruct the older children. His oldest daughter, Nancy, had been taken to Montreal, and then sent to Scotland, where she remained three years at school, returning well qualified to teach her younger brothers and sisters.

James Whitaker evidently had some schooling before he left England for America at the age of twelve years. He was a merchant and trader of large affairs and evidently kept his own books and accounts with the Detroit, Montreal and other merchants he had dealings with. One of his letters in the correspondence between the British traders on the Sandusky and the merchants at Detroit, the originals of which are in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Library, has already been set forth. A reproduction here of a photostat of that letter shows that Whitaker's penmanship was much superior to the usual handwriting of the traders and merchants of the times.

The above letter is as follows:

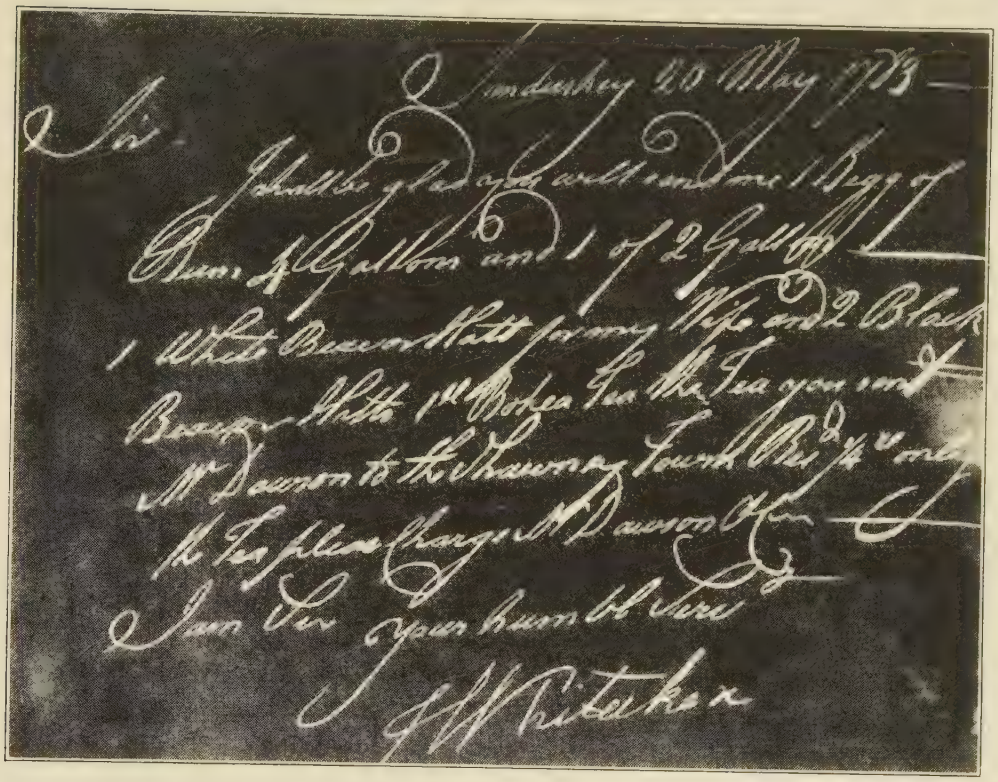
Sandusky, 20 May 1783

Sir—I shall be glad you will send me 1 Kegg of Rum 4 gallons and 1 of 2 Gallons—1 White Beaver Hat for my Wife and 2 Black Beaver Hats 1 lb Bohea Tea the Tea you sent Mr Dawson to the

Shawney Town Recd ¼ only the Tea please Charge Mr Dawson &c

I am Sir your humble Servt

J. WHITAKER



(Courtesy of Buston Historical Collection, Detroit.)

Whitaker's signature is also attached with the names of others to a proclamation issued by the British Governor Hamilton, dated Detroit January 5, 1778, in which the signers in effect were made to say that they had been at all times treated with kindness and consideration by the Governor and were satisfied with his policy and the treatment of the Indians.

It is quite remarkable under all the conditions the interest Whitaker took in educating his children. No doubt much of this thoughtfulness and desire for civilized advancement should be credited to Mrs. Whitaker, as shown by her acts in later years and evidently to the eldest daughter Nancy, after her return from school at Glasgow. Whatever the motivate force, he engaged a private instructor for his children from the East about 1799 or

1800. After Mr. Whitaker's death in 1804, Mrs. Whitaker continued this policy and was prominent in the educational advancement also of the Indians of the Sandusky region.

While Whitaker himself was evidently never in close sympathy with the British, from the fact that a daughter married Captain Wilson of the British army, it was natural that the British officers and officials in going and coming to the Sandusky from Detroit and the lakes, should make the Whitaker home a stopping place. It is stated that General Proctor was entertained there before the War of 1812 with other prominent Britishers.

It has already been told in the chapter on the Indian Missions, as taken from his autobiography that the Missionary Rev. Joseph Badger in 1801 made the Whitaker home his first objective in coming up the Sandusky River. Monday, September 9, 1801, Badger's journal reads—"Arrived at Whitakers a little before dark, on the Sandusky. Swam our horses." Badger and his companions evidently remained at Whitaker's over night, for his journal then reads—"10th (Tuesday) In the afternoon we went on our way to Portage River and encamped." The party were headed for the lower Maumee River and Detroit. This was while Mr. Whitaker was still living. On Badger's second visit to the Sandusky and Maumee valleys (1805) he preached to the Indians several times at the Whitaker home and Mrs. Whitaker, her husband having died the year before, aided Badger actively in his mission work. The chapter on missions quotes Badger's journal fully at this point, including his talk to the Indians at Mrs. Whitaker's when there were rumors of another war with Great Britain (1809) advising them to remain neutral and keep out of the conflict. Chief Crane was so impressed by Badger's speech that it evidently had much bearing on the attitude of Crane and his followers in remaining neutral and not joining the British. No doubt this influence among the tribe was also considerable. When the War of 1812 came on, Mrs. Whitaker evidently leaned toward the American cause. Concerning this Miss Keeler writes that "General Harrison often stopped at Mrs. Whitaker's house and she nursed him there through a long illness. When the British expedition set out from Detroit under Proctor late in July, 1813, against Fort Meigs and then against Fort Stephenson at Lower Sandusky, it is only fair to presume that they counted on Mrs. Whitaker being friendly or at least neutral, as it was known that she had in her house the

three children of a captain in the British army in the persons of the children of her daughter Nancy. The British gun-boats stopped at Whitaker's wharf, three miles below the fort, where the large, fine dwelling-house, store-house, factory and wharves of the Whitakers were located, but Mrs. Whitaker, with her children and grandchildren, on the approach of Tecumseh's horde of Indians, had fled to the protection of Fort Stephenson and had been sent but a day or so before the battle, with other refugees, women and children, on toward Upper Sandusky and Delaware. She, herself, was fired on by the Indians, whose bullets riddled her cape. Her descendants, and in fact many old residents, ascribe much of Major Croghan's success to the information and advice given him by Mrs. Whitaker. She certainly had every opportunity of learning of the intention of the Indian allies of the British, and this information she undoubtedly imparted to General Harrison and Major Croghan, although it is hard to estimate the actual value of the assistance given to Croghan in the battle. Nevertheless the British were so incensed at her conduct that they stopped at the Whitaker home on their retreat down the river from Fort Stephenson and remained long enough to utterly destroy the old home, the warehouse, the factory and the wharves.

"Before Mrs. Whitaker fled from her riverside home, she buried a handsome silver service which had been presented to her and her husband, years before, by British officers. It was unearthed and carried off by the British. Among the evidences of the landing of British soldiers at the Whitaker homestead and also of the character of the troops engaged against Fort Stephenson is a Wellington half-penny token, coined in 1813, and presented to British troops participating in Wellington's peninsular campaign in Spain and Portugal, which was found within the last ten years (1900) near the Whitaker homestead and was placed in the Birchard Library Museum. After the close of General Harrison's Northwestern campaign he appointed a commission to appraise the damage and loss sustained by American citizens by the British invasion of Ohio during the War of 1812. This commission awarded Mrs. Whitaker $8,000 as the damage and loss sustained in the destruction of her property by the British forces under General Proctor. 'I have claims on the United States,' says her will, probated in 1833, 'to $8,000 for spoilation during the last war.' Voluminous papers were prepared many years ago containing original affidavits of settlers of that period, and placed in the hands of Congressman Frank

H. Hurd, who represented this congressional district some twenty-five years ago"—about 1880 to 1886.

Further concerning Badger at this point. When he operated the Indian mission at Lower Sandusky, according to his autobiography, he not only attempted to teach the Indians agriculture and assisted them in the way of plowing and raising crops, but himself cultivated the ground where now stands the central business section of Fremont. In 1807, when Deputy United States Surveyor Ewing ran the lines of the Four Square Miles Reserve, a paragraph in his field notes states: "From the post at the center of the Reserve run south between sections 3 and 4, five ch.—a small cornfield belonging to Mr. Badger. His house stands about 10 ch. west of the line; the river on the east of the line; 10 ch. out of the cornfield." This, says Meek, would place Badger's cornfield along the west bank of the river, between Croghan Street and Birchard Avenue. His house stood within now Fort Stephenson Park. This house, and also an Indian "castle" Badger called the council-house, is noted on the plat of this Reserve. After Whitaker's death, Badger speaks of making a plow for Mrs. Whitaker, hoed in the field, assisted in digging a well, wrote letters and was otherwise helpful to the family. Tecumseh's brother, "The Prophet," visited the Wyandots at Lower Sandusky as early as 1806 and designated four of their best women as witches and appointed certain Indians to slay them at midnight. The terrible work was frustrated by Mr. Badger.

The "Whitaker Reservation" mentioned heretofore in the treaties with the Indians contained 1,280 acres and was set aside to Mrs. Whitaker as stated by the Treaty of 1817, on the Maumee. A deed was made by the Government to Mrs. Whitaker, confirming the grant, in 1822. As was always stated in such cases, there was a restriction in the deed that no conveyance was to be made to another party or parties, without the consent of the President of the United States. In 1823 this permission was granted and Mrs. Whitaker conveyed the estate to her son, George Whitaker, for the consideration of $1,200.

A writer some years ago took the lives of James and Elizabeth Whitaker, under other names, as the groundwork of an historical novel. Woven into the story was the romance of their daughter called "Jude"—evidently the eldest daughter Nancy. It appears that a young Indian brave who had been educated at Montreal had met Jude at Detroit and held a secret love for the

"beautiful daughter." He was in fact a rival of the young British officer who had met the girl in Canada. This Indian brave, finally on a mission to Lower Sandusky, was taken to the Whitaker home by James Whitaker. Jude and the Indian and Jude's younger sister were permitted to take a canoeing trip on the river. At this point the story runs like this:

"While there for a day, Bright Horn was permitted to take Jude and her next younger sister Mary canoeing. As they came to a projecting rock which jutted out from the left bank of the Sandusky, they tied up their canoe and the trio climbed the elevation and comfortably seated themselves, surrounded by one of the most delightful views on the Sandusky. Jude brought along her old style five-string Spanish guitar, and as her sister soon walked up the bank in quest of some rare wild flowers, Jude played and sang a list of melodies she had learned abroad in school, as Bright Horn sat at her feet worshiping.

"Then Bright Horn abruptly said, 'Jude, listen! Do you hear the water running over the pebbles down from that spring as it meets the river? That is like the music of your voice. Do you hear the gentle breezes whispering among the trees? That is like you. Do you hear that woodthrush over yonder calling to its mate? That is the way my heart now calls to you. Do you think you could ever learn to come to me with joy and confidence like that spring gladly meets the strong flowing river? I know I am just an Indian and you are a beautiful white princess. There are wide waters between us. But God made both of us, and there is just one thing that will make a crossing over these waters; that is love; nothing else will.' Jude sat silent for a seemingly long time and her cheeks paled.

"Interruption came by a shriek from Jude's sister, not far away, who in her climb ran onto a huge rattlesnake, coiled. It struck, but in Mary's alertness, the enemy of the female species missed, and then bellied its way under a rock. The pause gave Jude time and she asked Bright Horn about his people. * * *"

As the story continues, Jude's heart had in fact surrendered to the Indian brave, who was of the people who had given such kindly treatment to her father and mother after their capture. But her judgment evidently led her otherwise, for here is the scene when Bright Horn came to the Sandusky for his final answer:

"Back home on the Sandusky, a storm had just passed over, when the lightning flashed and the thunder rolled. As the sun

came out and the forest leaves were glistening like silver pendants, Jude came to the door of their woods castle, from where she saw coming up the path from the river, Bright Horn, the Seneca brave. With rhythmic strides, his head erect, he was a picture for the gods to admire. Then as his eyes fell upon Jude, she covered her face with her hands. Recovering herself, she looked up at Bright Horn and smiled.

"But the Indian stopped short in his tracks, and with a look on his bronzed face that Jude never forgot, he said in a steady voice, 'Jude, you need not tell me. I read my answer. The sparkling water from the spring is afraid to meet the strong current of the deep river. I am just an Indian.'

"At this, Bright Horn turned on his heel and not heeding the call of Jude, passed down the Sandusky again in his canoe.

"* * * The traders have long ago gone from the Sandusky region, the Indians have gone, and Whitcomb Farm has lost its forest charms. Missionary Badger, one of the West's greatest benefactors, lies sleeping in an historical burial ground not far away from there, in the shadow of a cluster of evergreens. But somewhere today, there live the many descendants of Mr. and Mrs. George Snow. Civilization crushing under its heel everything retarding its progress, is still on its onward march."

Meek, in his writings, gives the appraisement of the home owners of property at Lower Sandusky in 1816 (eight houses in all), by Charles B. Fitch and Daniel Hill as follows: Morns A. Newman, one, $250; Moses Nichols, one, $100; Israel Harrington, one, $300; Aaron Forgerson, one, $200; Randall Jerome, three, $450; Thomas Brown, one, $150.

However there were squatters in this section on the Sandusky before the War of 1812. This is shown by a petition forwarded to Governor Meigs in December, 1813, which reads as follows:

To His Excellency R. J. Meigs, Governor of the State of Ohio:

May it please your Excellency:—The undersigned inhabitants and settlers on the plains of Lower Sandusky, on the reservation made by the official agents of the United States, sanctioned by government, beg leave to humbly represent their present situation, and their future hopes.

In the first instance, B. F. Stickney, Esq., as Indian Agent, has denied us the right or privilege of settling on this ground, and he has even proceeded so far that he has actually instructed Gen-

eral Gano, our present commandant, to dispossess us of our present inheritance.

Many of us whose signatures are annexed to this, have been severe sufferers since the commencement of the present war, and even prior to the declaration thereof.

Without reflection on the past, and willing to undergo and encounter any difficulty which may ensue, we humbly beg leave to remain as we now do, in the peaceable possession of our cabins, unmolested by the interference of any man save him who at present commands us, and to whose orders we pledge ourselves at all times, and in any emergency, to be subservient. The advantages resulting from a settlement of this kind, and at a time, too, when the fruits of our labor cannot be wanting, need not be recited for your Excellency's information.

We do not, neither can we, attempt to claim any legal right to the ground or spot of earth on which we have each and individually settled. But the improvements which we have made, and the buildings which we have erected, we trust will not be taken from us without the interference of legal authority.

To you, sir, as our friend, our benefactor, and our governor, we have made this appeal in the hope and expectation that it may merit your Excellency's attention, by a set of subjects whose hearts are warmed towards you, and whose breasts will be unbared for you at our country's call.

Permission to build has been granted by General Gano to those who have erected cabins since his arrival, and with pride and pleasure we acknowledge his favor and friendship. We remain your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants,

George Bean,	Geo. Ermatington,
R. E. Post,	Asa Stoddard,
Israel Harrington,	Morris A. Newman,
R. Loomis,	Jesse Skinner,
William Leach,	Walter Brabrook,
Louis Moshelle,	Wm. Hamilton,
Lewis Geaneau,	Patrick Chess.

These lands being United States Government lands, evidently the Governor of Ohio had no power to act in the matter, although he might have left the petitioners undisturbed. There seems to be no record of the action taken, if any. Few names of the petitioners appear in the later history of the section. Morris A. Newman and Israel Harrington, prominent in transactions following

this, were associate judges of the Court of Common Pleas. It was at Justice Newman's tavern which stood on the northeast corner of Pine Street and Ohio Avenue, in then Croghansville, that the first term of Common Pleas Court for Sandusky County was held May 8, 1820. The Honorable George Todd was presiding judge and Israel Harrington, Alexander Morrison and David Harrold associate judges.

While this section was within the jurisdiction of Huron County occurred at Norwalk at the May term of court, 1819, the trial of three Indians—Negoshee, Negoneby and Negossum, charged with the killing in 1818 within the Lower Sandusky region two white trappers named John Wood and George Bishop on the Portage River near the present site of Oak Harbor. George Todd was the presiding judge and Ebenezer Lane the prosecutor. The two men from the now Marblehead peninsula went up the Portage River to trap coon. They carried guns, had with them ponies and had gathered a considerable amount of pelts and furs. The Indians came upon them in their camp, and after the deed friendly Indians discovered the bodies and gave a clue to the murderers. A posse of some eighteen whites threatened vengeance, but the culprits were taken to Norwalk and chained to the floor of a hatter's shop but escaped—two of them to the Maumee River Indians and the third, who had been wounded in his flight, was taken again between now Milan and Monroeville. The two from the Maumee were returned by their tribe. One of the three Indians turned state's evidence and the other two were hanged. The first execution on the Maumee River took place at the foot of Fort Meigs, where an Indian named Porter was hung in 1830, charged with shooting a man named Richardson.

The earlier emigrants to Sandusky County not considering those who settled on the Four Square Miles Reservation at Lower Sandusky and the French families who came from the Lower Maumee, were in the main people from the East who had temporarily located on the Fire Lands. When land east of the Reserve was selling for $2 to $4 per acre, land as desirable or even better was available on the Sandusky at a dollar and a quarter per acre. From this fact the eastern part of the county was settled first. When the fame of the fertility of the Sandusky Valley reached the people of New York State, the movement westward began in the covered wagon and by the lake route. The first arrivals selected the hill sections and higher grounds for their homes, as the low lands were then impossible of occupation. The western

part of the county, now one of the richest localities, through which ran the Harrison Trail to the Maumee, was, some of it, a part of the Black Swamp. In consequence for years it was "abandoned to the wolves and frogs." Then when the Maumee and Western Reserve Road was opened up, taverns were built along this route and settlers began to establish themselves, and by 1830, the real development of Sandusky County began.

David Gallagher, born in 1790, came to Lower Sandusky in 1810. At the siege of Fort Meigs he was on picket duty there and in the year following was a commissary at Fort Stephenson. At the close of the War of 1812, he engaged in the mercantile business, most of his trade naturally being with the Indians yet numerous in that section. He was the second merchant at Lower Sandusky and became a man of wealth.

Jeremiah Everett came to Ohio in 1812 in his early years from Massachusetts. Like many others, his intention was to locate on the Western Reserve. He came up the river to Lower Sandusky in a large canoe with one Aden Breed, bringing a considerable outfit. Their route was by way of Ogontz Place, present Sandusky City, to which point they traveled overland. Young Everett was for a time Government mail carrier between Lower Sandusky and Fort Meigs. When the roads were passable the trip was made each week. Judge Everett had the distinction of being the first representative from Sandusky County to the Ohio General Assembly and was for many years a justice of the peace.

Samuel Hollingshead, who had first located at Newark, Ohio, pulled up stakes and came to Lower Sandusky in 1819. He was a mechanic and gunsmith and found paying patronage in the latter capacity by the Indians. Later he located in the present Port Clinton section, near the mouth of the Portage River, where he plied his trade in connection with farming.

Where is now Castalia, Ohio, is the famous "Blue Pool" fed by the springs coming from the higher ledge of lands buttressed by once a low prairie. D. P. Snow established a mill on the Cold Creek running from the springs, evidently operated by water power. During the War of 1812, while Mr. Snow was absent from home, Captain Pumpkin and a band of Indians captured Snow's family. They immediately dispatched the baby and marched the rest of their captors toward the Sandusky Bay. Mr. Morris E. Tyler, who told the story, says in his account that "Mrs. Snow, being unable to travel, was tomahawked and scalped within a few rods of the house. The remainder of the family, two sons

and one daughter, they took to their canoes. They then conveyed them to Detroit, which had been disgracefully surrendered by the coward, Hull, where they sold them to the British government. After this brutality on the part of Pumpkin and his band, he killed some of his own people, when they in revenge killed this Indian murderer, on the Stony Prairie, about one mile from the City of Fremont. (It is said that the mill was burned.)

"The Indians were in the habit of watching for the United States mail, which came weekly from Columbus to the forces in this part of the state. The Indians knew the day, and awaited the arrival of the mail carriers. About twenty of the redskins secreted themselves behind logs, in an oak opening, about one mile and a half south of Fremont, up the river. On that day General Harrison sent Colonel Ball with twenty-seven dragoons to Fort Stephenson. On their way they were attacked by the Indians, who were defeated by Colonel Ball's force, without the loss of a single man, and the mail was saved from British inspection. The village and township of Ballville was named after Colonel Ball in honor of this achievement.

"At the close of the war the following named settlers were living here: Jeremiah Everett (father of Homer Everett), Israel Harrington, Morris A. Newman (father of the wife of Judge Knapp), James Nugin, and David Gallagher, who was then commissary at Fort Stephenson. Judge Isaac Knapp carried the mail a portion of that year, from Fort Stephenson to Fort Meigs (now Perrysburg). At that time there was no road, and he was guided by blazes or spots made on the trees by hewing with a hatchet. The route travelled was a dangerous one. They started from Fremont, went down the river to Muskalonge Creek, thence west about one mile, where they crossed the creek by fording; thence to Portage River, which they crossed, where Elmore is now situated; from there by a circuitous route to Fort Meigs.

"In those days the mail carriers were men of courage and determination, as the Indians and wolves were opposed to the advancement of our system of civilization. Fort Stephenson was built upon the ground later occupied by Lewis Leppelman and Dr. W. B. Ames, for residences."

Another pioneer recorded "that Isaac Knapp located at Fort Stephenson in September, 1814. None who were then citizens of the place, survive him. The pickets of the fort, and the two large block-houses, situated on the south line of the enclosure; the sentry-box on the southeast corner; the magazine in the northwest

corner, and a large block-house projecting over the picket line, and designed to cover the ditches, were then in good condition of preservation. About ninety to one hundred men, under command of Captain Gest, garrisoned the post. The fort was evacuated in May or June, 1815. Lieutenants Thomas L. Hawkins, and Thomas E. Boswell, after the evacuation, remained at the fort, and made the place their permanent home. Morris A. Newman, from Norwalk, was a tavern-keeper; and Messrs. Disborough and Wilson, who, in 1818, built a schooner for the lake trade, were also here. And so was Jeremiah Everett, and Josiah Rumsey—the last named building the schooner *General Brown*, in 1819. There were, also, in 1814, several French families—among them Thomas DeMasque, Joseph and Baptiste Momeny, and a Mr. La Point. There was also a Mr. Loomis, a Mr. Crossett, and Major Stoddard, an old man without a family, and Moses Nichols, who afterwards erected a tannery. * * * George Shannon had resided in the neighborhood of Fort Stephenson before the war, and married one of the daughters of the well-known Whitakers, but fled after the war broke out, and returned after Perry's victory. Lysander Ball located in the neighborhood in 1818; and during the same year, Thomas Holcomb, and Samuel Hollinshead, the latter later of Port Clinton. In early life, Issac Knapp exhibited several instances of the highest order of moral courage, and which have few parallels. In addition to his military service in the War of 1812, he served, after he had many years passed the 'military age' of life, in the war with Mexico, in 1846-47; and in civil life was a member of the Ohio Legislature, Associate Judge, etc."

A sketch of Doctor L. Q. Rawson written about 1872, says that on his receiving a license to practice medicine from the Ohio Medical Society he engaged in practice at Tymochtee, then Crawford County and in December, 1827 removed to Fremont, Ohio. He attended medical lectures, and received the degree of M. D. from the Ohio Medical College, and the University of Pennsylvania, and continued in active practice until 1855.

"On the 8th of July, 1829, the doctor married Miss Sophia Beaugrand, daughter of John B. Beaugrand, one of the early Indian traders at Maumee City, and who was engaged in business at that place on the occurrence of the War of 1812. When he commenced practice in Lower Sandusky, in 1827, the two physicians in the place were Drs. Brainard and Hastings. He survived many years his professional contemporaries. The gen-

eral limit to his practice was west to the Portage River, from the source of that stream to its entrance into the bay at Port Clinton; on the east, Clyde, and on the south to Fort Seneca. None of the intervening streams, crossed by these several routes, were then bridged, except the river at Lower Sandusky. The inhabitants were generally poor; and even those in comparatively comfortable circumstances, and disposed to pay, had little money, and offered produce in liquidation of their physicians' bills.

"In 1834, the cholera scourge prevailed at Lower Sandusky. The people generally, at that time, regarded the disease as contagious, and the mass of them locked their doors, and refused to leave their houses, or admit visitors. Drs. Rawson and Brown, Mr. Birchard, and Judge Hulbert, discharged the several offices of physician, nurse and undertaker. The population of the town then amounted to about three hundred, and the per centage of deaths was large. This was the first year of the visitation of the cholera, and on no occasion of its subsequent appearance at Lower Sandusky, was the disease attended with results so fatal.

"The Louisville and Lake Erie Railway, with which the name of Dr. Rawson was so closely identified, was incorporated April 25, 1853—Charles W. Foster, L. Q. Rawson, Sardis Birchard, James Justice, and John R. Pease, being the corporators. The Company was organized on a capital of $200,000. The purpose was, 'the construction of a railroad from the town of Fremont, in the County of Sandusky, through the counties of Sandusky and Seneca, to the Town of Rome, in said County of Seneca; thence through the counties of Seneca and Hancock, to the Town of Findlay, in said County of Hancock; thence through the counties of Hancock, Allen, Auglaize, Mercer and Darke, to the west line of the state of Ohio, in said County of Darke.' Rome was the early name for Fostoria.

"In 1855, Doctor Rawson made an effort to withdraw from professional business, and engage in railroad enterprises; and, coöperating with Mr. C. W. Foster, of Fostoria, was among the original projectors of the Lake Erie and Louisville Railroad, and, to their united energies and labors, the country interested in that important work is unquestionably indebted for the progress it made to completion."

H. S. Knapp, the historian, in 1872 evidently from first hand information wrote the life story of Sardis Birchard, from which is taken the following; which again is emphasized as written in 1872:

"* * * Inheriting from his father, Roger Birchard, who died in 1805, what was then considered a handsome start for a young man, with a jovial and friendly disposition, fond of wild sports and wild company, with no one to look up to as entitled to control or advise him, his future might well be regarded with apprehension. He was then a slender, delicate, handsome youth, with engaging and popular manners, and a favorite among the young people of the new country.

"While yet a boy, he was hired to help drive hogs to feed the first settlers at Fort Ball, now Tiffin, in 1817. The men in charge were hard drinkers, and, soon after leaving Delaware, the whole business depended on Birchard. It was in the bitterly cold weather of early winter; the roads and streams were impassable; but with an energy and spirit which delighted his employers, he pushed through to the Tymochtee, where he was met by a party of settlers at Fort Ball, to whom he safely delivered the drove of hogs. This was Mr. Birchard's first visit to the Sandusky region. He first visited his future home, Fremont, then Lower Sandusky, in September, 1824. His companion was Benjamin Powers, for many years a respectable citizen and successful merchant and banker of Delaware, Ohio. The young men traveled in a one-horse spring wagon, and their outfit consisted of a little extra clothing, and a jug of fine brandy. The then universal custom of the country for friends and acquaintances, on meeting, to drink together, made the brandy a by no means insignificant part of their supplies.

"At Fort Ball they met Erastus Bowe, and other friends, formerly of Delaware, and had a jolly meeting, in which the brandy was not altogether neglected. At Lower Sandusky, they stopped at Leason's tavern, a log house on the east side of Front Street, where Shomos' block now stands (1872). The pickets were still standing around Fort Stephenson, and the ditch was quite perfect (1824). The village then contained perhaps two hundred inhabitants. There was another tavern known as the Harrington tavern, and kept by Annie Williams, standing where Leppelman's store now is (1872). The young men made the acquaintance of George Olmsted, Elisha W. Howland, and others. They left for Portland, now Sandusky City, crossing the river at the 'Old Ford,' between what are now Garrison and Croghan streets, in Fremont. After his return home, Mr. Birchard, with Stephen R. Bennett as a partner, bought and drove to Baltimore, in the first cold weather of the winter of 1824-25, a large drove

of fat hogs. There were two incidents of this trip which are well remembered. The young men had to swim their hogs across the Ohio River, at Wheeling, and came near losing them all by the swift current of the river. By great exertions, and at considerable risk to themselves, they got all but four or five safely across. In the meantime, they were overtaken on the road by a tall, fine looking gentleman on horseback, who had also a carriage drawn by four horses, and two other saddle-horses with attendants. The gentleman helped Mr. Birchard get the hogs out of the way, chatted with him about the state of the market, and the prospects of the weather, and advised him as to the best way to dispose of his hogs at Baltimore. This gentleman turned out to be General Jackson, on his way to Washington, after the Presidential election of 1824, in which he was the highest, but not finally the successful candidate.

"In the summer of 1825, while mowing in the hay-field, Birchard was seriously injured in health by over-exertion. From the effects of this, he never entirely recovered. * * * But the cheerful disposition of Mr. Birchard, aided by the elasticity of his constitution, carried him through. In May (evidently 1826) he set out on horse-back, making short day's journeys at first, and reached Vermont, where he remained until the approach of winter, when he travelled south to Georgia, and remained until the spring of 1826. [Or was it 1827—Editor.]

"This year he made his first purchase of goods, as a retail dry goods merchant. He went to New York without money and without acquaintances. Passing about the streets, he fell into conversation with a young merchant, a stranger to him, named William P. Dixon, standing at the store door of Amos Palmer & Co., on the corner of Pearl Street and Maiden Lane. He told the New Yorker his plans and his condition; when the latter told him he would sell him all the goods he wanted in his line, and would recommend him to others. His stock was made up and shipped to Cleveland, he accompanying the goods. His intention was to sell to laborers on the Ohio Canal, which was then being built from Cleveland southwardly. After passing down the canal into the Tuscarawas Valley, he became dissatisfied with that trade, and sold part of his goods in bulk to another trader, and took the rest to Fort Ball (now Tiffin), on the west side of Sandusky River. Here he remained, trading successfully with the new settlers, until December, 1827, when he removed to Lower Sandusky—having decided to go with Dr. L. Q. Rawson, who preceded him a few

days. He was first in Lower Sandusky in business alone, in a store on the corner of Front and Croghan streets, where Betts' block now is (1872); the store being a new one, and erected and owned by Richard Sears, who had made a fortune trading with the Indians, and who had left for Buffalo that year, in the spring. Three other stores were here then, one very large one, owned by George Olmsted, on Front Street, east side, between Garrison and Croghan, where Heffner now is—a frame two-story building. George was the earliest merchant in the place, who came with his brother, Jesse, from New York City in 1817, and established one of the largest stores in the state. Their first store was on Front Street, west side, north end of town, where Gasdorf's packing house now is (1872). Boats came up the river, nearly to this store. Jesse S. had a store on the west side of Front Street, directly opposite to Birchard's. Esbon Husted's store was in a large frame building, on the southeast corner of Front and State streets, where the Birchard block now stands. Dry goods, groceries, hardware, crockery, salt, drugs, and school, and a few other books, stationery, whiskey, brandy, rum, wines, etc., were among the staple goods.

"There were two distilleries—one owned by Ezra Williams, just at the foot of the hill, south of the pike, east of Thompson's; and the other owned by Sanford Main, at the Tyler spring. The merchants generally sold their goods for corn, and sold the corn for whiskey, which they shipped to Buffalo and New York. For clothing, broadcloths, Kentucky jeans, and linsey woolsey goods were generally in use. The Indians bought fine blue cloth, Mackinaw blankets, beads and powder and lead.

"Mr. Birchard received the Indian trade to a large extent, by refusing to sell them liquor. He was in trade three or four years, and having accumulated ten thousand dollars, considered himself rich enough to retire. About 1831, however, he formed his first partnership with Rodolphus Dickinson, and Esbon Husted—Mr. Birchard furnishing the capital. The firm name was R. Dickinson & Co.; and they soon had in operation one of the largest retail stores north of Columbus, and west of Cleveland, their yearly sales amounting to fifty thousand dollars. Sales were largely on credit. He bought the first vessel with Richard Sears, each owning an equal interest. The vessel was named *John Richards*, a schooner worth then four thousand dollars, and about one hundred tons burden.

"The first shipment of wheat, out of Lower Sandusky, accord-

ing to the best of Mr. Birchard's recollection, was made on this schooner; and this shipment was probably the first sent eastward from any lake port west of Cleveland. The wheat from the ridges of Seneca County was then much sought after for starch manufacture. Wheat was then worth about fifty cents a bushel.

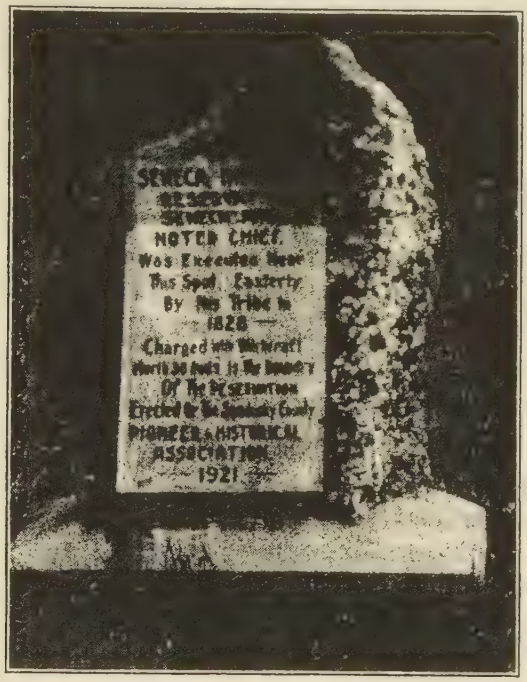
"The Indians, with whom Mr. Birchard traded chiefly, were the Senecas. They drew an annuity from the State of New York, payable at Albany, amounting to $1,700; and among Mr. Birchard's customers, whom he trusted, during the year, were Tall Chief, Hard-Hickory, Seneca John, Curley-Eye, Good-Hunter, and others; and before the annuity was paid, he would get authority to draw the money, signed by the chiefs, and go to Albany after it. This he did three times, and once had trouble in obtaining it—the agent refusing to pay money, and offering barter. This was in Silas Wright's time. The agent belonged to the Albany Regency, and Mr. Birchard called upon Comptroller Wright, to ask him to interpose in his favor; but the Comptroller treated his application rather coolly. * * * Horace Meacham, a friend of Birchard's, and a forwarding merchant at Albany, went with him to the Comptroller again. Wright was quite a different man; and soon after Mr. Birchard's return home, his friend Meacham forwarded him the cash.

"Besides the Seneca tribe, Mr. Birchard traded somewhat with the Wyandots, and Ottawas. Among the Wyandots were a few Delawares. The Senecas owned a reservation, containing perhaps thirty thousand acres, east of the Sandusky River, on the line of Sandusky and Seneca counties. Their principal settlement was near Green Springs. They had a mill near where Stoner's mill now stands. Their Council-House was near the same place.

"Mr. Birchard attended several of their dances in the daytime, and at night. He was present at the ceremony of burning of the white dogs. The Indians danced in the Council-House, in the centre of which was a fire, over which was boiling a pot of corn and meat. Their musicians had in their hands bundles of deer hoofs, which they rattled and pounded on a skin stretched over a hoop. Mr. Birchard, Rodolphus Dickinson, Judge Justice, Mr. Fifield, and others, joined in the Indian dance. Mr. Birchard was the guest, at night, of Hard-Hickory—They called him Ansequago, and told him that it meant 'the man who owns most of the land'—the significance of which Mr. Birchard could not understand, as, at that time, he was not the owner of much land. The Wyandots, and a few Delawares, were at Upper Sandusky,

where they had twelve miles square. The Ottawas—'Tawas'—were on the Maumee, near the mouth of that river, and occasionally visited Lower Sandusky, in small squads.

"He remembers well the death of Seneca John. Seneca John was a tall, noble looking man, said to look very much like Henry Clay. He was always a pleasant, cheerful man, and almost always wore a smile. He was called the most eloquent speaker of his tribe. If there was anger, or ill-feeling in the council, he could



MARKING HISTORIC GROUND

Between Fremont and Green Springs will be seen this marker to the memory of Seneca John, Indian chief, executed by his tribe in 1828 for witchcraft. The old Seneca reservation is nearby.

always restore harmony. He was particularly admired by the squaws, and fond of buying gifts for them. He traded much with Mr. Birchard, and on the evening before the morning of his death, was at Mr. Birchard's store. The whole tribe seemed to be in town. Steel and Coonstick, half brothers of Seneca John, were jealous of his power. Mr. Birchard knew all the parties, and remembers well, when, on the last evening of his life, and above referred to, he bade Mr. Birchard good-bye. They stood together on the platform, in front of Mr. Birchard's store, as the Indians went off south on their horses. He looked at them, as

they moved off, with such sadness in his face that it attracted Mr. Birchard's attention, who wondered at his letting them all go off without him. Then he turned to Mr. Birchard, and inquired the amount of his indebtedness. They went back together into the store, and passed behind the counter to the desk. The account was figured up, and the amount stated to John. Saying something about paying it, he bade Mr. Birchard good-bye, and went off—making no reference to his trouble.

"Hard-Hickory lived about a mile below Green Springs, in a cabin yet standing in 1872, and Seneca John, the night before his execution, slept under Hard-Hickory's porch. Steel and Coonstick, at sunrise, called and waked him. John told them to kill him quick. They tomahawked him. Mr. Birchard obtained this statement from Hard-Hickory, who came into town that day, or the next, with Tall Chief, and told about it.

"Mr. Birchard found the Indians, in their business transactions, generally very honest. They would not steal as much as the same number of whites, with the same opportunities. He has had his store room full of Indians, sleeping all night on the floor, with no watch or guard, and sleeping in a cot near by them. Tall Chief always settled the debts of the Indians who died—believing that 'they couldn't enter the good hunting grounds of the spirit-land, until their debts were paid.' He settled the bills of Seneca John, after the death of the latter. The Indians paid for goods mostly in deer-skins, finely dressed, and in coon, muskrat, and sometimes in mink, otter and bear skins. The Indians dressed skins much better than white men.

"On the first of January, 1851, Mr. Birchard, in partnership with Lucius B. Otis, established the first banking house in Fremont, under the name of Birchard & Otis. On the removal of Judge Otis to Chicago, in 1856, Mr. Birchard formed a partnership with Anson H. Miller, and Dr. James W. Wilson, under the name of Birchard, Miller & Co. In 1863, the First National Bank of Fremont was organized, and the banking house of Birchard, Miller & Co. was merged into it. It was the second National Bank organized in Ohio, and the fifth organized in the United States. Mr. Birchard was elected president of the bank, on its organization, and yet (1872) holds the position.

"There were two lawyers in practice in Lower Sandusky, when Mr. Birchard came there to reside—Harvey J. Harmon, and Rodolphus Dickinson. They were opposite in politics—Harmon supporting Jackson, and Dickinson supporting Adams. Harmon

was honest and able, but indifferent to business, and fond of talking politics. He cultivated the island; but his fences were often down, and hogs and cattle gathered his crops. Mr. Birchard used to, in jest, tell him that he never got but one basket of corn from the island, and that, as he passed the corner tavern, some one engaged him in a political debate, and the hogs ate up his corn.

"No churches were in Lower Sandusky in 1827. Religious meetings were held in an old log schoolhouse, that stood nearly where the new high school building now is, on Croghan Street. Court was held in the same building, until the frame courthouse was finished, where Rev. H. Lang now lives. The preachers were, Rev. Mr. Harrington, a Presbyterian, who took up preaching in his old age. He generally put in two hours' time on each sermon. Rev. Mr. Montgomery, a Methodist missionary, lived with the Seneca Indians, near Fort Seneca. These men preached only occasionally—Rev. Mr. Bigelow, and other Methodists, also visited the town. Samuel Treat, John Bell, Thomas Gallagher, and Thomas L. Hawkins, and their wives, all Methodists, were the only church members, now recollected by Mr. Birchard, as living in Fremont, in 1827. Judge Jacob Nyce always led the singing, in the Presbyterian meetings, but was not a church member.

"Among the farmers living near Lower Sandusky, were Mr. Moore, father of James and John, who owned the mill property near Ballsville; Mr. Chamberlain, a short distance above Moore; Mrs. Tindall and sons, Daniel, William, John and Edward; Mr. Patterson, and his sons, Danforth and Julius. Mr. Birchard attended the sales of United States lands at Delaware, about 1820, by Platt Brush, Register of the Land Office. The sale included all of the lands from Delaware County north to the state line, except the Indian reservations. The lands were sold at public auction, the minimum price being fixed at $1.25 per acre. The sale continued, two or three weeks, and large crowds of people attended. On certain tracts, there was a brisk competition in the bidding, and some land sold as high as $10 per acre."

Further material concerning the Sandusky region will be found in the chapter on Sandusky County, its organization and progress. But before passing to another feature of this story it is pertinent to mention something of the one piece of ordnance, the six-pounder, Colonel Croghan had mounted, in his gallant defense of Fort Stephenson, later given the appellation of "Old Betsy," and which still rests in Birchard Library Park as a grim

reminder of that historical event. The voice of Old Betsy was evidently heard at the first Fourth of July celebration ever held in Northwestern Ohio. Speaking of the occasion, McAfee in his "History of the Late War (1812) In the Western Country," which, by the way, has been republished in full by the editor of this work and which is so liberally quoted, says this: "The mounted regiment (of Col. R. M. Johnson) had been ordered to proceed by Lower Sandusky to the River Huron, where it was intended that they should remain a while to recruit their horses. They marched on the 2nd (July, 1813) from Fort Meigs, but did not arrive at Sandusky until the evening of the 3rd. The Fourth of July, the anniversary of independence, was celebrated by the garrison and mounted men together, in great harmony and enthusiasm. Colonel Johnson delivered an appropriate address and a number of toasts, breathing sentiment of the republican soldier were drank and cheered by the shouts of the men, the firing of small arms, and the discharge of a six-pounder from the fort."

It was on August 2nd following this celebration that "Sargeant Weaver with five or six gentlemen of the Petersburg Volunteers and Pittsburg Blues, who happened to be in the fort, was entrusted with the management of the six-pounder," quoting again from McAfee, and the handling of which under Croghan's orders saved the day. General Harrison in his official report of the engagement says, "a young gentleman, a private in the Petersburg Volunteers, of the name of Brown (who) assisted by five or six of that company and the Pittsburg Blues * * * managed the six-pounder, which produced such destruction in the ranks of the enemy."

Betsy was captured by the British in a naval engagement with the French during the French and Indian wars which terminated in 1763. It seems that she changed hands twice after that before coming into final American possession. The historian Meek says, that Betsy was removed to the Pittsburg arsenal after the defense of Fort Stephenson. Later Congress ordered its return to Lower Sandusky. The ingenious Thomas L. Hawkins, commissary officer at Fort Stephenson during the campaign, identified the gun in Pittsburg, recognizing it by the scar on its breach which he believed was made by a cannon ball, while in action during the old French and Indian war. Owing to the duplication of the name Sandusky, the cannon was sent to Sandusky City, which for many years after the battle was called Ogontz Place, and of

course had no claim on the prize. The authorities there attempted to keep it, and concealed the piece by burying it under a barn. Mayor B. J. Bartlett of Lower Sandusky traced the gun and sent men and a wagon to take it to its old resting place. "This homecoming of Old Betsy was just prior to the second of August celebration (at Fremont) 1852, when the Tiffin Fire Department came down to join in the festivities. William H. Gibson, clad in the red shirt and white trousers of the fire brigade uniform, delivered the stirring address of the day, in the woods back of the Rawson House on State Street."

The old cannon figured later in several celebrations. In the political campaign of 1856, when John C. Fremont was the unsuccessful Republican candidate for president against James Buchanan, a large delegation of Fremont Republicans going to attend a gathering at Sandusky, took Old Betsy with them on the *Island Queen* down the Sandusky River. She gave several salutes for the occasion.

At a celebration of the defense of Fort Stephenson, held at Fremont, August 2nd, 1860, a salute of thirteen rounds from Betsy was fired.

In the political campaign of 1840, when Col. Richard M. Johnson was the Democratic candidate for reelection for Vice President on the ticket with Van Buren, evidently to offset the great General Harrison celebration at Fort Meigs, a rousing Democratic gathering was held at Fremont at which Johnson was introduced as the American officer who killed Tecumseh at the battle of the Canadian Thames. It is stated that the presiding officer who introduced Johnson, to make the occasion more dramatic, bared the Colonel's arm and displayed the scars he received when he was three times wounded at the Thames, once seriously.

CHAPTER LVI

REMINISCENCES OF NORTHWESTERN OHIO

FORT MEIGS CELEBRATION 1840—PIONEER LIFE—TRIBUTE TO THE HON. JAMES M. ASHLEY—STORIES OF BEING LOST IN THE WILDERNESS—THE VENERABLE HISTORIAN HOWE—OTHER PIONEER SKETCHES

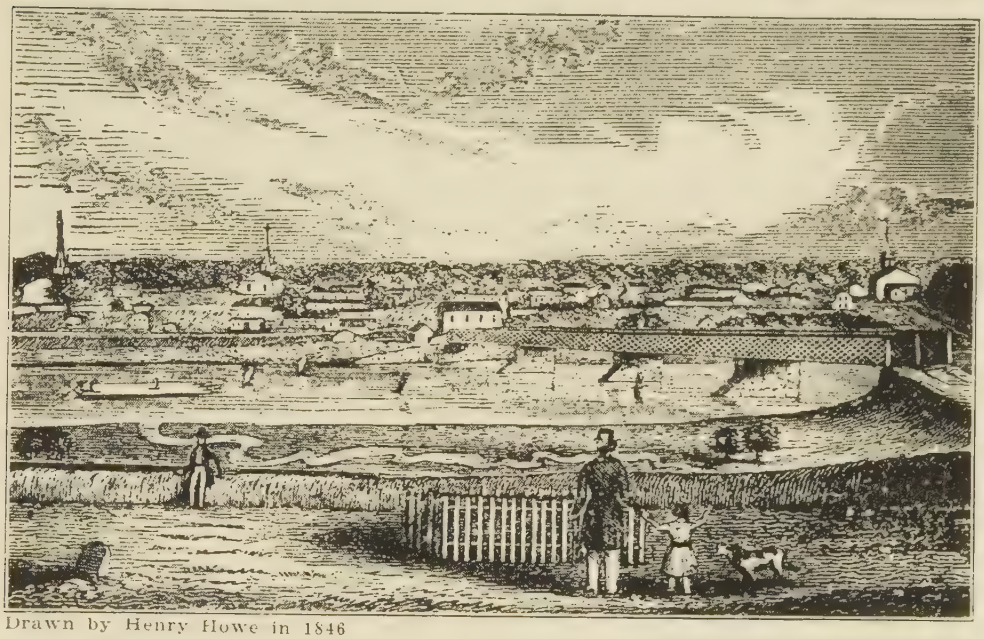
Twenty-seven years after General Harrison was in command of the Northwest Army at Fort Meigs, he visited the scenes of his triumphs again as the Whig candidate for president of the United States. The "1840 Harrison meeting at Fort Meigs," as it has always been referred to in history, considering the situation and the time of the event, has never been surpassed in magnitude and picturesqueness in American annals.

One of the best descriptive reports of the two days' celebration appeared in the *Buffalo Journal* of June 15, 1840, four days after the closing scenes of the great demonstration. The account should be preserved and is appended in full without comment.

"The sun never shown brighter than upon *The Wave* of Buffalo, as that boat swiftly ascended the Maumee the morning of June 10th. Arrived at Toledo, we found the *United States* and the *General Scott*, both loaded so that their decks seemed one dense mass of human beings. We were joined, about 9 o'clock, by the *Rochester* and *Star*, filled to overflowing with delegates from Lake County, Ohio, and from Cleveland and towns adjacent. The fleet of boats was soon formed into line. *The Wave* taking the lead, and amid the huzzas of the people covering the decks and shores, the roar of cannon, and the inspiring strains of bands of music, the whole were again in rapid motion. The approach to Perrysburg is singularly beautiful. Its fine reaches, the graceful sweep of its curves, the hoary forests which crown its banks surpassing in depth and luxuriance of foliage anything we ever before beheld, the gala aspect of the whole enlivened by so many steamboats flaunting gorgeous banners and many a gay device, presented a scene which has rarely, if ever, been equalled.

"A short hour brought us in view of Perrysburg, the high table-land about a mile above the village, the site of Fort Meigs, gleaming with the tents of the Buffalo military, and the City of

Maumee overhanging the opposite side. We swept by a commanding bluff on the Maumee City side, and a salute announced in thunder tones that we were passing the site of the old French Fort Miami, and entering a region consecrated by the best blood and the most heroic achievements of the French, the British, the red men and the Americans. Just above and in sight, commenced, and directly opposite under the guns of what was then the British fort, ended the sanguinary conflict in which Anthony Wayne,



Drawn by Henry Howe in 1846

MAUMEE CITY FROM FORT MEIGS

Maumee at this time contained about 1,100 inhabitants. It was the County Seat, and had 16 stores for general merchandising, 8 groceries and 3 drug stores. The churches are, left to right, Methodist, Catholic and Presbyterian. The Episcopal Church is outside of the picture. Maumee and Perrysburg were at the head of steamboat navigation. The common stage of water then in the river, between these places and Toledo being, according to Howe, six and one-half feet.

aided by Harrison and the gallant spirits under his command, wiped out the disgrace of St. Clair's defeat, broke the Indian power in the Northwest Territory, and put a final termination to the war of the Revolution. Few localities in our country are richer in historic recollections of engrossing interest, and the grandeur and beauty of the scene were worthy the sentiments which it served to excite. We had no time, however, to indulge in reminiscences. The roar of artillery from the shore and the boats, the acclamation of the thousands who had preceded us, which rent the air as we neared the shore, and were echoed back

from those on board, soon dispelled the recollections of the past, and created emotions of a different, though not less exciting character.

"Immediately on landing we repaired to the old green fort. Independent of the association which will ever render the spot hallowed ground in the heart of all true, patriotic Americans, a place more eminently beautiful or one better fitted for a celebration like that in which we were about to participate, could not be found in our broad land. The site of the fort is on the brow of the right bank of the river, nearly an hundred feet above the water, to which the descent, though covered with the greenest sward, is almost precipitous. On the land side sweeps around in a crescent form a ravine, which, together with the river, partially insulates the fort, and must have contributed essentially to the defense of the place. The fosse, or ditch, the glacis, the sally ports, though overgrown with short thick grass, are all distinctly defined. Beneath, for many a mile stretches the luxuriant valley of the Maumee, the broad river dotted with islands fading away into the dim, hazy distance, and reflecting like polished silver the bright rays of an unclouded sun. The banks present a most charming view. They are in a high state of cultivation in the vicinity of Perrysburg and Maumee, and with the neat villa-like houses of the proprietors crowning the heights and relieved by the fine specimens of the primeval forest which good taste has allowed to remain, the background filled up with the dark, silent and solemn woods, made a picture of surpassing beauty.

"It having been understood that General Harrison, who, with his companions and former aids, Colonel Todd and Majors Clarkson and Oliver, had spent the night preceding at Sandusky, would arrive in the boat of the same name at Toledo, in the afternoon, the committee of arrangements delegated to a committee consisting of Messrs. Taylor, Choules, Clapp and Stagg, of this city, and a detachment of the Buffalo Volunteer Military Corps, under command of Captain Vaughn, the pleasing task of receiving the hero and escorting him to Perrysburg. They left in the *Perry* for Toledo soon after our arrival. The interval between their departure and return we spent in viewing the localities about the fort, and noting the fresh arrivals. Immense multitudes were already on the ground, and they continued to pour in by thousands. More than 500 wagons came in one single procession. The van of the line was formed by the Richland County delega-

tion, who came a distance of more than 100 miles, in 123 wagons. We attempted at first to particularize each different delegation with the equipages, banners, mottos and badges, but we were soon obliged to give up in despair. A description of these things would more than fill our whole paper. Many of them were capital, some whimsical, others sarcastic, but none tame or spiritless—all had their point.

"About 6 o'clock in the evening the steamboats *Sandusky* and *Perry* came in sight, and as they approached the town, the trees, the roofs of houses, the decks and rigging of the steamboats lying at the wharves, were covered by the thronging thousands anxious to obtain a view of the venerable chief. He landed under a salute of seventeen guns, fired by a detachment of the Buffalo flying artillery, which was responded to by the cannon on board each of the ten or dozen steamboats, and the still louder cheers of the immense multitude. The General was deeply affected, but the lateness of the hour and the fatigue of the journey precluded anything more than a simple acknowledgment of the demonstrations of affectionate attachment with which he was greeted. Entering a barouche and preceded by his escort, he immediately repaired to the fort, followed by the thousands who had assembled to witness his debarkation. There he was welcomed by another salute of seventeen guns from the Buffalo artillery. Twenty-seven years have elapsed since General Harrison had visited the fort, and as he viewed the scene of so much privation, suffering and triumph, and marked in their turn the spots where the desperate struggle or successful sally had been made, all will pardon the sensibility that could not restrain a tear to the memory of those who so gallantly with him maintained the honor and defense of the country in its hour of most imminent peril. After riding slowly round the fort, and passing in review the troops drawn up to receive him, the General, in company with his suite, returned to town and took up his quarters at the hospitable mansion of Judge Hollister.

"As night came on, the old fort presented one of the most picturesque views imaginable. Great numbers of people had come in during the afternoon from the neighboring states of Indiana and Michigan, and the more distant counties of Ohio, and by 9 o'clock there could not have been less than 20,000 on the ground. These were divided into groups of from 1,000 to 5,000 men, listening to and cheering some favorite speaker or singing Tippecanoe songs. It is surprising, the spirit with which

their hymns are sung. All know the words and the tunes, and when one hears them chanted as by a common impulse by many thousands of farmers, mechanics and hard working artisans of every description, he will be pretty thoroughly convinced that a spirit is abroad that cannot be stayed or put down.

"On the brow of the bank, and on the edge of the neighboring forest, were ranged the white tents of the military and citizens. The heavens were without a cloud, the moon was up, and under the softened and mellow radiance of its blessed light, the river, the valley and the whole scene seemed reposing in quiet beauty, forming a strange contrast to the sights and sounds which met the eye and ear on every side.

"Let our readers suppose some ten or twenty of the largest camp meetings they ever attended, all thrown into one, with all the accompanying exhortations and singing, these heightened in effect by the music of innumerable bands, and they will be able to form a better idea of the aspect of Fort Meigs the night of the 10th, than we could give by the most labored description. Indeed, the feeling which seemed to pervade each one of the mighty host there assembled was akin to, and apparently was not less fervent or sincere than the most exalted religious sentiments in a period of great excitement. About midnight the camp was aroused by an attack from some hundred Indians. The drums beat to quarters, skirmishers were driven in, the roar of cannon was mingled with vollies of musketry, and during an hour or more, many of the most stirring events of the siege were acted over with an air of startling reality. The Indians were finally driven back, some were captured, the sentinels were placed and the camp sank into profound repose.

"By early dawn on the morning of the 11th the whole population of the Valley of the Maumee and the country in a circuit of twenty or thirty miles began to pour in, the hundred bands which accompanied the different delegations were playing, men mustered by hundreds and thousands under their respective banners, and all proceeded to the fort, where at about 10 o'clock the vast assemblage was organized as a convention by the appointment of the following officers: President—Hon. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. Vice presidents—Governor Woodbridge, of Michigan; Seabury Ford, of Ohio; E. Bancroft, of Wisconsin; Thomas M. Foote, of New York; N. Gale, of Massachusetts; P. K. Zacharias, of Maryland; M. Cooke, of Connecticut. Secretaries—W. L. Carpenter, of New York; S. F. Taylor, of Ohio; Charles Noble, of Michigan;

J. T. Ainsworth, of Vermont; G. W. Lyman, of Massachusetts. Committee on resolutions—Alfred Kelly, of Ohio; James Brooke, of New York; George Dawson, of Michigan; J. Lose, of Maryland; Major Bostwick, of Indiana; George D. Prentice, of Kentucky.

"Soon after the organization had been thus completed, General Harrison reached the ground and ascended the stand, where were collected many of the veterans of the Revolution and his companions in arms under Wayne, and during the last war. His appearance was greeted with the most tremendous cheers. The Throne of Grace was then addressed in an affecting and appropriate prayer by the Rev. Joseph Badger, whose head was whitened by the frosts of some ninety winters, and who twenty-seven years before was a chaplain in Harrison's army. The prayer concluded, General Harrison advanced to address the vast assemblage. He spoke for nearly an hour and a half straight on, without a moment's hesitancy, and with a force and power not surpassed by one in the full prime and vigor of manhood. We honestly confess that, notwithstanding our perfect confidence in the integrity and purity of his character and principles, and with a just appreciation of his eminent military and civil services, the attacks upon him had been made with such boldness and pertinacity, they had been repeated in so many thousand forms, and from so many sources, that though we gave them no credence, we still had misgivings, lest age, the responsibilities, services and hardships of his eventful life, had somewhat impaired his physical if not intellectual energies. But whatever misgivings we had on that score were dissipated after listening to the first few sentences of his address. During the whole of his long speech, delivered in the open air, under a burning sun, not for one moment did he falter. The trumpet-like tones of his voice rang out as clear at the close as at the commencement, and by all the mighty host gathered round, not less than 25,000, every word could be distinctly heard. We have listened to many of the best public speakers in our country, and from none, either in style, elocution, choiceness or fluency of language, did we ever hear a more effective or appropriate speech. The topics touched upon were such as might naturally be supposed would be the subject of remark on such an occasion.

"The multitude had been drawn together to commemorate a glorious event in our national history. The region around had been consecrated by heroic achievements, and cold indeed must

have been the heart and dim the eye that would not have warmed and kindled, as all those achievements were again vividly, proudly, yet becomingly called up by one who had himself been a conspicuous actor in the scenes of which the Maumee had been the theatre.

"Admirably, too, were many of the exciting political questions of the day alluded to, and pure and lasting, we doubt not, were the monitions addressed to the throng, by him who had taken Washington as his model and guide. Time has touched General Harrison with a lenient hand. There is a vigor and elasticity about him which, aided by his habits of strict temperance, promise to last these many years. His eye yet sparkles with the brightness of youth.

"From the stand we surveyed the dense and mighty crowd, all hushed into almost death-like silence, or breaking forth in spontaneous and thunder-like cheers. But once in a man's lifetime can he expect to look upon a scene like that. There were the people gathered in their majesty and might. Some had come expressly to be present from a distance of more than 800 miles. They seemed to be composed almost exclusively of farmers and working men, the bone and sinew of the country, who had met, not for purposes of war or to repel a foreign foe, but on a peaceful errand, to consult on the common weal. There was moral sublimity in the impulse which, in a sparsely populated country, could thus draw together at one spot so many thousands. It was an assemblage of the sovereigns themselves, and formed a most striking commentary on the character of our institutions. The influence which it will exert cannot be estimated, but valuable as that will prove, such a meeting is more important inasmuch as it shows the depth and extent of the feeling, of the conviction of the necessity of a change that is now abroad. Nothing can stay it until it has accomplished its perfect work.

"General Harrison was followed by the president of the day, Hon. Thomas Ewing. His remarks were addressed more particularly to the men of Ohio, and were worthy the reputation of one of the most distinguished sons the Buckeye state can boast. Mr. Schenck, of Dayton, was then loudly called for. Mr. Schenck enjoys an enviable reputation in his own state, as a lawyer and a public speaker, and if we mistake not, his name ere long will be equally well known throughout the Union. At the close of his remarks the convention adjourned for dinner, but though thousands left the ground, the number seemed scarcely sensibly

diminished. New speakers were called for, the appetite for hearing growing by what it fed upon, the various gentlemen occupied the stand until the convention formally reassembled. It is impossible to give the names of all the speakers, but among the number who addressed the multitude in the course of the day were Major Clarkson, General Harrison's aid in the war; Messrs. Haddock, Love and Chamberlain, of Buffalo; Taylor and Eleutherus Cook, of Ohio; Dawson, of Michigan, besides other gentlemen whose names have escaped our recollection. To the regret of everyone, Mr. Tom Corwin, the Whig candidate for governor, was taken sick on the road.

"On assembling in the afternoon, appropriate resolutions were reported by Mr. Alfred Kelly, of Ohio, and unanimously adopted. A few speeches were made, several new and capital songs were sung, the immense concourse joining in the chorus, and then the convention adjourned sine die. Thus ended the largest and one of the most remarkable conventions ever held in the United States. The number present is variously estimated, and by some, as is usual in such cases, will probably be exaggerated. But from the most exact data we were able to obtain, we were satisfied there must have been 30,000 persons present. Michigan alone sent more than 5,000 delegates. Long as this account is, we have been obliged to omit a thousand anecdotes and interesting incidents to which the occasion gave rise; and we must also pass over all notice of General Harrison's reception at Cleveland on Saturday, and his speech there, to which we had the pleasure of listening.

"The fine soldier-like bearing of the Volunteer Military Corps from Buffalo, under the command of Major Fay, was the theme of universal and deserved admiration. The celebration will be forever remembered by those who participated in it. Not an accident or circumstance occurred to mar the pleasure of the occasion. There was unbounded enthusiasm and high resolve and hope, but not a single drunken or quarrelsome man could be seen. In conclusion, we would say, in the words of Henry the Fifth, with a slight alteration—'be he ne'er so vile,

That day shall gentle his condition:
And gentlemen of Erie then at home,
Should think themselves accurs'd they were not there.' "

AMONG THE PIONEERS

Back in the Catskills of New York State but a few years ago could be pointed out stone fence laid in his native neighborhood

when he was but a boy, by Isaac Van Tassel II. In his young manhood he came West and entered Hudson College. On account of his health he left school to join his uncle, Isaac Van Tassel I, superintendent of the Indian Mission on the Maumee River.

Isaac the Second was a teacher at the Mission and in the '30s of 1800 entered from the Government a timbered tract of land in the deep wilderness a few miles south of now Weston, Wood County. In clearing a spot of ground for a future log cabin, the sound of the axe was only echoed by the howl of the wolves; for alone in his labor no human was within miles of the little opening. In his later years he said he wondered what would have been his fate had the glance of the axe maimed him or had anything befallen him in his loneliness. He staked out or blazed the line of his north and south fence, between his land and the next tract, on a clear night, and used the North Star as his compass.

Later he built his cabin, where he domiciled his young wife. Black bear, wolves, wildcats and deer were their nearest companions. To maintain a livelihood he taught school on the Maumee at Otsego, twelve miles away, and at other points, and walked the distance each way many times during the winter seasons. With a great "sawlog" drawn by an ox team, he would start on a winter morning to the nearest mill, also a dozen miles from his cabin, have the log sawed into boards that night and return home the following day with the timber for a better home.

As time passed a neighborhood of sturdy people developed around him, and the years brought himself and dutiful wife, who also had been a teacher, a growing family of children. Fruit raising was made rather a specialty, and Van Tassel in years possessed one of the finest apple orchards in all the new West—together with other fruits, and bee culture.

These pioneers knew the value of education and, though it brought hardships, saw to it that their sons and daughters received special advantages to develop a cultural life. The home was the gathering place as a social center for the young people of the day for miles around; even the distant pioneer towns and villages. They possessed the first piano in all that section, a great curiosity, and the young folks from other points would bring their stringed instruments—guitars, violins and such, and the character of the impromptu concerts were worthy affairs.

The blind daughter of a later German family had become a pianist of considerable ability. One day her older brother

brought her to Van Tassel's to play on their fine new instrument, the second one they possessed. In rendering her selection, her brother was not pleased with the key she was playing it in and exclaimed with some spirit:

"Kretchen! Kretchen! Blay dat biece furder to de souce."

His sister was playing in the trebel octaves and he had a partiality for the lower notes—the bass. The piano was standing as to the points of the compass with the lower notes of the instrument to the "souce"—south.

There were spelling schools, debating clubs, readings and "exhibitions" galore in those days. And little boys had their blue-eyed, curly-headed school favorites, too. The schoolhouse even in later years was some two miles from the Van Tassel farm. There was a reading contest at the schoolhouse one winter evening, and the only road thereto ran through the deep woods for the distance of a mile. No matter his name, the youngest boy of the Van Tassel family wanted to attend the contest; not so much because he was a good reader and was enthusiastic over that phase of the gathering, but there would probably be present a little girl from town with dark curls and laughing eyes.

The boy knew there was a panther, or possibly a lynx, in the neighborhood, because he had one morning heard it scream—a creepy, thrilling cry, and the animal had been seen on occasion. As he must go alone and walk the distance after dark (as dark as a winter night would only be, however, with snow on the ground), the lad debated between his fear of a "possible horrible death by a wild beast" or the chance of meeting his favorite.

His timidity was smothered and he walked forth single-handed along the road through the great virgin forest. The night was still and only the sharp sound of the explosions of the freezing tree sap broke the quietness. And then when he was in the loneliest part of the woods there came to his alert ears the snapping of fallen twigs and the stealthy sound of steadily treading feet in the snow. Glancing to one side could be seen not far away among the trees the shadowy form of a large animal traveling paralliel to his course and creepily keeping pace in the same direction. The boy wore a warm, heavy cap. But the hair of his head actually raised his headgear clear of its moorings. His hair stood straight up. The cap actually floated on air. He took a more rapid pace. So did the hungry beast. He slowed down. The animal seemingly did the same. But as interminable minutes, many of them, passed, the boy thought of the possible blood

curdling contest, and that by nerving himself for the fray, should he come off victor, he would have a thrilling tale to tell. He would be a hero.

Just at this the animal took a spurt in his direction, crossed a few feet in front of him and vanished in the woods on the opposite side. It was a large, long-haired dog! It had probably scented its prey and was now in hot pursuit.

The boy's cap settled back on his head. His heart adjusted itself in its proper position. The very thought of his courageous resolution had a prideful appeal. He arrived at the schoolhouse in safety. She was there, and of course it must be recorded that as he "saw her safely home" she listened with admiration to the story of his heroic bravery.

Mrs. Isaac Van Tassel, II, in her girlhood was Louisa Martindale. She was born at the head of Fort Meigs, on the Maumee, in 1821, and later lived at Orleans. Her people lived there when Porter, the Indian, was hung at the foot of the fort for shooting Isaac Richardson, as elsewhere related. Louisa, as a child, could not help surveying the crowd of spectators who witnessed the execution, but before the trap was sprung she "turned her head away in horror."

Elisha Martindale, Louisa's father, built the first house within the present limits of the progressive college town (or city) of Bowling Green, Ohio. It is known that there is a special "shower of meteors" at intervals of a third of a century; or rather that the earth passes through the so-called meteoric belt once in every thirty-three years. The greatest "shower" known to history occurred in November, 1833, the display being the heaviest on the night of the 13th. On that night Mr. Martindale was absent from home and the mother and children were awakened by a disturbance among the poultry. It devolved upon the child Louisa and her little brother to go forth into the chill out-of-doors to drive away the "skunk, mink, owl or other disturbers of the hen roost." Issuing forth, the sky was cloudless and the heavens were observed to be a mass of shooting sparks of fire darting in every direction. When Louisa returned to the cabin she said to her mother excitedly: "The stars are all falling down." It was a wonderful scene which she never forgot.

Martindale raised a crop of corn on the river that fall and stored some of it in the loft of his log cabin. When he built his home he had cleared only a sufficient space in the woods for the house. Tall trees stood close about surrounding it. Flying

squirrels spied out the corn and evidently communicated the news to their neighbors for miles around. They attacked the stored crop with a vengeance and the family were obliged to come to the rescue of their source for corn bread with sticks and clubs. By actual count the children killed over 400 of these little robbers, now practically extinct.

POLITICAL MEETING

On Tuesday, November 1, 1859, a largely attended meeting of the Republicans of German township, Fulton County, Ohio, was held at the Village of Archbold, at which a banner was presented to the Republicans of that township in honor of their first victory over the Democracy, achieved at the previous election. The banner was of white satin, upon which in gold and colors was the following inscription:

"From the Republican Mothers and Daughters of Fulton County to the Republicans of German Township." "We greet you as brothers."

"In commemoration of the glorious victory of 1859."

On the reverse—top and sides—"Fraternity," "Liberty," "Equality." The filling in—"Where Liberty dwells, there is my Country." "Free Homes for Free People." "Lands to the Landless." "Protection to Foreign-born Citizens abroad."

After the presentation was made a resolution was passed complimenting Hon. J. M. Ashley, the new Congressman, eliciting from him in reply the following remarks, which were published in the *Wauseon Republican*:

"Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: It is not my purpose to detain you long, for I come not so much to make a speech this afternoon as to be a listener, and to enjoy a social hour with friends who are convened to celebrate an event that should make glad the heart of every free man. For your compliments, and the manner in which you have been pleased to express your appreciation of my humble efforts for the cause, I return you my sincere thanks. And permit me to express the hope that no act or vote of mine in the new and untried field of labor to which you have commissioned me, and to which in a few days I must repair, will ever cause any of my fellow-citizens to regret that their suffrages were bestowed upon me.

"The victory we have assembled to celebrate, my fellow-citizens, is not a victory for any one man, or a number of men, but a victory for principle, a victory for humanity, for right, for

truth, for justice. It is indeed a glorious victory, the effects of which will soon be visible at the slave-holding capital of the republic, where Ohio will again be represented in the Senate of the United States by a senator true to freedom. This is a consummation over which we may properly express our gratitude, and exchange congratulations, and to no township, of the same number of inhabitants, in the state, are we more deeply indebted for our triumph in Ohio this fall, than to German township, in Fulton County. And I express to you, but imperfectly, the joy the Republicans of Lucas feel, especially the German Republicans of Toledo, at the redemption of German township from the control of a spurious and false democracy. You fought the battle well and gallantly, and the beautiful banner just presented to you by the fair daughters of Fulton County tells you better than I can tell you of the high esteem and regard in which you are held by those who, with you, are battling earnestly for the rights of man and the liberty and enfranchisement of the human race. I have faith that you will take no step backward, that you will stand firmly by the principles of freedom, and annually carry to the ballot-box the time-honored Democratic-Republican principle emblazoned upon the folds of your banner.

"To you, my German fellow-citizens, the Republican party is under deep obligations for its past success. To you it looks with confidence for aid in the great battle of 1860. With gratitude we acknowledge its indebtedness to you, not only here in German township, but all over the country.

"Everywhere the freedom-loving Germans are joining our ranks, and if, as a party, we are faithful to the Constitution and the Union, and true to the doctrines of human brotherhood, they will remain with us. Had it not been for the charge of Know-Nothingism which has been so persistently and falsely made against us, by the very party which from the first has had nearly all the pro-slavery Know-Nothing leaders secretly in its ranks, almost every German elector in the United States would have been with us today. As it is, they will be with us in 1860, and, like brothers standing shoulder to shoulder on the Republican platform, will rally around the banner of liberty, and our cause shall triumph. * * *"

At the Toledo "Wigwam" on the night of October 14, 1860, on the occasion of the Republican jollification over the recent victories of that party in Ohio, Indiana and Pennsylvania, Mr. Ashley opened his address as follows:

"Fellow-Citizens: With pleasure I respond to your call, and announce that the Republican cause has again triumphed in this county, in this congressional district, and in the state. (Cheers). It is fitting and proper that so glorious a victory should be commemorated by blazing bonfires, torchlight processions and illuminations. On every political battle-field where free speech and a free press are tolerated, and our opponents have been met, they are vanquished and we are triumphant. (Applause).

"From the pine-clad hills of Maine to the home of the gallant Blair, on the banks of the Mississippi, in the free-soil City of St. Louis; from the green hills of Vermont to the Territory of Nebraska; from the good old Keystone state (God bless her for her 30,000 majority) (cheers for Pennsylvania), from our neighbor, Indiana, just redeemed from the rule of a false democracy who fastened upon the country bogus United States senators, and from all over our own broad and beloved commonwealth, the shouting of millions of freemen greet us tonight with the welcome tidings of glorious victories won. * * *"

At Chicago, September 22nd, 1893, during the World's Fair, the "Parliament of Religions" met to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, which liberated over three and a half million slaves in 1863. It was one of the most notable gatherings the world has ever known. The scene was most inspiring when the delegates took their places in long triple lines upon the platform, facing the vast audience, in the hall of Columbus.

"In the middle a flash of flaming scarlet reflected from the robes of Cardinal Gibbons, at his right the lavender and black lace gown, which set off the beauty of the president of the Board of Lady Managers; at his left the high black peaked cap, the trailing robes and the golden chains of the Bishop of the Greek Church; further on, the green and garnet velvet tunics of East Indian Punjabs; here the single violet orange garment of a Hindoo monk; there the pinks of a Japanese Bishop and his suite; on one side black and royal purple where sit a group of Archbishops of the Catholic Church; on the other, the gorgeous red and gold of a member of a Hindoo Sisterhood—a confusion of colors, as strange as the confusion of tongues, of races and of religions. Through all the addresses of welcome and many responses ran one clear note. It spoke of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. From the great leaders of all religions came the same message.

"It was an imposing procession that filed upon the platform. There were Caucasians, Mongolians and Ethiopians, men from all the nations of the earth, representing all the religions of the earth. They seated themselves closely together upon the huge platform, the strangers from the farther points of the world, with their picturesque garbs, in front."

Withal the occasion was made historic by the Afro-American League of Tennessee, which presented to the Hon. James M. Ashley a souvenir as a token of the regard of the Afro-Americans for his work in the interests of universal freedom and especially in the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, 1865. This tribute was in the form of a special and elaborately bound volume, containing Mr. Ashley's speeches in Congress and his work on behalf of the abolishment of slavery, edited by Bishop Benjamin W. Arnet of the A. M. E. Church.

"That flag means more to you and to me tonight than ever it did before. * * *

"It means that never again, on the land or on the sea, can it be a flag of 'stripes' to any of God's children, however poor or however black."

"No more its flaming emblems wave
To bar from hope the trembling slave;
No more its radiant glories shine
To blast with woe one child of Thine."

LOST IN THE WOODS

In pioneer times, when the dense forests closely hugged the settlers' cabins, it was not uncommon for children to be lost, and even adults occasionally lost their bearings and became bewildered. On such occasions in their confusion they even failed to recognize the most familiar objects. A Mr. Johnson, of Williams County, while in the woods on a gloomy day lost the points of the compass. He wandered about until he came to a log stable with an old horse standing near. The animal seemed in very poor condition and in his mind Johnson wondered at the neglect of its keeper, as well as the care of the premises. Moving a little nearer, a cabin came in sight, with a woman standing near the door. "What you got there, John?" exclaimed the lady of the premises, evidently referring to some sort of game Johnson had killed. It then dawned upon him that his own wife had spoken to him and that the horse and dilapidated stable were his own.

In the same County of Williams, in Center Township in an early day a boy about four years old had attempted to follow his mother to a neighbor's through the woods. The loss was not discovered until the mother returned, about dark. Search was immediately instituted, the neighborhood was aroused, and soon the woods were filled with anxious searchers. Torches were carried, and the search continued all night; but the morning dawned, and the first day passed without success. The mother was almost distracted with grief and nervous anxiety. People came by the score to assist in the hunt, some as far distant as five or six miles; but, although more than a hundred active searchers were present, no concerted and organized effort was made, strange to say, until the third day. On this day a long line was formed, the men and women being stationed sixty feet apart, and the word was given by the captain to march.

It was not long before the little boy was found. He was dead, but his body yet contained warmth, showing that death had occurred only a short time before. The spot where the little fellow had slept each night was found. When night overtook him, he had, evidently, as was his habit, taken off his clothes, thinking that he must do so in order to go to sleep. It was October and the nights were quite cold, and the little wanderer could not survive the chilling weather. When he arose the first morning he was unable to put on his clothes properly, and thus had wandered about half clad.

STORY OF MARY FRANKFATHER

This story of a lost child comes from Bloom township in Wood County. On October 25, 1835, Frederick Frankfather, a pioneer of the dense forests of southern Wood County and the older members of the family walked to the home of a Jonathan Hay to attend religious services, leaving the children at home gathering and cracking hickory nuts. One of the children, Mary, four and a half years old wandered to a shell-bark hickory some distance from the house. Towards evening her brother James, then fifteen years old, called to the little one, but only an older sister answered. The father was notified and search was continued throughout the night and the next day. On the third day, the 27th, thirty men from Van Buren, Hancock County, the nearest settlement, joined the searchers. The hem of the child's torn dress was found several miles away, and northwest of Bloom Center. On the eighth day between 500 and 600 searchers were

organized and were combing the forests in regular order. That night they camped six miles north of the center of Bloom township or about three miles southeast of the Village of Portage; but the father returned home to his family and to plan for the next day. At nine o'clock, the same evening, a Samuel Heller brought the family the news that a child's tracks had been discovered near an old encampment of General Hull's army on Hull's Trace between Findlay and Bowling Green and not far from present Cygnet, Wood County. The discovery was made by a man traveling on the trail towards Findlay. The army of searchers turned in that direction on the ninth day of their hunt, found the tracks but with no results. On the eleventh day a new company of searchers met the father at the old Ross Tavern on Hull's Trace south of Portage, where the word came that the child had been found by three men in the woods near now Milton Center, Wood County, and about fifteen miles from home. The men were cleaning land and at first thought she was a little Indian girl, gave her some of their luncheon and told her to go to her camp. However, she followed them until she came to a trail leading to the pioneer cabin of a Milton township settler named John Dubbs. Following the trail she arrived at a clearing where employes of Mr. Dubbs were felling trees. Evidently thinking the men were her own people she approached cautiously but on seeing her mistake, she started away. Two little girls with the choppers caught sight of the wanderer and induced her to go with them. The men had only that morning heard of the lost child and she was fed sparingly. At five o'clock the same evening, her father and two friends, Mahlon and Edward Whitacre, arrived at the Dubbs' cabin and that night they remained at Mahlon Whitacre's on their way home, where they arrived in the forenoon of the twelfth day of the child's absence. "Tip" the family dog was the companion of little Mary up to about the tenth day, as the child told of the dog being with her late in her wanderings and running away from a burning tree as it fell. Later probably Tip was killed by wolves, as he never was seen again. Evidently the October of 1835 was dry and not cold and the child must have subsisted on such nuts as she knew about. While this story is authentic, no details of her condition or how she survived the hardships of her wanderings are left of record; save that she grew to womanhood, was married and became the mother of several children.

DEER AND BEAR STORY

Thousands of acres of primeval forests existed in the Lower Lakes region until a comparatively late day. These dense wooded sections contained an abundance of game; deer were numerous and in some localities in earlier years bear were common. Many tales of deer hunting and bear killing have been handed down. One fall, two pioneers of Williams County, George W. Bible of Superior township and Frederick Miser of Center township, entered into a contest to see which one could kill the greater number of deer within two months time. Bible killed ninety-nine and Miser sixty-five, and the winner was disappointed because he did not reach the hundred mark. The skins and fore quarters were sold fresh, while the hams were salted and packed.

From this same section comes this bear story. Bruin's appetite was very partial to young pig, and it was no unusual experience for a pioneer to be aroused in the night by a terrible commotion in the neighborhood of his pigpen. Bruin might be frightened off for the time being, but was almost sure to return the next night. On his second visit, however, the settler would have his bear trap set, and rarely failed to secure a supply of bear meat. The bear trap was what is called a "dead-fall," baited and set off by a trigger.

John Gillet belonged to the Mill Creek section in Mill Creek township and told his own story as follows:

"I had known for some time by the signs that there was a nest of cub bears somewhere in the neighborhood, so one day I concluded that I would put in my time finding them, as a party in Adrian wanted a pair to send over to Baltimore to a friend who was fond of outlandish pets. You see, it was along about the first of September, and pretty warm at that, and after walking up and down the creek, I began to get pretty tired; so I sat down by the side of a smooth stump, about twelve or fourteen feet high, to rest. I hadn't been there more than a minute until I heard something inside the stump, and soon made out that it was a couple of cub bears playing with one another. I looked on all sides of the stump to find an opening, but none was to be seen. Then I happened to notice the marks of claws up the side of the stump, and I understood it. The hole went in at the top. I set my gun against a bush, up-ended the branch of a tree, and was soon at the top of the stump, looking in at the two cubs, which were about the size of full-grown rat dogs. I was so excited that

I jumped down into the stump and grabbed the cubs. They at first began to squeal, and then turned on me for fight. But they were small enough to handle, and in a minute or two I had their mouths tied so they could not bite, and their feet fastened so they could not scratch.

"I knew that the old bear would be along pretty soon and make it hot for me if she found me in the nest; so I swung the youngsters into my buckskin belt, preparatory to getting out.

"Get out? Did I get out? Land of love! It makes me shiver to think of it yet. I could no more get out of that stump than I could fly. The hollow was bell-shaped, larger at the bottom than at the top—so large, in fact, that I could not put my back against one side and my feet and hands against the other, and crawl up, as rabbits and other animals climb up, inside of hollow trees. In no way could I get up a foot. There were no sticks inside to help me up, and I made up my mind I had to die certain. About the time I came to this conclusion I heard the old bear climbing up the outside of the stump. With only my hunting-knife, as a means of defence, and in such close quarters, you may possibly imagine the state of my feelings. The old bear was not more than half a minute, at the outside, climbing up the stump; but it seemed like a month, at least. I thought of all my sins a dozen times over. At last she reached the top, but she didn't seem to suspect my presence at all, as she turned around and began slowly descending, tail foremost. I felt as though my last hour had come, and I began to think seriously about lying down and letting the bear kill me, so as to get out of my misery as quickly as possible.

"Suddenly an idea struck me, and despair gave way to hope. I drew out my hunting-knife and stood on tip-toe. When the bear was about seven feet from the bottom of the hollow, I fastened on her tail with my left hand with a vise-like grip, and with my right hand drove my hunting-knife to the hilt in her haunch, at the same time yelling like a whole tribe of Indians. What did she do? Well, you should have seen the performance. She did not stop to reflect a moment, but shot out of the top of the stump like a bullet out of a gun. I held on until we struck the ground. Then the old bear went like lightning into the brush and was out of sight in half a minute. I took the cubs to Adrian the next day and got five dollars apiece for them, and in those times five dollars were as good as fifty dollars are now."

HENRY HOWE, THE HISTORIAN

Historically speaking one of Ohio's greatest benefactors was the late Henry Howe. It was in 1846 and 1847, that he traveled over the entire new state of Ohio, gleaning first handed information for his "Historical Collections of Ohio." He visited in person nearly every county. Then over forty years later, in 1888, he traveled over the same ground and issued the second edition of his Ohio Collection in two volumes. For the "Introduction" to his second edition he wrote in 1888 as follows:

"When, in 1847, I had written the preface on the preceding pages I could little imagine that forty years later I should make a second tour over Ohio and put forth a second edition. Not a human being in any land that I know of has done a like thing. It is in view of what I have been enabled to do for a great people I regard myself as having been one of the most fortunate of men. A spot is now reached which even in my dreams could not have been visioned, and I here rejoice that in the year 1839, now just half a century, I turned my back on Wall Street, with its golden allurements, where I had passed more than a year, to follow an occupation that was congenial with my loves and would widely benefit my fellow-men. 'He that hasteth to be rich shall not be innocent,' but he that labors to spread knowledge in the form of good books that will reach the humblest cabin in the wilderness will feed his own soul, and earth and sky be a delight in his eyes all his days through.

"When, in 1846, my snow-white companion, Old Pomp, carried me his willing burden on his back entirely over Ohio, it was a new land opening to the sun. Its habitations were largely of logs, many of them standing in the margins of deep forests, amid the girdled monsters that reared their sombre skeleton forms over a soil for the first time brought under the benign influence of human cultivation.

"So young was the land that in that year the very lawmakers, eighty-four out of 107, were born strangers. The list of the nativities of the members of the Legislature, which I have saved from that day, is as follows: Pennsylvania, 24; Ohio, 23; Virginia, 18; New York, 10; all the New England States, 18, of whom 6 were from Connecticut; Maryland, 7; Europe, 6; Kentucky, 1, and North Carolina, 1. Only four years before had the state grown its first native governor in the person of Wilson Shannon, born in a log-cabin, down in Belmont County, in 1802,

and to be soon thereafter a fatherless infant, for George Shannon, whose son he was, in the following winter, while out hunting, got lost in the woods in a snow-storm, and, going around in a circle, at last grew sleepy, fell and froze to death. The present governor, J. B. Foraker, that very year of my tour, (1846) was born in a cabin in Highland County, July 5th . . . . ."

When Mr. Howe contemplated his second edition, publishers or capitalists gave him no encouragement, as he was considered "too old for such an undertaking," being seventy years of age. Finally, his old fellow townsmen of New Haven, Conn., aided him by "subscription loans," and in the meantime, ex-President Hayes at Spiegel Grove, Fremont, Judge Taft and Governor Hoadley of Cincinnati, with a few other Ohioans, gave him further aid and encouragement.

Regarding his second tour of the state he wrote that "sometimes the expressions of those upon whom I called were too strong for my humility. One old gentleman said: 'What! you are not the Henry Howe who wrote our Ohio History?' 'Yes.' With that he sprang for me, grasped me around the waist, hugged me, lifted me off my feet and danced around the floor. Short of stature, but strong as a bear, there was no resisting his hug. Speaking of it afterward, he said he never did such a thing before —embracing a man! But when I told him who I was, a crowd of memories of forty years came upon him and he was enthused beyond control. In other cases old gentlemen brought in their children to introduce to me. In many places visited I did not offer my subscription list. Time would not allow; only when funds were short did I pause for the means to move. Beside, it is not honorable to draw upon the resources of generous spirits beyond absolute necessity."

While all those whom Mr. Howe met on his first tour, with few exceptions then children, have been gathered to their fathers, there are many yet living including those of the Maumee and Sandusky regions, who remember his kindly face and low, gentle voice as he greeted them on his second visit.

He was an artist of ability, and especially for his first edition, made his own sketches and drawings. He possessed an ideal for primitive beauty, one of his most delightful sketches being a "Scene on the Auglaize" drawn as he noted, "on a pleasant day in June, 1846." This "Home in the Wilderness" or tavern, was probably the first built within Putnam County. It was located about five miles northwest from now Kalida. Of the drawing

Mr. Howe wrote: "The view 'A Home in The Wilderness,' represents a log tavern in the western part of the county, on the road to Charloe. It was built about thirty years since (in 1816) by two men, assisted by a woman. It has long been a favorite stopping place for travelers, as many as twenty or thirty, with their horses, having frequently tarried here over night when journeying through the wilderness. The situation is charming. It is on the banks of the Auglaize, which flows in a ravine some fifteen or twenty feet below. All around stand massive trees, with foliage luxuriantly developed by the virgin fertility of the soil, while numerous branches lave in the passing waters. We [Mr. Howe and Pomp] came suddenly upon the place on a pleasant day in June, 1846, and were so much pleased with its primitive simplicity and loveliness as to stop and make a more familiar acquaintance. We alighted from our faithful 'Pomp,' turned him loose among the fresh grass, drew our portfolio from our saddlebags, and while he was rolling amid the clover in full liberty, and the ladies of the house were seated sewing in the open space between the parts of the cabin, fanned by a gentle breeze, we took a sketch as a memorial of a scene we shall never forget, and to present to our readers."

The name of the tavern keeper on the sign in the view is "P. B. Halden." In 1889, Mr. Howe received a letter from S. S. Halden of Darke County, which among other things concerning Mr. Howe's visit said: "I am a son of P. B. Halden whose name appears on the sign as you drew it. I was then fourteen years old, and recollect it about as vividly as if it had occurred but yesterday—your riding into the yard on horseback; getting off your horse; laying your paper, pencils, etc., about you on the old sled or mud boat, which lay in the yard at that time, and is shown in the picture, and watching you draw the scene. Such an occurrence was too rare not to make an impression on a boy like me. A man named Sebastian Sroufe built the house. He died and was buried near there. Two of his sons were named George and Albert—the latter was a school teacher. His widow married Judge Perkins, and they moved to Williams County.

"While you were making the sketch, my mother and a lady school teacher sat in the open space between the two rooms, sewing. Before you had completed it, my brother and a Mr. Whiting came through the yard where we were sitting, having been to a deer lick. One of them carried his gun at 'trail arms' and the

other carried his gun on his shoulder, and with them was our dog 'Tyler.' "

It was well the dog was along. His name marks the era of the event and helps to confirm the truth of Mr. Holden's statement. The hard-cider campaign had only passed a few years before, when the old Whigs had sung "For Tippecanoe and Tyler too." Hence it was natural for them to thus name their dogs "Tip" for Tippecanoe and "Tyler" for Tyler too. Humor comes from incongruous associations, so Mark Twain named his jumping frog Daniel Webster—both were heavy-weights; one from brains and brawn, the other from shot.

H. S. KNAPP

And by the way, H. S. Knapp who wrote in 1873 his "History of the Maumee Valley," was once editor of the *Kaleda* (Putnam County) *Venture* and a venture it was. Knapp one Sunday went, with his newly wedded wife on horseback, to Columbus Grove to attend camp meeting. On their return trip they were dumped into a mudhole. Knapp tried to extricate his bride from her perilous situation, but failed. He then backed his horse until the bride caught hold of the horse's tail with a firm grip and was pulled out, of course in a most dilapidated condition. The editorials in the next issue of the *Venture* concerning the new country "were short and crabbed." Knapp's opponents, called his paper the *Kaleda Vulture.* The paper was established in 1841, by James McKenzie, and became the *Putnam County Sentinel* of Ottawa, owned for years and edited by the late George D. Kinder, one of Northwestern Ohio's able newspaper men of the old school and an historian of much merit.

PERILS OF GENERAL HARRISON

At least four times the life of General Harrison, War of 1812, was in peril. Once at the battle of Tippecanoe, the hair of his head was cut by a ball from the enemy's gun; at Vincennes as Governor of Indiana Territory, where he met Tecumseh and his warriors for a "conference," and when the Shawnee leader had evidently plotted his life as has been told; at Fort Meigs, when a ball passed through his clothing—and the fourth time as follows:

It was just before Perry gained his great victory over the British on Lake Erie and General Harrison was at Fort Seneca

planning his campaign against the British Proctor in Canada. The affair is taken from the General's Memoirs.

The friendly Indians of the Delaware, Shawanese and Seneca tribes had been invited to join him. A number had accepted the invitation, and had reached Seneca before the arrival of the Kentucky troops. All the chiefs, and no doubt the greater part of the warriors were favorable to the American cause; but before their departure from their towns, a wretch had insinuated himself among them, with the intention of assassinating the commanding general. He belonged to the Shawanese tribe, and bore the name of Blue Jacket; but was not the celebrated Blue Jacket who signed the treaty of Greenville with General Wayne. He had formerly resided at the town of Wapakoneta; he had, however, been absent for a considerable time and had returned but a few days before the warriors of that town set out to join the American army. It is impossible to say what was the motive of Blue Jacket. He was not one of the Tippecanoe Shawnees and there is little doubt that he arrived at Wapakoneta from Malden. Who there conceived the plot with him, if anyone, has never been revealed. He informed the chiefs that he had been hunting on the Wabash, and at his request, he was suffered to join the party which were about to march to Seneca. Upon their arrival at McArthur's block-house, they halted and encamped for the purpose of receiving provisions from the deputy Indian Agent, Colonel M'Pherson, who resided there. Before their arrival at that place, Blue Jacket had communicated to a friend (a Shawanese warrior), his intention to kill the American general, and requested his assistance; this his friend declined and endeavored to dissuade him from attempting it, assuring him that it could not be done without the certain sacrifice of his own life, as he had been at the American camp and knew that there was always a guard round the General's quarters, who were on duty day and night. Blue Jacket replied, that he was determined to execute his intention at any risk, that he would kill the General if he was sure that his guards would cut him in pieces not bigger than his thumb nail.

No people on earth are more faithful in keeping secrets than the Indians, but each warrior has a friend from whom he will conceal nothing; luckily for General Harrison, the friend of the confidant of Blue Jacket was a young Delaware chief named Beaver, who was also bound to the General by the ties of friendship. He was the son of a Delaware war chief of the same name,

who had with others been put to death by his own tribe, on the charge of practicing sorcery. General Harrison had been upon terms of friendship with the father, and had patronized his orphan boy, at that time ten or twelve years of age. He had now arrived at manhood and was considered among the most promising warriors of his tribe; to this young chief the friend of Blue Jacket revealed the fatal secret. The Beaver was placed by this communication in an embarrassing situation, for should he disclose what he had heard, he betrayed his friend, than which nothing could be more repugnant to the feelings and principles of an Indian warrior. Should he not disclose it, consequences equally or even more to be deprecated were likely to ensue—the assassination of a friend, the friend of his father, whose life he was bound to defend, or whose death to revenge by the same principle of fidelity and honor which forbade the disclosure.

While he was yet hesitating, Blue Jacket came up to the Delaware camp somewhat intoxicated, vociferating vengeance upon Col. M'Pherson, who had just turned him out of his house, and whom he declared he would put to death for the insult he had received. The sight of the traitor aroused the indignation and resentment of the Beaver to the highest pitch. He seized his tomahawk, and advancing toward the culprit, said: "You must be a great warrior. You will not only kill this white man for serving you as you deserve, but you will also murder our father, the American chief, and bring disgrace and mischief upon us all; but you shall do neither, I will serve you as I would a mad dog." A furious blow from the tomahawk of the Beaver stretched the unfortunate Blue Jacket at his feet, and a second terminated his existence; "There," said he to some Shawanese who were present, "take him to the camp of his tribe, and tell them who has done the deed."

The Shawanese were far from resenting it; they applauded the conduct of the Beaver, and rejoiced at their happy escape from the ignominy which the accomplishment of Blue Jacket's design would have brought upon them. At the second great treaty which was held at Greenville in 1815, General Cass, one of the commissioners, related the whole of the transaction to the assembled chiefs, and after thanking the Beaver, in the name of the United States, for having saved the life of their general, he caused a handsome present to be made him out of the goods which he had sent for the purpose of the treaty. * * * Upon the arrival of the chiefs at Seneca, the principal war chief of the

Shawanese requested permission to sleep at the door of the General's marquee, and this he did every night until the embarkation of the troops. This man, who had fought with great bravery on our side in the several sorties from Fort Meigs, was called Captain Tommy; he was a great favorite of the officers, particularly the General and Commodore Perry, the latter of whom was accustomed to call him the General's "Mameluke."

General Harrison, while his life may not have been endangered, was, as told elsewhere, in great peril one night while attempting to reach the Maumee from Lower Sandusky, to head off General Winchester from his River Raisin advance. Harrison, with his horse, became badly mired in the Black Swamp and pulled out with the help of one of General Perkins' privates, with great difficulty.

CAPTIVITY OF BRICKNELL AND SPENCER

Indian captives were many times treated by their captors with great consideration and kindness. At the great council of the tribes held at the site of Defiance in 1792, among the captives brought there were John Bricknell of Pittsburg and Oliver M. Spencer of Cincinnati, mentioned elsewhere. Both men left accounts of their captivity. Bricknell was taken by the Indians in February, 1791, at the age of nine, and was adopted by a Delaware brave named Whingy Pooshis, and lived with the family four years. In his narrative he speaks of his kindly treatment and consideration. Their cruel treatment of their enemies in war seems but the acting out of the precepts, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blood for blood." Young Bricknell was trained to hunt and much of his time was out on hunting expeditions. These were generally to the streams of the Maumee in summer, but in winter extended to the Scioto, the Hocking and Licking rivers. During his four years' sojourn here, two very important events occurred—St. Clair's defeat, in 1791, and Wayne's victory, August 20, 1794.

The winter after Wayne's victory was spent by the Indians at the mouth of Swan Creek—Toledo. Of this Bricknell says: "We were entirely dependent upon the British, and they did not half supply us. The starving and sickly condition of the Indians made them very impatient and they became exasperated at the British. It was finally concluded to send a flag to Fort Defiance in order to make a treaty with the Americans. This was successful. Our men found the Americans ready to treat, and they

agreed upon an exchange of prisoners. I saw nine white prisoners exchanged for nine Indians. I was left, there being no Indian to give for me. Patton, Johnston, Sloan and Mrs. Baker were four of the nine; the names of the others I do not recollect.

"On the breaking-up of spring we all went to Fort Defiance, and arriving on the shore opposite, we saluted the fort with a round of rifles, and they shot a cannon thirteen times. We then encamped on the spot. On the same day Whingy Pooshis told me I must go over to the fort. The children hung around me crying, and asked me if I was going to leave them. I told them I did not know. When we got over to the fort and were seated with the officers, Whingy Pooshis told me to stand up, which I did. He then arose and addressed me in about these words: 'My son, these are men the same color with yourself, and some of your kin may be here, or they may be a great way off. You have lived a long time with us. I call on you to say if I have not been a father to you; if I have not used you as a father would a son?' I said, 'You have used me as well as a father could use a son.' He said, 'I am glad you say so. You have lived long with me; you have hunted for me; but your treaty says you must be free. If you choose to go with people of your own color I have no right to say a word; but if you choose to stay with me your people have no right to speak. Now reflect on it and take your choice and tell us as soon as you make up your mind.' I was silent for a few minutes, in which time I seemed to think of most everything. I thought of the children I had just left crying; I thought of the Indians I was attached to, and I thought of my people whom I remembered; and this latter thought predominated, and I said, 'I will go with my kin.' The old man then said, 'I have raised you. I have learned you to hunt; you are a good hunter. You have been better to me than my own sons. I am now getting old and I cannot hunt. I thought you would be a support to my old age. I leaned on you as on a staff. Now it is broken—you are going to leave me and I have no right to say a word, but I am ruined.' He then sank back in tears to his seat. I heartily joined him in his tears, parted with him, and have never seen or heard of him since." On his return from his captivity Bricknell settled in Columbus, and became one of its most esteemed citizens.

Spencer was eleven years old when taken by two Indians in 1792, while wandering near his home. One, a Shawnee, transferred his rights to his companion White Loon, the son of a Mohawk chief. Upon their arrival at the confluence of the

Auglaize and the Maumee, after disposing of their furs to a British Indian trader, they crossed over to a small bark cabin near its banks, and directly opposite the point, and, leaving him in charge of its occupant—an old widow, the mother-in-law of White Loon—departed for their homes, a Shawnee village, on the river about one mile below.

Cooh-coo-che, the widow in whose charge young Spencer had been left, was a princess of the Iroquois tribe. She was a priestess, to whom the Indians applied before going on any important war expedition. She was esteemed a great medicine-woman.

Spencer described the settlement as follows: "On this high ground (later the site of Fort Defiance, erected by General Wayne in 1794), extending from the Maumee a quarter of a mile up the Auglaize, about two hundred yards in width, was an open space, on the west and south of which were oak woods, with hazel undergrowth. Within this opening, a few hundred yards above the point, on the steep high bank of the Auglaize, were five or six cabins and log houses inhabited principally by Indian traders. The most northerly, a large hewed log house, divided below into three apartments, was occupied as a warehouse, store and dwelling by George Ironside, the most wealthy and influential of the traders on the point. Next to his were the houses of Pirault (Pero), a French baker, and M'Kenzie, a Scot, who, in addition to merchandising, followed the occupation of a silversmith, exchanging with the Indians his brooches, ear-drops, and other silver ornaments, at an enormous profit, for skins and furs. Still farther up were several other families of French and English; and two American prisoners, Henry Ball, a soldier taken at St. Clair's defeat, and his wife, Polly Meadows, captured at the same time, were allowed to live here, and by labor to pay their masters the price of their ransom; he by boating to the rapids of the Maumee, and she by washing and sewing. Fronting the house of Ironside, and about fifty yards from the bank, was a small stockade enclosing two hewed log houses, one of which was occupied by James Girty (brother of Simon), the other, occasionally, by M'Kee and Elliott, British Indian Agents, living at Detroit. From this station I had a fine view of the large village more than a mile south, on the east side of the Auglaize, of Blue Jacket's town, and of the Maumee River for several miles below, and of the extensive prairie covered with corn, directly opposite, and forming together a very handsome landscape."

As Howe says, Young Spencer was redeemed from captivity on the last day of February, 1793, and through the solicitation of Washington to the governor of Canada, the latter instructed Colonel Elliott, the Indian agent, to interpose for his release. He was taken down the Maumee in an open pirogue, thence paddled in a canoe by two squaws along the shore of Lake Erie to Detroit. His route thence was by Lake Erie in a vessel to Erie, Pa., thence to Forts Chippewa and Niagara, across New York State, then mostly a wilderness, to Albany, down the Hudson to New York city, thence through Pennsylvania to Cincinnati. The distance was 2,000 miles, and such the difficulties to be overcome that two years were consumed in the journey; but for the protecting auspices of those highest in authority it could not have been accomplished at all. Young Spencer became a Methodist minister, and reared a family of the highest respectability; one son became postmaster of Cincinnati about 1850, another a judge of its superior court.

A STORY OF THE MAUMEE

Here is another story concerning the life and adventures of old settlers in the Maumee and Sandusky region.

In the spring of 1810, Jacob Woodruff left Griersburgh (now Darlington), Pennsylvania, for Ohio, accompanied by his wife and six children, of whom Nancy (sixteen years of age), was the eldest. He stopped first in what is now Summit County; the next year went to Cleveland, and to the mouth of Black River (then in Huron, now in Lorain County), where he put up a cabin. Cleveland then was in its beginning, with one store, that of Nathan Perry, and a small tavern. At Black River, John S. Reed had a small trading post, beside whom was Jonathan Seeley—the three families constituting the entire white population of that locality, with plenty of Indians, whose behavior depended upon the quantity of whiskey obtained at the trading post. In the summer of 1811, Mr. Woodruff went to the mouth of Vermillion River, where was the single family of a Mr. Sturgeon, who kept a ferry. In the fall of 1811, Nancy Woodruff accompanied a family named Young, who were removing from Cleveland to Cold Creek (now Castalia, Erie County), the passage being made in the sloop *Sallie*, Capt. Abijah Baker, stopping where Venice (on Sandusky Bay) was located some years thereafter, Sandusky then being called the "Ogontz Place," the town plat not being made for some six years thereafter. At Cold Creek, then,

were Maj. Frederick Falley, and Mr. Snow (who was subsequently killed by the Indians, and whose daughter Eletta was taken captive at the same time). In December, 1811, Miss Woodruff was married to Capt. Abijah Baker, the captain of the *Sallie*. The same winter the young couple moved to Huron River, as also did the Woodruff family, when they put up log houses on the river below the Abbott place (afterwards the county seat of Huron County). In June, 1812 (war with England, meantime, having been declared), Captain Baker set sail from the Huron River for the foot of the Maumee Rapids (old Fort Miami), where he expected a load of General Hull's army baggage for Detroit, his wife accompanying him. As they entered the Maumee, its banks seemed alive with noisy Indians. Darkness overtook them when near the mouth of Swan Creek, where they anchored for the night. With them was John Laylin (of Norwalk, Ohio). They landed and examined Fort Industry on the bluff near the mouth of Swan Creek. A small schooner met them on its way from the Foot of the Rapids with the army baggage which Captain Baker was expecting for his vessel. His disappointment was relieved, however, when he subsequently learned that the loaded schooner was captured by the British. On the vessel was Doctor Reynolds, a surgeon of General Hull's army, who afterwards was killed at Detroit. Captain Baker continued his way up the Maumee to the Foot of the Rapids, where he obtained a cargo of flour (probably belonging to an army contractor), for Erie (Pennsylvania), whence the voyage was made, when they returned to the Huron River, in time to participate in the historical flight of the settlers of that section to the south, upon hearing of Hull's surrender and the probable approach of the British and Indians. The Woodruffs stopped at Mount Vernon, but Captain Baker and wife, on two horses, returned to Pennsylvania. He enlisted in the army and died at Williamsport, that state, in 1813. Mrs. Baker soon returned to Ohio with an infant son, whose name was Abijah Woodruff Baker, and who in after years came to be extensively known as a printer and publisher, having started many newspapers in Ohio and elsewhere. He lost his life in the War with Mexico. In 1818 Mrs. Baker was married to T. K. Rudulph, in Knox County, and soon was again a widow, with another son, J. R. Rudulph, and a daughter, afterwards Mrs. George Williams. In 1831 she again married, Thomas Morrell being her third husband, who died in 1848, when Mrs. Morrell came to Wood County, to make her home with her son,

J. R. Rudulph, and daughter, Mrs. Williams. She died at Bowling Green, December 7, 1878.

FURTHER HISTORICAL NOTES

James Thomas was an early adventurer from York State who arrived at Maumee April 19, 1817, after traveling mostly on foot for fifteen days. At that time there were no improved roads between Buffalo and the Maumee River, nor a road of any sort for much of that distance. Cleveland was then a very small village; there was a tavern at Elyria; a small settlement at Florence Corners, Huron (now Erie) County; a few houses at the county seat, below Milan (Norwalk); a few settlers at Lower Sandusky; one house between that place and the Maumee River, consisting of a log shanty on "Carryin' " (Portage) River, which furnished shelter for a Frenchman on his trips as mail carrier on foot, guided by blazed trees. Mr. Thomas remained at Maumee for three years.

FROM WAGGONER'S HISTORY

The Ohio and Michigan Register and Emigrant's Guide, was the title of a monthly periodical, started by the late Jesup W. Scott, at Florence, Huron (now Erie) County, in 1831. As indicated by its title, it was designed chiefly as a medium for communicating information in regard to the condition and advantages of Northern Ohio and Michigan for settlement by eastern people. In his introductory article, the editor said:

"We enter upon the performance of our task with much pleasure, because the subject which will occupy the most prominent portion of this journal, is one to which we have directed much of our attention, and because we believe that, properly conducted, our sheet will be of great service to this whole section of country, and to the thousands of individuals at the East, to whom a correct knowledge of the western country will be communicated."

A correspondent of that paper ("D. B.") writing from Perrysburg, in 1832, said that town had an indifferent courthouse, two taverns, one store, and forty or fifty dwellings and shops. Land could be had in the neighborhood at from $1.25 to $10.00 per acre. The outlet of the Miami and Erie Canal was then supposed to lie between Perrysburg and Maumee City, the towns below

those points then being understood as "probably belonging to Michigan." Of the locality of the present City of Toledo, the correspondent said:

"The new town, 'Vistula,' just being born, and mentioned in your last, makes a great noise, and attracts much attention from the numerous immigrants who are seeking the most eligible site for a town on the Maumee. A considerable number of lots, according to the information obtained from Maj. B. F. Stickney, one of the proprietors, had been sold in the course of the spring and summer, and improvements of a permanent character and on a large scale engaged to be made. This nascent village is handsomely situated on the left bank of the Maumee River, about three miles from its mouth, and immediately below the site of Port Lawrence. These places will probably some day grow together and become one, provided my opinion shall turn out to be correct, that the great town of the Maumee shall be situated there."

THE STORY OF MATTHEW BRAYTON

"Ugh, me no pale face," contemptuously exclaimed a lithe warrior in the most dignified accents of the Copperhead tongue, as he faced a sharp-eyed white man at a Hudson Bay trading post, at the same time heaving the ashes from a square, flint pipe it had taken him months to carve. He toyed with his tomahawk while his thoughts drifted westward to his pretty squaw, Tefronia, the tame deer, and his laughing daughter, Tululee.

"Well, you're no Indian," exclaimed the trader in French as he turned on his heel and strode away.

The warrior stood looking after him a moment, then grunted at Nawah, the wolf dog that had raised its head to lick his hand. His past had been a turmoil. What of his birth? Having disposed of his skins he traveled into the land of the Copperheads and to the big chief, Owashkahkenaw, and asked, "O mighty chief, father of Tefronia, who am I?"

The chief replied, "My son, you are Owashkahne and you stay with Tefronia."

The sub-chiefs were called. The warrior was seized and bound to a log and into his breast were burned the tatoo marks of the Copperheads.

"Go hunt and fight and ask me no more," commanded Chief Owashkahkenaw.

Memory could not take the brave warrior back to the time, nearly a third of a century before, when that portion of Wyandot County situated southeast of the Black Swamp was but sparsely settled and when the smoke from the log hut arose within sight of the Indian wigwam and the races were apparently at peace.

In the neighborhood of the junction of the Sandusky River and Tymochtee Creek a portion of the once powerful tribe of Wyandots still resided in 1825. From their camp an Indian trail led through the Black Swamp to Perrysburg, Wood County, thence across the Maumee and along Lake Erie to Detroit. Many of the Ohio Indians had sided with the British in the War of 1812. They followed this trail and crossed into Canada annually to get presents of guns, amunition and blankets. The Canadian Indians, in turn, frequently visited their Ohio brethren and thus the trail was often traversed.

Along the Tymochtee was the cabin of Elijah Brayton. He and his good wife were conquering the wilderness and rearing a family of six children.

On September 20, 1825, William Brayton, an elder son, and his little brother, Matthew, then about seven and a half years of age, set out to find some lost cattle while their father was on a trip to Chillicothe to get millstones. Matthew, tiring was left to go to the cabin of a neighbor. Toward evening William returned from the search for the cattle to learn that his little brother had never reached the neighbor's cabin. A long and fruitless search was conducted for the missing boy by the handful of whites in the neighborhood. His footsteps led to the Indian trail, where they disappeared. Years dragged slowly by and the mother died of a broken heart.

The lad had been stolen by Canadian Indians to avenge a wrong they held the whites had done. For a long time they kept him in hiding in Canada and then he was sold to a party of Pottawottomies, who took him over into Michigan. The price of the sale was three and a half gallons of whiskey. Six months later he was traded to the Paw Paws for five and a half gallons of fire water. All the time he was being trained as an Indian. His next transfer was to the Winnebagoes, in Illinois, his value having increased with his age to seven and a half gallons of snakyeye. Soon he went to the Wisconsin Chippewas for nine and a half gallons of whiskey.

In time Matthew became a husky young warrior of the Sioux.

His wigwam was near seven shanties of French and Dutch, the present site of St. Paul. The chief of the Sioux appeared before the lad.

"Come, we go to fight the Snakes."

The trail led westward and on the eve of the battle the Indians held the dog dance, peculiar only to the Sioux. But it did not give them victory and the Snakes seized Matthew and proceeded west of the Rocky Mountains. They entered California to fight the Diggers. Matthew found that this tribe subsisted only on roots dug by the women, the original American flappers, who always appeared with bobbed hair and painted faces. Finally the Diggers and whites combined to drive out the Snakes who retreated into Utah and camped in a vast wilderness where not a white man lived, near the present site of Salt Lake City.

Growing restless, they migrated into Oregon and came in contact with the Blackfeet, the most cruel redskins in existence, who made long trips to war on other tribes.

For protection the Snakes allied themselves with the Flatheads and the union was finally extended to the Utahs and Crees. Matthew distinguished himself for bravery among the tribes and was often wounded by tomahawk and arrow. The Snakes finally moved into the land of the Copperheads, who roamed the vast territory extending to the land of the Eskimo. The tribe united in peace with the Copperheads, ruled over by Chief Owashkahkenaw. Matthew believing himself to be an Indian took the mighty chief's youngest daughter as his wife. The Copperheads married for life.

He was then a sturdy warrior, dressed as befitted a Copperhead, with leggings to the knees and a tunic of furs, the naked body between the leggings and tunic and above the furs, daubed with oil and paint. Very strict rules governed the allied tribes.

Matthew became an expert hunter traversing as far north as a three weeks' journey from the Arctic Ocean. He fed his elk on bark and moss. Breaking these elk, used as beasts of burden by the Copperheads was much more strenuous than "broncho busting" in later years. A captured elk was tethered by thongs to its antlers to two trees. Other thongs bound its hind feet to the trees. Matthew, the lithe, would mount its back with a lump of salt in his hand, wrap his arms about the horns and his feet about the stomach of the animal. Four Indians cut all thongs at the same time and the elk dashed away, pursuing a headling course for miles, the branching horns preventing it from dashing among

the trees in such a manner as to hurt the rider. When the elk tired of its useless rampage, Matthew stole his hand down to its nose and held the salt there until the animal licked it. After that the elk was docile. Matthew hunted buffalo, bears and wolves and traded with the Russians.

And this was the "Indian" into whose mind the trader put doubt. After a time his tribe moved south again, conquered the Blackfeet and burned all captives at the stake. The old chief seeing his tribe victorious and realizing that he soon would be called to the happy hunting grounds, summoned Matthew before a council of chiefs and revealed the story of his life. Matthew was given permission to go and search for his people if he returned within a year.

On April 16, 1859 Matthew reached St. Paul, accompanied by some of the tribe. From there he set out for Chicago accompanied only by his faithful dog, Nawah. He became ill before he reached that city and sank to the earth.

When he awakened he was in a hospital, his long hair cut close, the paint scrubbed from his body; he was wearing white men's clothes.

Soon afterward his search began in earnest. He walked through Michigan to Canada, then to Detroit, Toledo, Fremont, Cleveland and into Pennsylvania. Finally he reached New York. His story got into the Ohio papers and one of them was received at the Brayton home.

William Brayton, who had never forgiven himself for the loss of his brother, followed the trail into New York and came upon Matthew in the cabin of a Mr. Smith. When a scar for which he had been told to look on Matthew's head, was found, William's emotion may well be imagined. Hundreds of neighbors collected for the reunion when Matthew was brought back to his father. With trembling hands the father, aged seventy-three, searched for the scar on the head of the stranger. Then he tottered, and with a gush of tears, with the stream of affection that had been pent up for a third of a century, he embraced Matthew as his lost son.

Back in the land of the Copperheads laughing Tululee was never to see her father again. There arose a dispute as to whether he was really the lost Matthew Brayton, and it was claimed as proven that he was William Todd stolen in Michigan.

Be that as it may, the terrible Civil war was at hand, Matthew or William answered the call of his country, marched away with his dog Nawah, and served valiantly until mortally wounded at Chickamauga. [Contributed by Charles U. Read.]

A PIONEER WEDDING

It was a little crossroads store in southern Wyandot County, near the place where prairie ended and forest began. Inside, a flickering candle cast weird shadows on dingy rough-hewn walls. A man, white-haired and bent, leaning heavily on a cane, inspected homespuns on a low shelf. The aspect was that of sheer gloom.

How different outside, and just across the trail that was called a road. Fairer, softer moonbeams never kissed two lovers than those that bathed with mellow light Jacques Bingham and Margaret Ingram, seated upon a log near a white-chinked cabin. It was a picture of happiness, that evening of August 1, 1849.

"How I have longed for the day," sighed Jacques, lightly caressing the fair hand he held. "Tomorrow you will be my wife, dear Margaret."

"Yes, Jacques," she replied, rubbing his hand against her soft cheek. "I, too, have longed for the morrow."

The heavy oaken door of the store swung open, and the moonlight and the candle light revealed Dancer, the man of light heart and odd jobs, and the best fiddler for miles around. He bowed and doffed his hat, revealing but one little bunch of hair atop his head, a veritable rosette of frizzes.

"Good evening, Major," he greeted the aged man. "Is everything set for the wedding tomorrow?"

The Major had been scowling, but now he smiled. It was at thoughts of his niece, Margaret, whom the Major and his good wife had tenderly reared and who was a blossom of beauty and purity.

"Come in, Dancer, and have a swig. I want you to fiddle for the dance tomorrow night. It's to be at Jacques' new cabin. He's a good boy."

The Major was proud of Jacques, and well he might be, for Jacques came of the best stock and was a willing toiler. His father, now snow-haired as the Major, but straight as a sapling, was always respectfully referred to as the Hon. Francis Bingham. He had a pretentious home for that early day, and it was nearer the village of Marion.

At length the candle flame sputtered and died. Dancer departed with a merry "Good night," to the lovers. Margaret coyly let Jacques kiss her hand, then dutifully followed the Major into the cabin.

The wedding day dawned fair. Jacques was up with the dawning. Carefully he greased a pair of new leather boots and whistled as he attired himself for the big event, which was to take place at the Major's cabin at noon.

Margaret, too, was up with the sun, singing like a lark.

"I'm going to be wedded today," she beamed, poking Matthew in the ribs with a playful finger. Matthew was the sorrow of the Major's household. He wasn't exactly a half-wit, but there was something lacking in his mental makeup. It didn't keep him, though, from loving Margaret.

"All right, I'll be there to kiss the bride," he grinned.

And then came the Major's wife, to discuss with Margaret the intricacies of the calico wedding gown.

It was early when the parson, coming out from Marion, tethered his horse near the Major's store. He had stopped enroute to inspect Jacques' cozy cabin, the nest where the young athlete was to take his bride. He was profuse in his praises.

Then the Hon. Francis jogged up with his son the bridegroom. While Jacques went at once to the cabin, Francis stopped at the store.

The Major in his enthusiasm had been making too frequent trips to a jug, and liquor always soiled his temper. He had just recalled that Francis was in his debt. It made him angry. Did Francis think that because he was giving up his niece he would cancel the bill at the same time? Not much. Francis would pay or there would be no ceremony.

At that instant Francis walked in and extended his hand with a smile.

"Not so fast, not so fast, my friend," quoth the Major. "Do you realize that you owe me an account here, sir?"

"Oh, let's forget about it now. This is a day for events more important than that," laughed Francis, attempting to be congenial.

"Forget, nothing," screamed the Major, stamping the floor with his cane, as his face flushed with sudden anger. "I pay my debts. You pay yours. If you don't pay I'll whale you until your own son won't know you." A gnarled cane was brandished in the air.

Francis' cheeks flushed and he shoved his fist in the Major's face. "All right, let's have the account. If your niece wasn't world's better than you I'd never let my son marry her."

The Major could neither read nor write and had a crude way of keeping accounts. He reached into an old boot and pulled out a clapboard shingle. On it were some odd charcoal markings. A long mark with several prongs was identified as a grain cradle. More signs were deciphered as a pair of boots, two drinks and a bottle of paregoric. The temper of both men had begun to cool when the Major reached a large, symetrically drawn circle and told Francis it was a cheese.

"Cheese, cheese, I never had a cheese in my house. I wouldn't eat cheese if I lived in a cheese factory. Trying to swindle me, are you? Well, you can't do it this time."

The two men continued to glare and cast contemptuous epithets at one another for several minutes, until Matthew, a strapping man of thirty years, appeared in the doorway and called, "Come on, Pa, they're all ready to be married."

"Married? Do you suppose I'd let Margaret marry the son of this crook? Not by a jugful." The Major stormed out of the store, followed by fuming Francis.

Such a tirade as broke loose upon the happy scene in the little cabin. The minister held shut his ears and expostulated to no avail. Margaret burst into tears and sought comfort in her mother's arms. Jacques clenched his fists and gritted his teeth, with great difficulty keeping from laying hands on the Major.

At length they were able to determine from the sputterings of the enraged men what it was all about.

Matthew strode up to his father, and shaking him roughly hissed, "Look here, Pa, if you don't let Margaret get married I'll go out and kill myself."

"Well, get out, it would be a good riddance," cried the Major, not knowing what he said. Matthew disappeared in the direction of the stable. Next, the Major strode up to Jacques, and pointing his finger at the door, screeched, "You get out, too, and take your old scalawag of a father along."

"Let's go over and look at the account," suggested Jacques, who by a great effort had calmed himself.

"All right, come along," yelled the Major, "Maybe you'll be honest enough to settle it, if your father isn't."

Margaret, drying her tears, went along, too. She studied the designs on the shingle, for she was familiar with the Major's

bookkeeping. It appeared a hopeless task. The parson came timidly in, looked over the board and shook his head.

"But you'll marry me in spite of your uncle, won't you, Margaret?" Jacques implored.

Margaret did not know what it was to disobey. "Oh, Jacques, I love you but—" and she began sobbing again. With an effort she stifled her emotion. She had an inspiration.

"Uncle, maybe there is a mistake. Calm yourself and think. Isn't there anything else that circle might be instead of a cheese?"

"I know my business—" began the Major, then stopped with a quick intake of breath and grabbed up the shingle. His hands trembled. Beads of perspiration gathered on his brow. He gasped in a broken, sobered tone, "My God, Honorable Francis, what a fool I've made of myself. That's a grindstone and I forgot to put a dot in the center for the hole."

"So it is," exclaimed the enlightened Francis. "Why didn't I think of it?" He drew some currency from his pocket. "Now, Major, what is my whole bill?"

"Not a gol-blasted penny. Why, I've offered you nothing but insults today. That darn liquor got the better of me, I guess. Come on Margaret and Jacques, let's have the knot tied."

Someone thought of Matthew and there was a rush for the stable. But he was only sulking inside. "I just couldn't kill myself, Margaret," he whispered, while tears stole down his bronzed cheeks.

And so Margaret and Jacques became man and wife, and Dancer played his fiddle as never before in a cozy new cabin that night.—[Contributed by Charles U. Read.]

CHAPTER LVII

THE STORY OF RALPH KEELER

FROM VAGABONDIA TO LITERARY PROMINENCE—HIS BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD—A RUNAWAY ORPHAN—CABIN BOY ON LAKE ERIE—A "NEGRO MINSTREL" ON THE MISSISSIPPI—IN SCHOOL AT CAPE GIRARDEAU AND KENYON—CLERK IN TOLEDO POST OFFICE—TOURS EUROPE ON FOOT AND ATTENDS OLD HEIDELBERG—MEETS MARK TWAIN IN CALIFORNIA—ON THE LECTURE PLATFORM—GAINS LITERARY RECOGNITION—ON EDITORIAL STAFF OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE—BANQUETS BOSTON LITERARY GROUP—REPRESENTS NEW YORK TRIBUNE IN CUBA DURING SPANISH REVOLUTION—HIS MYSTERIOUS DISAPPEARANCE — PROBABLY MURDERED AT SEA — AMERICAN-SPANISH CORRESPONDENCE OVER THE TRAGEDY—TRIBUTES TO KEELER'S MEMORY.

In a picturesque situation and on the highest elevation of a beautiful cemetery which edges the village of Weston, Wood County, Ohio, and overlooking toward the rising sun what was once a broad expanse of prairie, there stands a modest white marble shaft bearing this inscription:

Our Brother
Ralph Keeler
Born August 28, 1840; Supposed to have been lost
at sea December 14, 1873.

Thereby is told in briefest form the story of a remarkable character. As the place of his birth was upon the very spot where was raised this tribute to his memory, and by reason of the fact that in following Ralph Keeler's wonderful career it comes back to Toledo and Northwestern Ohio time and again; because he became nationally known, and again because his tragic end brought about much international discussion and led to serious complications between the United States and Spain, a detailed story of Keeler's life is pertinent to this publication.

When Coleman I. Keeler, an ambitious Easterner, came to the Maumee Valley where he could broaden his life's conditions, he located his family where is now Toledo. Only three white settlers had preceded him within the present city limits. He held the title of Colonel and had previously won honors in the War of 1812, in the valley he selected for his abiding place.

One of his sons, Ralph Olmstead, inheriting the element of thrift from his father, and imbibing the spirit of western expansion, after exploring the territory south of the Great Lakes, about 1832 selected 400 acres back from the Maumee River settlements as his choice for develop-

ment. A part of the land was prairie with deep, rich soil, and another portion was higher, forest ridgelands, an advantage in wet seasons and in times of freshets. A cooling spring burst from the foot of the ridge, its waters soon joining a sluggish stream that wound its way through the reeds and high prairie grass and was finally lost in the wood beyond. Keeler became a stock raiser and grazed his cattle herds upon this prairie which thereafter bore his name.

The home he built on the high rise of ground overlooking the prairie, was for those days a pretentious one. With a most companionable wife, prosperity followed and there entered into their lives five children, two sons and three daughters. Then suddenly there came a great change. The father and a little daughter died, and the mother soon followed in her grief while at Maumee. The family ties thus broken, the elder son and daughters sought consolation in other scenes, leaving the little boy Ralph, of this narrative, the youngest of the family, alone at home in the hands of a guardian. An orphan bereft of the love of a devoted mother and a dutiful father and the companionship of his kin, no affection which he so longed for remained, and he became disconsolate and unbearably lonesome.

One morning as he stood at the threshold of his once happy abode, looking sadly over the prairie, he suddenly resolved upon action. He made his way northward almost blindly through the forest bordered, winding path which stretched toward the Maumee River and the old villages of Perrysburg and Maumee and then Toledoward. There are no records to tell just the way he went or that reveal his experiences immediately after reaching Toledo. However, he had many prominent relatives in that then young city, and the time had not arrived when he shunned them as became necessary to his purpose later.

Coming down the years, in a volume published by William Dean Howells, we read of a banquet or luncheon given in Boston to the literary celebrities of that period, Samuel M. Clemens (Mark Twain), Thomas Bailey Aldrich, J. T. Fields and Bret Harte, and including W. D. Howells himself, by another member of this noted literary group. The host was none other than Ralph Keeler, the boy who had fled from his home on his father's Wood County purchase, and upon which today stands a large portion of the mentioned Village of Weston.

Again one day after Weston had a railroad, a mysterious stranger, immaculately garbed and carrying a cane, and with the air of a French count, dropped off a two-a-day passenger train. He circulated among the citizens of the then embryo village, wandered northward from the station and over the prairie, visited the spring at the foot of the hill, wandered along the edge of the sandy ridge and the bordering wood, and surveyed with solemnity the site of the old homestead the boy of this narrative had deserted. When he left as mysteriously as he came, the circumstance for days was the talk of the villagers. This stranger was none other than Ralph Keeler, and the story of his visit is told in a book he wrote, entitled "Vagabond Adventures."

During the Spanish Revolution and the Cuban Insurrection which followed in consequence, in 1873, a representative of the *New York Tribune*

went to Cuba, shipping from an American port, to investigate the conditions there for that paper. While on his duties as correspondent he boarded a Spanish vessel going from Havana to Manzanillo, never landed at the place of his destination or elsewhere, was never seen or heard of again, and the particulars of his fate to this day remain a mystery. This journalist was also Ralph Keeler, who gave the Boston luncheon and who mysteriously visited the place of his birth he had deserted as a fatherless, motherless boy.

During the comparatively short number of years between his flight and his disappearance, in tracing his career, Keeler is found in school at Buffalo at the age of eleven years, where he was placed by relatives; ran away again to ship as a cabin boy on Lake Erie; made Toledo his home while a newsboy on the railroad; spent three years as a "negro minstrel" on the Mississippi River and larger tributaries; was in school at St. Vincent's College, Cape Girardeau, Mo., under Father Ryan; then three years or over in school at Kenyon College, Gambier (1857-1861); a clerk in the Toledo post office; a tour abroad and a tramp on foot over Europe after matriculating at German Heidelberg; wrote for world famed magazines; returned to America and engaged in newspaper work in California and the while on the lecture platform; then east again where he mixed with the American literary celebrities in the atmosphere of Boston, and finally to Cuba and the bottom of the sea.

The details of Keeler's life from the time he left the home of his birth until his disappearance, in many respects is not outrivaled in human interest in true story or in fiction.

In his "My Mark Twain," W. D. Howells said there was a gap in his recollection about Clemens of about two years; that the break in the gap came when he met him at a luncheon in Boston, "given us by that genius of hospitality, the tragically destined Ralph Keeler."

Continuing, Howells said:

"There was at the luncheon T. B. Aldrich, there was J. T. Fields, much the oldest of our company, who had just freed himself from the trammel of the publishing business and was feeling his freedom in every word; there was Bret Harte, who had lately come East in his princely progress from California; and there was Clemens. Nothing remains to me of the happy time but a sense of idle and aimless and joyful talk-play, beginning and ending nowhere, of eager laughter, of countless good stories from Fields, of a heat-lightning shimmer of wit from Aldrich, of an occasional concentration of our joint mockeries upon our host, who took it gladly; and amid the discourse, so little improving, but so full of good fellowship. Bret Harte's fleering dramatization of Clemens' mental attitude toward a symposium of Boston Illuminates. 'Why, fellows,' he spluttered, 'this is the dream of Mark's life,' and I remember the glance from under Clemens' feathery eyebrows, which betrayed his enjoyment of the fun. We had beefsteak with mushrooms, which in recognition of their shape, Aldrich hailed as shoepegs, and to crown the feast we had an omelette souffle, which the waiter brought in as flat as a pancake, amid our shouts of congratulations to Keeler, who took them with appreciative

submission. It was in every way what a Boston literary lunch ought not to have been in the popular ideal which Harte attributed to Clemens."

In another place in speaking of Keeler, Howells wrote:

"His letters from Cuba to the (New York) *Tribune* hastily and interruptedly written, fairly rose from the level of journalism to that of literature."

Keeler is also mentioned in Ferris Greenlet's "Life of Thomas Bailey Aldrich;" by Albert Bigelow Paine in his biography of Mark Train, and by several other literary celebrities.

Reading of Keeler's intimate association with Howells and Clemens and J. T. Fields and Thomas Bailey Aldrich and Bret Harte, it is found that Keeler, in his day, wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Harper's Magazine* and foreign publications, was art editor for a time of *Every Saturday,* which was early under the guidance of Fields and Osgood, and was the author of two books, "Gloverson and His Silent Partners" and "Vagabond Adventures."

"Vagabond Adventures," which Keeler wrote in 1870, is really a true story of his own life from his birth to the age of about twenty-two. Here are quotations from the opening chapter:

"I ran away from home at the mature age of about eight, and have not been back, to stay over night, from that remote period to this present writing. * * * It was not a very attractive hearth that I ran from. My father and mother were dead and no brothers or sisters of mine were there—nothing at all like affection. * * * It was but a week ago that I rode over this broad Ohio prairie where I was born [on his Weston visit—Editor] and passed by the pleasant farms, which with the prairie, were the patrimony left me—or should I say to the kind gentleman who administered them for me. That property has never been any care to me. It was so thoroughly administered during my minority, that I have never since had the trouble of even collecting rents. * * * Now there may be people of a recklessly imaginative type, who suppose it would excite a thrill to ride thus over a great prairie which bears one's own name, but no more tangible emolument for the quondam heir, * * * and pass through a town which was once sold by one's own administrator for fifty-two dollars. But I am free to confess that I have enjoyed these honors within the past week, and have carried nothing away with me, in the matter of gratification or sentiment, but a dash of sadness which has settled about the wreck and ruin of the old homestead. Nothing seems to thrive there but the cold spring at the foot of the sand-ridge, and the poplar and weeping willow which grew above it. These had and have for me a plaintive undertone to the rhythm of their rustling leaves, which I do not hope to make others hear. The willow was the whip with which a friend rode twenty miles from the county-seat (Perrysburg) to visit my father, in the early times, and it was stuck in the ground there, on the margin of the spring, by my little sister; the poplar was planted beside it by my mother. They are both tall trees now and a sprig from one of them has been growing a long time over the graves of father and mother and sister."

Quoting further from his book, Keeler wrote: "At an early stage of

my orphanage I was introduced to a species of in transitu life, being passed from one guardian to another very much as wood is loaded upon Mississippi steamboats. It was indeed a rather rough passage of short stages—each, however, more remote from my Ohio birthplace, and I have always thought there would not have been so many figurative slivers left behind in the hands through which I passed, if the journey had not been so rough and headlong. Finally, at the age of about nine years, I was shipped away to Buffalo, N. Y., to be placed at school. I was sent thither down Lake Erie from Toledo, on board the old steamer *Indiana*, Captain Appleby commanding. * * * I think I shall forget everything else before I forget the noble sheet-iron Indian which stood astride of the steamer's solitary smokestack, and bent his bow and pointed his arrow at the lake breezes. A brass band, too, as was the generous custom of those days, was attached to the steamer and discoursed thin, gratuitous music during the voyage. * * * It was the first piece of statuary I ever saw, as that execrable brass band made the first concert I ever heard. And the Apollo Belvedere at Rome, or Strauss' own orchestra, led by himself at Vienna, has never since excited in me such honest thrills of admiration. * * * The lake was remarkably calm, and the entire passage to Buffalo, was for years one of my pleasant memories. On that first voyage, undoubtedly was engendered the early love of steamboats, the fruit of which ripened afterwards into the adventures I am about to relate."

After Ralph Keeler was placed in school at Buffalo by his relatives, and was about eleven years old, he found his surroundings as unbearable as at his old Weston birthplace.

Escaping from the house in Buffalo in the spring night, the little fellow had not the presence of mind to take anything with him but what he carried on his back. By prearrangement with one of his schoolmates, he was smuggled into the stable of the chum's father. Here for three days he lodged and slept in the darkness of the haymow, and was fed with such sustenance as his friend could surreptitiously supply him.

Then one evening, at the invitation of his benefactor, they attended the old Buffalo Eagle Street Theater. It was evidently a minstrel performance, and the event as will appear later, had a great bearing on his future career. The next day, after having pressed upon him five copper cents with which to make his way in the world, the vagabond and his chum bade each other farewell. After persistently applying along the docks for "work" he was finally permitted to board a steamer called the *Diamond* and shipped for Cleveland, then Conneaut, where the steward lived, and whose matronly wife met the boat at the dock and took the lad home with her in a one-horse chaise.

But let Keeler be quoted again:

"Near the end of a quiet street we alighted at a little frame house all embowered in peach and plum trees. This was the steward's home, and soon was as much mine as if I had held the title deed. * * * When tired of the house and little yard, I amused myself in strolling alone to the lake and taking amateur voyages in the fishermen's boats, without their permission, and in fishing and hunting clams along Conneaut

Creek. My favorite bathing place was beneath the high bridge of the Lake Shore Railroad."

Although almost "killed with kindness" by the steward's good wife who was childless, and after spending on land two of his happiest weeks since the death of his parents, the restless boy longed for "sea life" and shipped again on the *Diamond*, making Buffalo and other ports and finally Toledo, where he knew he had relatives and by reason of which fact he scarcely went ashore for fear of being apprehended. He shunned Toledo streets for some time until his various guardians evidently lost interest in looking after a youth without property, and the freedom was a great relief to the spirited boy.

Reverting a moment to the steward's wife, Keeler says, "It seems I had taken the place in her childless bosom of that strongest and purest of all affections—the mother's for her offspring. * * * Later in life some great sorrow unhinged her intellect and the insanity took the form of always expecting back the same homeless urchin, unchanged by the years. * * * Until she died, she used to go regularly every afternoon to a friend and ask her about her 'lost boy' as she called me."

After spending some time on the steamer *Diamond*, the good steward who had befriended him, finally concluded that it was his duty to get into communication with Keeler's relatives. The upshot was that the little vagabond at the first opportunity severed his relations with that craft and soon found himself on the old steamer *Baltic*, where he shipped as a cabin boy at $10 per month. The near end of the first month found the *Baltic* and crew at Toledo. The boy looked eagerly forward for his first ten dollars earned by his own hands one morning as the steamer was about to leave her moorings for Detroit. Keeler tells it like this:

"It had been my habit, once a week, to wash my shirt in the pantry and to wait about the kitchen till it dried, with my coat buttoned up to my chin. Now on this same morning I had just issued from the kitchen with my clean shirt in my hand, when the captain told me to do something, I forget what. I assured him I would as soon as I could put my shirt on. He told me to do it right away, at the same time coupling me and my garment blasphemously together, and consigning us, figuratively, to a port where for aught I know, there may be many collectors, but no custom-houses. I gave the captain to understand still more bluntly that I would do nothing till I had made my toilet; and inspired by the memory of former wrongs, as well as a consciousness of prospective opulence, I used to my superior officer other language of a saucy and independent kind. Whereupon, the captain, in sailor phrase, 'tacked' for me and I 'tacked' for the shore. Here then, I demanded my pay, but the enraged commander solemnly averred that he would see me first in that tropical port just alluded to, and then I should never have a cent. * * * Shortly after, the boat pushed off into the stream.

"A sympathizing friend threw me a paper of crackers from the pantry on the upper deck; and as the *Baltic* got under way, there I stood on the Toledo wharf with my paper of crackers in one hand, my shirt in the other, clamoring for my wages. * * * I stood leaning against the splintered pile, which had been one of her hitching posts, and watched

the *Baltic* as she faded slowly out of sight. My courage seemed to fade with her. * * * What were the five coppers in my pocket, to the dollars I had lost, or to the combined capital of my relatives in that very city? The contest was plainly hopeless. For as much as half an hour I considered myself delivered into the hands of my pursuers. Indeed, the dock upon which I was making my mental soliloquy, happened to be but a short distance from the warehouse of an uncle of mine, then a commission merchant and ship-owner in Toledo.

"At last, I took myself despondently to a neighboring shed and donned my shirt, and then, as under some desperate spell, walked straight to my uncle's office. I crossed the threshold and saw him in conversation with some gentlemen. While waiting till he noticed me, I beheld through the office window the little steamer *Arrow*, almost ready to start for Detroit. I knew the *Baltic* was also going to Detroit, and thought that I might possibly get my money if I followed her thither. * * * Instantly, my comprehensive vow to have nothing more to do with my Toledo relatives. * * * Seeing that my uncle had not yet observed me, I turned quickly on my heel and made hastily for the dock of the *Arrow*. I concealed myself on board of her till she was under way, when making my case known to the steward, I was allowed to work my passage in the cabin to Detroit."

"As the *Arrow* was then the fastest boat on the lakes, she passed the *Baltic* off Monroe lighthouse and when the *Baltic* arrived at Detroit, to the astonishment of the captain, there was the vagabond at the dock before him, clamoring again for his money—his shirt was now on his back, he had five copper cents in his pocket and his crackers in his hand. But under the captain's threat of his exposure to the authorities, he fled without his wages. Being loaned a yawl from a sand scow, with which he wished to set foot on a "foreign shore" (Canada) and reaching midstream in the Detroit River, the little adventurer narrowly escaped death by being run down by a steamer named *Niagara*. But the swell caused by the steamer struck the small craft and threw it clear of the wheel, after the bow of the large vessel had just grazed the yawl.

Seeking again for work from the captains of various craft along the Detroit river front, more trouble was at hand. He happened to importune the commander of the steamer *Pacific*, whom it developed had been in the employ of his Toledo uncle and had been discharged. The irate captain threatened to take revenge on the waif by reporting him to the House of Vagrancy. Summary flight was as always his refuge. Then boldly to the old Commercial Hotel and a night's lodging there in the top story among a dozen or more snoring waiters, porters and rustlers. Keeler compared it to a "midsummer night's frog pond," and in a most humorous way described the baritone, the deep bass, the tenor snorers, the "tapering treble" and the "steady crescendo of the chorus." He washed the dishes the following morning on a lumber schooner for his breakfast, his first meal in twenty-four hours, really his first full meal in forty-eight hours.

Getting now and then something to stay his stomach by doing odd jobs on boats along the wharf, a trip on the Michigan Central steamer,

Mayflower, found him again in Buffalo. A ray of sunshine: A voice as if from the clouds called the lad's own name; locating it, there was his old Buffalo school chum who had quartered Keeler in his father's stable. This time the little vagabond was taken to his friend's home, received kindly by the mother of the household, fed sumptuously and lodged. She also provided the vagrant with a full and clean outfit of clothing from head to toe. It was Saturday, and there being no school, the two boys made a merry day of it; however, keeping away from Keeler's former stopping place, when he, too, was in school. He also displayed to his little friend the five copper pennies this chum had given him when he had fled from Buffalo.

Philosophizing that the best thing to be done for the restless boy was to find him employment, the father of the household where he was entertained over the week-end, on Monday morning, by his influence and by the kindness of the then Captain Pheatt of the craft, secured for Keeler the position of "key-boy" on the palatial steamer *Northern Indiana.* For the light duties of caring for the state room keys and attending to the steward's office, the pay was $10 per month. The exclusive privilege of selling books and papers to the passengers was also included. After seven months' service on this "floating palace," every day of which was a joy, when the steamer laid up at Toledo for the winter, young Keeler had accumulated enough money to keep himself handsomely and pay his school expenses. But as he says, "fate in the guise of disappointed affection and a banjo, ordered otherwise." However, from this time on, he was left to his own ways by his relatives and his numerous guardians.

When the fine passenger steamer *Northern Indiana,* Captain Pheatt, laid up at Toledo for the winter young Keeler turned his attention to other affairs.

With his accumulated capital he now embarked upon another adventure, which he relates in a story, "Three Years as a Negro Minstrel," he later wrote for the *Atlantic Monthly.* He had, as stated, attended the old Buffalo Eagle Street Theatre, had seen minstrel shows, and had become fascinated by the old style clog dancers. He now resolved to become an adept himself. He inserted the copper coins given to him by his Buffalo school chum, in the heels of his footgear, and used to practice his art on the deck above Captain Pheatt's stateroom, greatly to the captain's discomfiture.

He bought a banjo and at his Toledo boarding house was so indefatigable in his practice on the idolized instrument that his landlady ordered him to leave. About this time he met two old minstrel men, and his enthusiasm for his new art so took possession of him that he quit school, got a boarding house where he could practice without interruption, and put his whole time to perfecting himself as a banjoist and clog. He organized a band of "Toledo Boy Minstrels" and appointed himself as director.

He spent his capital in purchasing instruments and furniture for rehearsal quarters. The instruments were a tamborine, a triangle, an accordion and three sets of "bones" besides his banjo. Their rooms were above a German saloon, and Keeler says that the keeper lost nearly all

his trade by the continuous uproar that was made by the troupe overhead, the customers one by one seeking quieter places to quench their thirst. The owner of the building tried to eject them, but as they had paid their rent in advance, he was unsuccessful.

The accordion artist could play but one tune from beginning to end, the "Gumtree Canoe." "Finally," continues Keeler, "I spent what was left of my summer's earnings before I could get them to a point that would warrant hope of success for public exhibitions which my minstrels were clamoring for. After long months of fruitless trial, the rent for our rooms becoming due, our furniture and instruments were seized; the landlord turned us out of doors; the German beer-seller crossed himself thankfully; and I was completely ruined, as many a manager before me. I was still so small of stature and yet capable of producing so much noise with the copper on my heels, that, by the wholesale clerks and young bloods about Toledo, I was considered in the light of a prodigy and was made to shuffle my feet at almost all hours and in almost all localities."

Young Keeler attracted the notice at this time of a conductor on the "Michigan, Southern and Indiana Railroad," the old Lake Shore west of Toledo. He procured a position as newsboy on this conductor's run, where he sold books and papers, and lemonade of his own manufacture. He was an independent agent and regulated his own prices. Toledo was his headquarters.

"There were no sleeping cars in those times, and, I believe, no water tanks in the passenger cars," he wrote. "I never filled them if there were. * * * Taking a barrel of water and a pailfull of brown sugar, and a proper amount of a well known acid, I concocted lemonade which I sold through the train at five cents a glass." Here Keeler remarks that he sometimes sold, on a night train, $15 worth of this "vile compound."

Next we find the boy in a fashionable Toledo boarding house. He speaks of a love romance, but gives no particulars. One evening he strolled into what was later known as the "St. Nicholas," where he met the noted minstrel manager of those days, Johnny Booker.

"In the course of a few minutes," he continued, "I was conducted into a private room, where I was made to dance 'Juba' to the tune which the comedian himself gave me by means of his two hands and one foot. My performance it seems was satisfactory, for I was engaged upon the spot. * * * The great Napoleon in the coronation robes, which can be seen any day in the Tuileries, was no prouder or happier than I, when I made my initial bow before the footlights in my Canton flannel knee pants, cheap lace, gold tinsel, cork face and woolly wig. * * * So great indeed was the local pride of the good Toledoans in their 'infant phenomenon,' that after the company had exhibited a week (in Toledo), my name was put up for a benefit. On that day I had the satisfaction of seeing hung across the street (Summit) on a large canvas, a water-color representation of myself with one arm and one leg elevated, in the act of performing 'Juba'."

As the days went by, young Keeler became more proficient and advanced in his art. He speaks of giving a performance in Cleveland and

stopping at the old Weddell House. At Pittsburgh the company was stranded and disbanded. He joined another troupe in which he appeared as "the Scotch girl" and executed the "Highland Fling." Besides being an end man in the second negro part of the performance, he took part in the negro ballet and danced "Lucy Long." Turning up in Cincinnati, he joined Mike Mitchell, who organized the Mitchell minstrels, traveling through some of the neighboring states.

Keeler's final and most successful minstrel venture was with Doctor Spaulding, the veteran manager who had been associated with old Dan Rice, the circus celebrity. Spaulding fitted out "The Floating Palace," a great boat built especially for show purposes, which was towed from place to place by a river steamer called the *James Raymond.* The Palace also boasted of a museum of special attractions. In the Raymond was a concert saloon. There were nearly 100 people in the company when the boats left Cincinnati. They gave performances on the Ohio as far up as Wheeling, and up and down nearly the whole length of the Mississippi, and on smaller streams like the Cumberland and Tennessee.

Finally, Keeler said, "Going up the Mississippi River from Cairo, we passed, one Sunday, the old French town of Cape Girardeau, Mo., and its Roman Catholic college on the river bank. The boys were out on the lawn under the trees, and I became as envious of their lot as I had been before of a man who worked on a steamboat or who danced in the minstrels. I suddenly resolved that I would go to that college. We did not stop at Cape Girardeau till our return down the river, some weeks afterwards. Then I went boldly up and sought an interview with the president of the institution, Father Stephen Vincent Ryan." After the interview, Keeler continued with the Floating Palace to New Orleans. The company then took a regular steamer for Galveston, where they performed two or three weeks with great success. Here he remarks: "Except as a poor lecturer, I have never been on the stage since I left Galveston."

Adhering to his purpose, Keeler ascended the Mississippi as far as Cairo in the steamer *L. M. Kennett.* It was midwinter and the river being frozen over, he reached the college at Cape Girardeau by land. Here for sixteen months he was a student in St. Vincent's College. Father Ryan was later a bishop stationed at Buffalo. Information from Rev. Daniel F. Kernaghan of St. Vincent's, says the records of the school show that Keeler began his studies there February 21, 1856, and left July 1, 1857.

When Keeler was ready to leave, he drew on a deposit he had in a bank in Toledo, and fortunately secured free passage as far as Alton with a company of show people who were his old friends. Here he took railroad passage to Chicago and returned to Toledo. He evidently then hied himself to Kenyon College, Gambier.

The writer of this story was fortunate in getting in touch with Rev. George B. Pratt of the Parish of St. Simons, Chicago, a classmate of Keeler (1864) and who in his eighty-fourth year with his estimable wife, when this was written, was enjoying life to the full. He remembers Keeler vividly, for the latter's life was spectacular even in college.

"I was quite intimate with young Keeler," said the aged and esteemed pastor, "and my mother took great interest in his college career, as we

then lived in Gambier. And I am glad to recall the happy days at dear old Kenyon. Ralph was of a nervous temperament and a little erratic as a student—keen and smart. He was small of stature; thin, with bloodless face, and something over twenty years old when I saw him last. In fact, he was one of the most unique figures that ever trod the 'Middle Path' of Kenyon College. There was only one other student who could match him as a graceful walker, and that was one Charlie Jones of Columbus.

"When Ralph reached the end of the walk on the stone steps of the Middle Division," continued Doctor Pratt, "he would most likely turn around and give us boys the double shuffle of his 'negro minstrel' life. On one Washington's Birthday, in the old blue-pillared hall of the Nu Pi Kappa Society, the Kenyon boys gave a concert for the benefit of Ralph which netted $20 and which aided this popular student in his struggles for an education. We blacked our faces"—and here the narrator placed in the editor's hands an original copy of the program, yellowed with age and written with a pen. Here is the program in part:

Overture, "Rosy O'Moore;" "Hard Times," Webb; "Kiss Me Quick and Go," Pratt; Ellen Bayne, Mendenhall; "Bold Privateer," Gill Shanklin; Trio, Perry, Smith and Pratt; Jig, Keeler (the gem of the entire outfit); Banjo Duet, Keeler and Pratt; "Returned Volunteer," Keeler and Perry. Part III.—"Out in the Wilderness," which finished the entertainment.

Questioned further, Doctor Pratt said Keeler's greatest ambition then was to write for the *Atlantic Monthly*. His ambition was realized perhaps earlier than he dreamed.

"Ralph literally worked his way through college," affirmed Doctor Pratt. "He boarded himself for one season upstairs in a little white building to the right of the college gate in the park and did chores for members of the faculty. Mrs. Lang, wife of one of the professors, and my mother occasionally sent him over a dish of food. I carried many a dish of buckwheat cakes to him. Bob Wright kept the college hotel.

ADVERTISEMENTS

COLLEGE HOTEL.

Ralph Keeler, Esq.

Of the College Hotel, respectfully solicits the patronage of the Gambier public, and takes great pleasure in stating that his clerk, Mr. Bob Wright, and Katy, his sylph-like cook, will assist him in rendering things agreeable.

Ralph was engaged as a waiter. He got one square meal a day, dinner, as pay."

Among the "keepsakes" of old Kenyon memories, Doctor Pratt displayed, was a copy of the "Revile-Ye," a burlesque on the *College Reveille* of 1859. Here is reproduced an advertisement from its pages.

This cut and many others in the *Revile-Ye* were "engraved" by Ralph. That is, they were boards taken from the pine drygoods boxes and cut out by the ingenious and resourceful Keeler with his jack-knife. The paper contained many pointed, personal hits and the engravings caricatured the learned professors, students and people of Gambier.

One way Keeler earned a little money was by writing New Year's addresses and other copy for the *Toledo Blade* and the old *Toledo Commercial.* Doctor Pratt displayed a copy of the 1862 Toledo "Carrier Boy's New Year's Address," Ralph wrote for the *Blade* and mailed to him. The composition at one place refers to Lorin Andrews, one of the presidents of Kenyon, and who as colonel of the Fourth Ohio Regiment, was the first man in Ohio to offer his services to the governor as a private soldier in the Civil war. On the back of the newsboy's address, in Keeler's own handwriting, is this:

"Dear George: Write and tell me all college news. Who heard the mental philosophy recitations last term? Whose chemistry did we use? Tell me, if you please, what are the text books for the coming term (the first of 1862) and to whom our class recites? Give my love to everybody —his wife and daughters. And believe me to be, sincerely your friend, R. K. Remember me to your mother."

Doctor Pratt says that Ralph considered Toledo his ostensible home, that he was cast upon the world to shuffle for himself and that he did it splendidly, especially in the latter part of his life.

"In the 'burial of Homer' at the end of our freshmen year (1859), Ralph took active part," said Doctor Pratt. "The program was deeply lined with black margins, and enriched by songs of his composition. He was essentially a poet and was chosen by the class to that honor. At the midnight hour, the eve of commencement day, the class of '62 formed themselves down in the wood south of the college, and marched up the entire length of the middle walk. There were many characters in appropriate dress, Ralph attired as a Greek poet with an olive wreath about his head, and the orator of the occasion at his side. They were followed by all the members of the class, about forty strong, concealed in long, white sheets with holes for the eyes to peep out; each one carrying a huge lighted torch. I wish the poem of Ralph could have been preserved; for it was a rich one. The Greek books the boys had used filled the coffin, which was burned as a funeral pyre, and around which the class circled, singing a dirge to the tune of 'Massa's in the cold, cold ground'."

Here is a stanza of the dirge, written also by Keeler:

Round the college am a-ringing
The sophies' joyful song;
All the sophomores are singing,
Happy as the day is long;

While the grasshopper is a-creeping
Where the "cows" abound,
There old Homer is a-sleeping,
Sleeping in the cold, cold ground.

Doctor Pratt concluded by stating that some of the richest songs of the Nu Pi Kappa society, full of merit, melody and rhythm, were written by Keeler. That as college productions they had probably never been excelled, and only that they were distinctly local and Kenyonesque, has prevented them from being more widely adopted.

"Ralph hoed his own way through college by sheer force of audacious wit, good humor and indefatigable labor. He left the 'Hill' in debt to college, town, foe and friend, but every whit of it was reimbursed in after years. After sixty-four years of personal remembrance, I place him under the hue of the rose. I doubt whether there would be any memory thorns sticking in the mind and heart of any of the old boys, were they walking the path of life with me today."

While this story of Ralph Keeler at Kenyon, coming from Doctor Pratt, is partly adapted from an article he wrote for the *Kenyon Collegian*, on "Ralph Keeler, A. M. '62," it does not detract from its interest and adds to its authenticity.

A correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette* at Gambier, Ohio, who signed himself "E. T. T." (which were the initials of the president of Kenyon College, Dr. Eli T. Tappan), made the following statement of the the progress and standing of Ralph Keeler while at Kenyon:

"Mr. Keeler was for several years a student at Kenyon, but did not complete the course. He left at the end of his junior year in 1861. The cause of his leaving was want of means. He maintained himself here, pursued his studies, kept a fair standing in his class (one of the first in English composition and rhetoric exercises), and was all the while one of the merriest of the students, while his expenses were at a figure that seems incredibly small. He paid no college fees, but at his departure he gave Mr. White, the treasurer, his promissory note for the full amount, assuring him that it would be paid some day; and it was paid in full about ten years after, when Mr. Keeler had returned from Europe and published his first book.

"Mr. White proposed to the Trustees that this money should, with certain other funds, be set apart for the aid of poor students, and denominated the Ralph Keeler fund. The Trustees accepted Mr. White's advice, and the fund was established. About the same time, the faculty of Kenyon College conferred upon Mr. Keeler the honorary degree of Master of Arts, being satisfied that his subsequent studies were a full equivalent for that part of the college course which he had omitted.

"When Mr. Keeler received my letter informing him of this action, he was in New Orleans. In his reply he spoke of an intended trip up the Mississippi, and after referring to the dangers of travel and the possibility of his death, he stated that it was his will that all his literary property and the copyrights should be devoted to the Ralph Keeler fund. Beneath the sunshiny surface which he usually displayed, there seemed always to run a more somber undercurrent."

W. D. Howells in his sketch of Keeler in the *Atlantic Monthly,* in 1874, prefaces his article with the quotation, "His memory scarce can make me sad." He tells of Keeler attending Kenyon College, Gambrier, O., "then rested from his studies long enough to earn $181, on which he spent two years in Europe, chiefly at Heidelberg University."

Keeler tells of his European experiences in an article published in *The Atlantic* in 1870, under the title of "A Tour of Europe for $181 in Currency." Next to his "Vagabond Adventures" and his life as a minstrel, this narrative relates one of his most remarkable exploits beginning when he was past twenty.

In this article Keeler says, that after his college days at Kenyon, "I had served, I recollect, but a few months in the post office of Toledo, O. (probably the early summer of 1862) when I took a deliberate account of my savings one morning and was gratified. Counting my money over and over, I could make no less of it than $181. * * * So I resigned 'mine office,' not with the heartbreaking feeling of Richelieu, in the play, but still, like him with the lingering cares of Europe on my mind. * * * But the city of Toledo is situated about 700 miles from the sea, and it now became an interesting question how this distance was to be compassed for nothing."

The result was, that through a friend at the Toledo Union railroad station, young Keeler ingratiated himself into the good graces of one of the drovers of a cattle train from the West for an eastern market; engaged himself as a helper, and secured a pass permitting him to ride in the cattle train "caboose." He managed to get his trunk checked through to New York on a regular passenger train, without a demand to show his ticket.

At New York, Keeler took a steerage passage and arrived at London during the World's Fair. Here, he observes in his narrative:

"My whole life there might be written down under the general title of 'The Adventures of a Straw Hat,' for the one which I wore was the signal for the sharpers of all that great city to practice their arts upon me. By the advice of a friendly police detective, I purchased a new English hat and with this as a sort of Aegis, passed out of the British Dominion without being robbed."

At Paris, after witnessing the fetes of the emperor, Keeler took a third class coach for Strasburg and Heidelberg. Here, practicing the strictest economy, he spent a good part of his time while abroad, observing that, "by matriculating at the great University of Heidelberg, I became endowed with all the time honored privileges of the students."

This gave him many advantages. During his long vacations and after he left Heidelberg altogether, he visited the Tyrol, Switzerland, Italy and then turned back into France. Had he dressed as an American tourist and been charged double prices for his accommodations, he could never have truthfully written his story of his travels on only $181 in currency. But he adopted the costume of a *Handwerksburche* and went about in a way which probably no American has ever traveled before or since; in the disguise of a wandering tradesman, attired in a blouse of their class, something like our Western "wampus." His general appearance was in harmony with his blouse.

Keeler's versatility as a linguist, for he could talk eight languages, was also of great advantage. He said that in Switzerland, where ordinary travelers paid from ten to thirty francs a day, he journed sumptuously, thanks to his disguise, for thirty sous a day.

The wandering tradesman, the *Handwerksburschen,* with whom he associated and mingled in his travels, he described as a sort of fossil remains of feudalism. Young fellows, half journeymen, half apprentices, who were obliged to wander for two or three years from city to city, working at their trades, and who finally return to their homes, of course poor, but ready to make their "masterpieces," which entitled them to style themselves masters of their trade. Let Keeler be quoted further about these fellows:

"I have spent many a happy hour, toiling along the road with them, listening to their stories and merry songs. If I meet one of them on the highway, he stops, offers me his hand, and exchanges a kindly nod. He takes out his pipe, asks me to fill mine from his tobacco pouch, and tells me all he knows of the road passed over. He never lodges in a city, unless he has work there. The village inn is his castle; here he obtains his bed at night and his breakfast in the morning for seven kreutzers—not quite four cents; and trudges on, smoking and singing, through all Europe. This is the *Handwerksbursche,* poor but merry; the knight errant of the bundle and staff; the troubadour and minnesinger of the nineteenth century."

As Keeler walked over the old roads of Europe, no doubt there many times came up before him the morning when as a child and an orphan, he fled Toledoward from his birthplace, and dreamily pondered over his great adventures following.

What a wonderful background for future writings, these experiences of Keeler! This inimitable character, born on the then frontier prairie, with deep forests encompassing it; then in school a while, then a cabin boy on the lakes, going from this experience to a newsboy service on a railroad and coming in contact with human nature in its unalloyed naturalness; again a wandering minstrel in the old days on the Mississippi; then within the spiritual environment and teachings of the good Jesuit fathers of Cape Girardeau, Missouri, and under the influence of Father Ryan at Saint Vincent's College; next at Kenyon College and soon to Heidelberg University and this tour in Europe. And finally at the fountain of letters and literature in Boston, the very air pregnant with the influence of such characters as Clemens, Howells, Fields, Aldrich, Bret Harte and others; this to polish the crudeness and rough spots. Where was there a writer better equipped to make a name in America than Ralph Keeler, had his career been permitted to work itself out? However, fate did not prevent him from producing his literary gems, where they may yet be found and read.

While Keeler toured Europe on $181, he earned small amounts from articles sent to American newspapers, and sketches for a magazine in London and one in Edinburgh.

He next hied himself to California, where he taught school, engaged in journalism and took the lecture platform with some success. Here is

where he first met Clemens. In a way Keeler knew the Mississippi as well as Mark Twain did, and he knew its large tributaries better. In their later intercourse, one can well understand the hours and days they spent together talking about their California experiences, their days on the Mississippi and incidents connected with their life on the lecture platform.

A biographical sketch of his older brother, William Olmstead Keeler, who late in life was a merchant at Custar and Milton Center, Wood County, Ohio, speaks of Keeler's book, "Gloverson and His Silent Partners." The biography also says he translated from the French "Le Marquis de Villener" by George Sand (Armadine Lucile Dudevant), and refers to the story of "Owen Brown's Escape from Harper's Ferry," which was published in the *Atlantic* after Keeler's disappearance. Owen Brown was a son of the immortal John Brown of Harper's Ferry fame. Keeler met Owen Brown on Put-in-Bay island in Lake Erie, where the latter lived when Keeler visited him and got Brown's story. This was about the time that he also visited the site of his birthplace at Weston, without disclosing his identity and to gather material for his book, "Vagabond Adventures."

Ferris Greenslet's "Life of Thomas Bailey Aldrich" has this:

"*Every Saturday* was shifted from the field in which it had made its success under Fields and Osgood, and converted into a large, illustrated weekly, a competitor of *Harper's Weekly.* * * * From the first, Aldrich seemed to have had his misgivings, and even for a time listened to the suggestions of Lowell and Professor Francis J. Child, that he should accept an instructorship in belles letters at Harvard. In the end, however, the project fell through, fortunately we may believe for American poetry, and Aldrich continued his editorial relations with *Every Saturday* for a little longer.

"The new scope of the paper was the cause of another inspiring acquaintance destined to a tragic termination. Ralph Keeler, the vivacious author of papers in the *Atlantic* on 'Three Years as a Negro Minstrel,' and 'A Tour of Europe on $181,' was appointed art editor of *Every Saturday* after its sea charge, and soon came to terms of comradeship with Aldrich and Mr. Howells. In the course of a few years, however, the exciting progress of a Cuban insurrection became too strong for Keeler's spirit of adventure, and despite the remonstrance of his friends, he set out for Cuba as a special correspondent of the *New York Tribune.* Before his departure, Aldrich exacted from him the promise that when, with a halter about his neck, he should be carted out of the public square at Havana for execution, he would utter as his last words, 'Ladies and gentlemen, if I had taken the advice of my friend, T. B. Aldrich, author of "Marjorie and Other People," I should not now be in this place.' The pleasantry turned to grisly earnest. Keeler was lost at sea—probably murdered as a result of a political intrigue before he reached the Cuban shore."

Howells, in writing that Keeler's "Vagabond Adventures" showed "literary growth," followed by saying, "I hoped that it would prove the germ of an American novel in the manner of Gil Blas, for writing which

its author gave distinct promise. He often talked of such a work, and he confirmed belief in his powers in this direction, by a study called 'Confessions of a Patent Medicine Man.' "

Keeler went to Europe again in 1872, was at Geneva at the time of the Alabama claims conference at which Judge Waite, another Toledoan, was a prominent figure, and wrote several interesting papers about Switzerland for *Harper's Magazine,* one on "Geneva" and another "Around Lake Leman."

Then during the Spanish revolution came the Cuban insurrection. The *Virginius,* an American vessel, became engaged in the unlawful business of carrying arms and other contraband of war to the Cuban insurgents. The vessel was captured by a Spanish warship and the crew and passengers were shot after a summary trial. There was serious trouble over this affair between the United States and Spain. Some in this country advocated retaliatory measures. But the Spanish, although hasty in their actions, were evidently within the limits of international law and the matter passed without further complications. This was in 1873. It was the year Keeler went to Cuba as a correspondent of the *New York Tribune,* to investigate the matters for that paper.

Howells here again says, "His letters from Cuba to the *Tribune* hastily and interruptedly written, fairly rose from the level of journalism to that of literature. He was getting rid of that uneasiness of which he was comically aware and which sometimes seemed to present itself as anxiety to know what were the feelings of men who had not been Negro minstrels in their youth." This observation evidently referred to the letters written by Keeler before his last start for Cuba from New York.

It was in December, 1873, that Keeler saw his native soil for the last time, when he took a Spanish vessel for Havana, and then Manzanillo.

One of Keeler's last remarks to Howells before his final leave of his home shores and the last time Howells saw him, was, "Put your finger on the present moment and enjoy it; it's the only one you've got or ever will have." This, in a way, was Ralph Keeler's philosophy of life, and coming just before what followed so soon, seems almost intuitive.

One can imagine how such an enthusiast and so daring a character in his anxiety for inside information, might put himself in a dangerous position. It is surmised that, posing as, or being taken for a Frenchman by Spanish officers on board, the latter revealed to Keeler information that was compromising. When the officers found Keeler was an American newspaper correspondent, they evidently believed the easiest way out was to get rid of the American. It is presumed Keeler was stabbed and thrown overboard. For the ship made no landing from Santiago to Manzanillo, and Ralph Keeler was never heard of again. He was last seen alive the night before the vessel reached Manzanillo.

One account states that the captain of the Spanish steamer said that Keeler walked off the vessel in the middle of the night when asleep. His baggage, such as he had, and personal effects, were found in his stateroom the next morning when the steamer docked.

T. B. Aldrich, under date of Jan. 3, 1874, wrote to the *New York Tribune:* "We honor the man, who, starting in life, a poor, friendless,

boy, became through his own exertions, a millionaire—a millionaire and nothing more. What honor, then, should we pay to a man like Ralph Keeler, who, without aid or example, lifts himself from out of the most demoralizing associations; works, starves, struggles for culture as a man struggles for gold, and wins at last a noble foothold; the master of five or six languages and the possessor of a great store of useful knowledge."

The final tribute of the Rev. George B. Pratt of Chicago, Keeler's classmate at Kenyon, is this:

"The years have flown like thistle downs of an autumn day. Yet even thistle downs have their seeds. By writing these words of Keeler, perhaps like seeds they have planted themselves in the minds and hearts of some of Kenyon's present boys and inspired them to a greater courage, love and duty."

Albert Bigelow Paine in his delightful Biography of Mark Twain, in his chapter on Clemens' lecturing days, speaks of the "Boston group" of literati and of the Lyceum headquarters in School street, "where there was always congenial fellowship—Nasby, Josh Billings and the rest of the peripatetic group that about the end of the year (1871) collected there. * * * Redpath's lectures put up at Youngs hotel and spent their days at the bureau, smoking and spinning yarns."

Paine then says: "Among the Boston group was Ralph Keeler, an eccentric, gifted and altogether charming fellow, whom Clemens had known on the Pacific slope. Keeler had been adopted by the Boston writers and was gratified and happy accordingly. He was poor of purse but inexhaustibly rich in the happier gifts of fortune. He was unfailingly buoyant, light-hearted and hopeful. Of an infinitesimal capital he had made a tour of many lands and had written of it for the *Atlantic*.

"In that charmed circle he was overflowingly happy, as if he had been admitted to the company of the gods. Keeler was affectionately regarded by all who knew him and he offered a sort of worship in return. He often accompanied Mark Twain on his lecture engagements to the various outlying towns, and Clemens brought him back to his hotel for breakfast, where they had good, enjoyable talks together." (Paine should have added that Keeler also lectured with success.)

Paine here relates this:

"Once, Keeler came eagerly to the hotel and made his way up to Clemens' room.

" 'Come with me,' he said, 'quick.'

" 'What is it? What has happened?'

" 'Don't wait to talk. Come with me.'

"They tramped through the streets till they reached the public library, entered, Keeler leading the way, not stopping till he faced a row of shelves filled with books. He pointed at one of them, his face radiant with joy.

" 'Look,' he said, 'do you see it?'

"Clemens looked, carefully now, and identified one of the books as a still-born novel Keeler had published.

" 'This is a library,' said Keeler eagerly, 'and they've got it.'

"His whole being was aglow with the wonder of it. He had been in-

vestigating, the library records showed that in two years the book had been there it had been taken out and read three times! It never occurred to Clemens even to smile. Knowing Mark Twain, one would guess that his eyes were likely to be filled with tears."

This story of Paine's undoubtedly refers to Keeler's "Gloverson and His Silent Partners." His "Vagabond Adventures" had a much finer reception and he was rapidly coming into his own when his prospective great career was suddenly snuffed out. But at that he left many delightful literary memories in his passing.

In his final tribute to Keeler, Howells says: "In a way his life seems to me heroical * * * and though it is not an example, it is full of lessons of patience, perseverance and honorable aspiration. He had done everything for himself; he had even made the friends who helped him, and he had accomplished a good deal, more than most men who succeed more spectacularly. Peace to his kindly spirit."

While Keeler's success was perhaps not as spectacular as accorded to some men, few lives have been crowded with so much of human interest and a certain quality of appeal. Had he lived as long as Clemens and Howells and the rest of the Boston group, his name might today be chiseled in the literary hall of fame along with his associates.

A more intimate glimpse of Keeler in California, together with side lights of his career, are gathered from an article which appeared in the *National Magazine* of October, 1905, entitled, "Ralph Keeler of Vagabondia," written by the lecturer and author, Charles Warren Stoddard, who says:

"A certain fraternal society had announced a ball for a charitable object, and Ada Clare and I had been begged 'of our pity' to bear witness to it. She was not yet inured to wild western ways, and the friend who accompanied us felt sure that she, at least, would enjoy the spectacle. San Francisco was then (about 1865) a trifle frisky.

"We had not been long in the hall as spectators when a cotillion was announced, and the floor was soon blocked off in hollow squares, where the four sets of partners faced one another and impatiently awaited the beginning of the fray.

"In the set nearest our seats there was a sprightly youth who, by his spirited antics, soon attracted our undivided attention. He was of medium height, slender, wiry, with a head that seemed a little too large for the body, but feet that were as agile as a rope dancer's. If he at first awakened our interest and surprise, it was not long before he startled and amazed us. He pirouetted like a master of the opera ballet; he leaped into the air and alighted upon the tips of his toes; he skipped among the dancers as airily as a puff of thistle down, and, on occasions, gave a toss of the toe that must inevitably have dislocated the halo of his partner, had she worn one, and, as it was, caused her to duck instinctively and resolve herself into a convenient and apologetic courtesy. One friend knew him and knew something of his history, and told it to us while the unconscious subject was still capering nimbly. * * *

"The music and dancers having come to a full stop, our friend went

in search of the object of our interest and curiosity, and very shortly presented him as Ralph Keeler, professor of modern languages in a fashionable private school on the once aristocratic but now decidedly democratic Rincon Hill.

"Besides being a professor of modern languages, Ralph Keeler was a weekly contributor to the columns of the *Golden Era*—at that time the cleverest literary weekly on the Pacific coast. His feuilleton was always readable, and he wrote with much spirit and freedom, signing his contributions 'Alloquiz.' Occasionally a graceful bit of verse appeared under his own name—but he preferred to use a pen name which was the merest ghost of a disguise, it being pretty generally known that Ralph Keeler and 'Alloquiz' were one and the same.

"Our meeting that evening was a happy one, and our friendship soon warmed into an intimacy that we both enjoyed. At this time Ralph was in travail with a novel and, as is apt to be the case, it seemed to him and to me a matter of very great pith and moment. The coming novelist believed—as, I suppose, all coming novelists do—that he had solved a problem that has puzzled and confounded all the novelists that have ever tried and failed. 'The trouble with the novel is,' said Ralph to me, one day, 'that it is written for one person only, or one kind of person; now, it should appeal to us all; not all of it to all, which would of course be quite impossible, since no two of us are exactly alike in taste or preference—but one person should like it for one thing in it and another for another, and thus all the world of readers will find something somewhere within its pages that strikes home to his heart and makes the book forever precious to him.' * * *

"The book was called 'Gloverson and His Silent Partner.' The scene was laid in San Francisco; the time about 1860. There was a plot which we had often discussed together; there was humor for those who love to laugh; and pathos for those who prefer to weep. There was a song composed and sung by Mr. Lang, the score of which—really from the pen of J. R. Thomas—is printed in the text of the story, and a footnote announces that, 'This song is also published in sheet music with an accompaniment for the pianoforte.' Toward the end of the volume the song is heard issuing from a subterranean music hall, and the voice of the singer is recognized by passers by; this naturally leads to the discovery and rescue of one so necessary to the development of the story and the happy climax, which could not have resulted, had there been no second advent after the hero's mysterious disappearance.

"Sometimes, lounging in the reading room of the old Mercantile Library, Ralph would drop in upon me, and seizing me by the shoulders, would say: 'Come with me! I have another chapter finished. You must hear it.' And away we would go to his lodgings in Minna Street and there he would read to me, carefully studying my facial expression the while. I appreciated humor, and he was well aware of the fact; if his humor did not awaken in me an appreciative response it had to be touched up until it was irresistible. He knew me for a sympathetic fellow, and so hoped to touch me to tears at intervals; yet he held women in higher estimation and counted chiefly upon their emotional natures for his

success in pathos. Having read his touching chapter to them, if they wept not, that chapter was rewritten until it touched the high water mark. * * *

"In 1867, I went upon the stage in Sacramento, California, making my first appearance as Arthur Apsley in 'The Willow Copse,' to the Luke Fielding of the late W. C. Couldock. * * *

"Ralph Keeler had just made his first appearance as a lecturer, and, looking upon ourselves as, in a certain sense, public characters, out of my misery I wrote to congratulate and encourage him in his new and promising career. * * *

"Keeler cut loose from the California that he always loved and went to Boston to enter the literary arena. On the back of one of his lecture circulars he writes:

" 'I have stricken it rather rich in the lecturer biz. I don't think the book will be out before next September.' "

Keeler's circular reads thus:

Toledo, November 25, 1867.

To Lecture Committees:

Ralph Keeler, of San Francisco, the special correspondent of the *Daily Alta Californian,* has prepared and is ready to deliver before the Lecture Associations of the country, a lecture entitled,

VIEWS BAREFOOTED;
Or, The Tour of Europe for $181 in Greenbacks.
For terms and particulars address
John H. Doyle, Toledo, Ohio.

In March, 1868, he wrote to Stoddard:

I have delayed answering your glorious letter till Nasby [D. R. Locke, *Toledo Blade*] should have finished his lecture tour and I should have gone to Toledo. I have nothing new to tell you. Since my lecture tour closed, I have been quietly domesticated here in the woods, rewriting that everlasting novel. I have three offers for it from publishers, but do not feel very much encouraged withal. The next publishing season is September and that will be in the height of the election excitement. Blast the president, say I; I may have to wait on his account—whoever he may be—till next January. I have worked too hard on the thing to feel like giving it the disadvantage of a dull market. Tell me more little gossip about the Occident. Everything is interesting that comes from California. I have almost made up my mind to go to Boston in a week or so to meet and hear Dickens. Mr. Fields, I believe, will do me the favor to introduce me, and I shall at last have the honor of clasping the hand that forged the iron hook of "Captain Cuttle, Mariner." You wouldn't tell me, I suppose, but I would like to know how big an ass I have made of myself in my *Alta* letters and just exactly what the Pacific literati think of them. I have your little book of poems on my table here and I open it many times, finding something new and always beautiful in them at each new reading. At a farm house in this county not long since I picked up an old *New York Independent* and saw for the first time that glorious notice of your book in it; you have of course seen the notice. Wasn't it

generous and whole souled? I couldn't have felt better if it had all been written about myself. Give my love to Harte. Lovingly,

Ralph.

(The "woods" Keeler refers to was in the vicinity of Custar, Milton Center and Weston, Ohio. He spent some time on occasions with his brother W. O. Keeler at Custar and did some of his writing there. John H. Doyle was the late honorable Judge Doyle, well known in Toledo and the country at large, as an able jurist.—Editor.)

Here are further letters to Stoddard:

Boston, May, 1868.

I send you a copy of "Gloverson!" (his novel just out)—Now Charley, I want you to send me the copy of the *Overland Monthly* that has a notice of "Gloverson," if that periodical does use anything of the kind.

Write to me. I preached last night in these precincts. The people were easy to please.

Love in haste. Ever yours, Ralph.

And here is a letter written in "the Woods" to Stoddard:

Custer, Wood Co., Ohio,
June, 1869.

My dear boy:

I have just been reading your "Utopia" in the *Overland* and am so delighted with it and your manifest growth in practical ways and things, that I forgot you never acknowledged the receipt of the book I sent you—("Gloverson"—my speedy acknowledgment went astray) and hasten to congratulate you with all my soul. I am sure that I have grown out of the book and all conceit in it; but I hate to have you and all my California slide out from under me; you see I can't walk on thin air. Let me hear from you for the memory of old times.

The Custar letter, continues Stoddard, was written on the back of one of his circulars, announcing his lecture entitled "Views Barefooted" and also an "entirely new lecture" entitled "Broken China." This postscript was written on the face of the circular:

"God bless Bret Harte for his stories of mountain life. There is nothing in the range of art to be compared with them, except, maybe, Jefferson's acting in Rip Van Winkle. I have just been reading 'Miggles' to a room-full and we have all been crying like babies."

While on Keeler's lecture tour to Stoddard:

Portland, Whiteside Co., Ill.
Aug. 8, 1869.

Your letter reached me here, bringing with it all the cheer of a remembered S. F. day. Everything, indeed, that comes from that favoured coast of yours, and of ours, has an electrical shock in it. The earth must move slower to the acre, everywhere out here east of the Rocky Mts. He is happier who lives a beggar in S. F., than the cold blooded, purple and fine linen rascals of these even tempered regions. Don't think of leaving that millenial spot, Charley; you will regret it if you do. * * *

I have no idea what my prospects are for the coming lecture season, but it is my intention to come to you (California) in the Spring or early

Summer, after I have published a little book that I am thinking of but have not yet touched. Certain literary people whom I have never seen (one of them, by the way, your aged brother poet John Neal of Portland, Maine) have written to me advising me to write my life in the same off hand way as I wrote my Minstrel article, and I may do it after I have published "Views Barefooted" in the *Atlantic*. I think of calling it "Memories of a Vagabond," or something of that ilk, and have it end at the age of 22, which was my age when I returned from Europe.

Ralph.

To Stoddard again:

Oct. 3rd, 1869.

I don't know when I shall have time to get at my "Memories of a Vagabond." I got another letter yesterday from old John Neal of Portland, Maine, from which I quote this comforting sentence apropos of the subject in question: (P. T. Barnum, Geo. Francis Train, the Count Johannes, and ever so many more threaten us with their autobiographies.) Have you read John Neal's "Recollections"? I shall have to read them before meeting their author, if I lecture at Portland this Winter. I have never seen the venerable John. Do you remember how Lowell gives it to him in his "Fable for Critics"?

My lecture prospects are favorable enough, but I think this is the last Winter I shall be in that line. I am going into legitimate literature—to starve, perhaps, but there must be a certain consolation in starving for high art. In the Spring I propose to point for one of two places with a view to settling; either in Ithaca, N. Y., where there are lakes and a library and a pretty country; or S. F., where a man's head is always clearest and his body always soundest.

When I came back here I found that some inconsiderate power that be had sent me an appointment to a desk in one of the departments of Washington. It purported to come from the secretary of the treasury and was sent to me by young Stanton. I was, of course, very grateful, but respectfully declined. You see how earnest I am in my resolve to starve for the Muses' sake.

R. K.

(The above was evidently written from Toledo or vicinity.)

To Stoddard—two final complete letters:

Carlo Mio:

Your delightful letter came to me while I was in the thick of my late lecture skirmishes. I have carried it in my pocket just four thousand, five hundred miles. I have made considerably more miles than money, my boy. When you are aware that I have been forced to go nearly a week at a time without finding a chance to get shaved, you may know that I have had little nerve for any kind of writing—and I have done none at all.

In the course of my travels from the upper Mississippi to Boston and New York, you should have seen me in the palace cars, unshaved and unshorn, foul of face and linen, but with my boots scrupulously polished every morning by the porter. Whenever it was necessary to put up an appearance of respectability, I had to hide my head and elevate my feet.

The foregoing is somewhat personal, but goes, I fancy, to establish the sincerity of my apology for not writing as soon as I hungered to do.

Ralph.

Feb. 27, 1870.

Carlo Mio:

Since your last good letter was written I have been many miles with dire Winter, way up in Minnesota on a lecture skirmish; hence the interim in the present correspondence. Had two railroad accidents inside of six hours and oh! such lots of that kind of fun; but I like the Minnesotans for all that; they are more like Californians than any people among whom I have journeyed yet.

I think you will have no little satisfaction in remembering that you were polite and kind enough to speak well of my bad "Second Vision of Judgment," when you know that it is my permanent *adio* to verse making. Howells writes me that I made sad work with three syllable rhymes. How could I help it when I know nothing about prosody? Howells also tells me in a little note, just come to hand, that my European experiences—considerably rewritten by yours truly and transmitted to the *Atlantic* a week or so ago—will be published, he thinks, in the July number of that magazine. This will form the third or concluding portion of my prospective "Memoirs of a Vagabond," which I hope to have done and published some time during the present year. This, I think, is all the shop news I have to tell you about myself. R. K.

"After Ralph Keeler's debut in San Francisco," continues Stoddard's story, "Bret Harte, in the *Evening Bulletin*, thus wrote of his 'Views Barefooted':

" 'The lecture was instructive, entertaining and graceful, without flippancy, slang or coarseness. Those who expected, from its somewhat sensational title, any corresponding effect in style or subject matter, were disappointed. While relating his adventures with a good deal of quiet humor, the lecturer never lost his self respect or dignity, nor for a momentary applause sacrificed his sense of literary propriety. He told in good English, with frequent epigrammatic terms and playful illustrations, the story of his wanderings, his student life in Germany, and those ingenious shifts of a barefooted traveler, which were the theme and motif of his lecture. The pleasant ripple of his narrative only changed when the quieter depths of pathos or sentiment demanded it.' "

Stoddard further remarks: "Surely the passage above quoted—it appeared on every circular that was issued so long as Ralph was in the lecture circuit—should interest the lovers of Bret Harte.

"It is in its way a curiosity and sounds to me just a little bit as if the young writer had been conscientiously giving his days and nights to the study of Addison—as recommended by the ponderous Doctor Johnson, who might have easily crushed Addison with a single adjective. How happy could Bret have been with either were t'other dear charmer away; and how much more profitable he was when he soared above them both.

"Keeler seemed to step down from the lecture platform quite

naturally, and no doubt did so with a sense of relief. He probably never liked the wear and tear of that strenuous round, with its thin houses and foul weather to be encountered at frequent intervals. He tried his best to spare me a disappointment in that line of disappointments and nobly succeeded.

"Keeler went abroad for a season, and while in London had a comedietta produced at one of the local theaters. Prentice Mulford, who saw much of him at the time, told me that Ralph's chief concern was not whether the play was to be 'booed' by the playgoing booers, but what clothes he should wear when called before the curtain by the rapturously applauding house. He tried on various suits for Mulford to pass judgment upon them as to their cut and fit, and if they harmonized with his complexion. And then the hat—what kind of hat to carry in his hand and just how to carry it—this was a perplexing question. Should he, as it were, snatch it hastily from his head, as if he were urged before the curtain by sympathetic players who were so proud of his success, and then bow his thanks while he crushed the hat in modest confusion? Or should he stalk down to the footlights with calm indifference, with no thought of hat or apparel or anything else in particular—as if this were, after all, an old story and hardly worth the bother? * * *

"Upon his return to the States Keeler was employed by the publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*. This was a rise for a young man alone in the world, from juvenile clog dancing in a strolling negro minstrel troupe to the assistant editorial chair in the first literary organ in the land. He called himself the 'Cub-Editor,' when for a little while he was left in charge of the magazine, and it was then I wrote to him concerning an article of mine which had been accepted and paid for, but had not yet made its appearance in print. I began to feel that it was not profitable to receive pay for articles that were apparently never to see the light. Better no pay at all than to be thus cast into oblivion without the glance of one friendly eye.

"Keeler wrote me:

" 'I have been under the weather and the bed clothes pretty constantly since your last arrived—which is my excuse for delay and present brevity. I write now to tell you for Mr. Howells that he will publish your article as soon as he can; that Mr. Fields left lots of stuff in his hands—some that has been five years in an unpublished state; but yours will appear as soon as possible.'

"I suppose it did, but the interesting fact remains that one of the 'South Sea Idyls'—'A Tropical Sequence'—included in the Scribner's edition of the 'Idyls,' remained seven years in the office of the *Atlantic Monthly* before it found its way into print.

"Ralph wrote me concerning a little sketch of mine called 'My Long Lost Brother,' in which I had ventured to suggest a change in the stage business of the closing scenes of 'Hamlet,' hoping, if possible, to relieve the stage at the final curtain fall of some of its dead.

"He says:

" 'That Hamlet finale of yours is a good idea; did you think it out by yourself? It is much better than some of Fechter's amendments—which,

by the way, I was surprised to see at their fountain head the other day in Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister." I have sold myself body and soul to the *Atlantic* and *Every Saturday*. I get the same wages whether I write little or much, but I can't write for anything else. In this chartering, however, I have a vivid idea that I am not the party that is "sold." I never made so much money before in my life and it will be some time, at least, before I shall be worth what I get.'

"He made a long tour with A. R. Waud, the artist, and together they did articles now incorporated in Appleton's 'Picturesque America.' Finally he started for the West Indies as a special correspondent to report one of the revolutions that seem indigenous to the climate and the soil, and the next that was heard of him is embodied in the following paragraph that went the rounds of the press like lightning:

SUPPOSED DEATH OF RALPH KEELER

Havana, Dec. 26, 1874.—Ralph Keeler, a special correspondent of the *New York Tribune,* mysteriously disappeared from the steamer *Cienfuegos* on the passage from Santiago de Cuba to Manzanillo, and nothing has since been heard of him. His baggage was on board the steamer on her arrival at Manzanillo and was delivered by the captain to the United States consul there. Consul General Hall and the Havana agent of the Associated Press have inquired by the telegraph and mail in all directions for the missing man, but without result. It was at first supposed that Ralph Keeler had been accidentally left at Santiago, but another steamer arrived today from that port without bringing any tidings as to his whereabouts. It is now feared that he fell overboard from the *Cienfuegos.*

"For a very long time," said Stoddard in closing, "I hoped against hope that Ralph would some day reappear with a book of wondrous adventure, telling all that had happened since his startling disappearance. But the years pass by and there is neither sign nor signal concerning the fate of him who had so endeared himself to his friends that they must ever mourn his absence, and now, alas! if we would resurrect his precious bones, I fear we must look for them in the port of missing ships."

As soon as Keeler's disappearance became known, the State Department at Washington and his relatives in the United States, immediately put in motion measures to ascertain the facts. One of the most active private citizens engaged in the matter was his brother-in-law, C. H. Machin, husband of his sister Grace, and who was then a prominent attorney of New York. The following correspondence and articles are taken mostly from the *New York Tribune,* published in that journal at the time of the tragedy.

RALPH KEELER

Correspondence Relative to the Missing Correspondent

It will be seen by the following letters and official documents that every effort has been made to clear up the mystery attending the death of our correspondent, Ralph Keeler, who disappeared in such an unaccountable manner from the steamer *Cienfuegos* between Santiago and Manzanillo. Thus far nothing has been discovered that throws any clear light upon the tragedy; but it is pretty conclusively shown that no ground exists for the violent supposition thrown out in some quarters that Mr.

Keeler jumped overboard in a fit of sudden insanity. The first letter is addressed by one of Mr. Keeler's relatives to the Secretary of State, asking for an official investigation. Our efficient Consul General at Havana, however, Mr. H. C. Hall, had anticipated the instructions of our Government, and already set on foot a thorough inquiry.

Mr. Machin to Secretary of State Fish, Washington

No. 21 Park Row, New York, Jan. 8, 1874.

Sir: I have the honor to address you relative to the supposed death of Mr. Ralph Keeler, my brother-in-law, who disappeared from the Spanish mail steamer *Cienfuegos* on the night of Dec. 14, 1873, while enroute from Santiago de Cuba to Havana. Mr. Keeler left New York Nov. 25 last, as correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and after stopping a few days in Havana, proceeded to Santiago. While pursuing his mission there, he became apprehensive that he was being followed by spies, and applied to Captain Braine, commanding the United States sloop-of-war *Juniata*, for protection. (See correspondence hereunto annexed marked Exhibit A.) He remained on board the *Juniata* two or three days, during which time he went ashore at his pleasure. On the 14th of December he left Santiago on the *Cienfuegos*, and between that port and Manzanillo disappeared, and has not since been heard from. I annex hereto, marked Exhibit B, a general press dispatch from Havana, dated Dec. 26, giving the intelligence of the disappearance, together with the report of the occurrence brought by the *New York Herald* correspondent from Santiago, and published Dec. 29, as also a telegram received from the *New York Tribune* correspondent at Havana, dated Dec. 31. I also annex as Exhibit C copies of extracts from the correspondence of the United States consul at Manzanillo relating to the subject, which extracts were forwarded from Havana by the *Tribune* correspondent at that place. As regards the statements in one of these extracts that "sundry remarks of Mr. Keeler in his note-book, memoranda, and other papers lead some to suppose that he was not quite right in his mind," I have to say that the memorandum on the first page of his private records, namely, "If anything happens to the bearer of this book, Ralph Keeler of Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A., write to my brother-in-law, Mr. C. H. Machin, lawyer, No. 322 Broadway, New York City, U. S. A.," was written therein, long before he went to Cuba, and was simply a precautionary measure that any prudent man would take who, like Mr. Keeler, was a traveler, and certainly is no evidence of insanity. The finding of the American passport dated London, April 13, 1872, and signed by Minister Schenck, is not a very remarkable circumstance, as it was an old passport that Mr. Keeler had while in Europe in 1872, and which had been left in his trunk. Those who knew Mr. Keeler best do not credit the theory of insanity, and on this point I refer you to the letters hereunto annexed of Captain Braine and Mr. Gerald McKenny of the *New York Herald*. From all the circumstances surrounding the case we are forced to the conclusion that Mr. Keeler was murdered on the *Cienfuegos*, between Santiago and Manzanillo; whether for political reasons, his profession or his money, can only be surmised. The opinion of Captain Braine on this point, as stated in his annexed letter, is deemed worthy of consideration. Mr. Keeler was born in Ohio, and was well and favorably known throughout the country as a writer of marked ability. On behalf of his afflicted relatives and numerous friends, I present this case to you and respectfully request that a thorough investigation may be had, and, if possible, the mystery brought to light. I have the honor, to be, Sir, very respectfully your obedient servant,

C. H. MACHIN.

To the Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Manzanillo Letter

U. S. Agency at Manzanillo, Dec. 16, 1873.

Last night the steamer *Cienfuegos* arrived here with the passenger and American citizen Mr. Ralph Keeler, missing. After information received by Captain Lavin of the *Cienfuegos*, the Adjutant of Marine here, Mr. Juan Van Halen, requested me officially to be present at taking a list of the baggage of said American subject. It

is difficult to say in what manner Mr. Keeler has disappeared, whether he is dead or still alive. All I can do for the present is to inclose copy of official investigation and request you for instructions of what I am to do with the baggage, of which I likewise inclose copy of inventory. Sundry remarks of Mr. Keeler, in his note-book memoranda, and other papers, lead me to suppose that he was not quite right in his mind. On the first page of his private records, it says: "If anything happens to the bearer of this book, Ralph Keeler, of Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A., write to my brother-in-law, Mr. C. H. Machin, lawyer, No. 322 Broadway, New York City, U. S. A." Moreover, among his effects I found an American passport, entirely in proper and legal order, dated London, April 13, 1872, and signed by Minister Robt. Schenck. Awaiting your instructions, I remain, * * *

WM. LAUTEN.

P. S. Of the above investigation I could not obtain a copy here, but at your request it will be laid before you at the Marine Authority's Office at your port, where they sent it today. W. L.

Reply of the Department of State to Mr. Machin

Department of State, Washington, Jan. 10, 1874.

Sir: Your letter of the 8th inst. respecting the disappearance of Mr. Ralph Keeler from the steamer *Cienfuegos* while on a recent voyage from Santiago de Cuba to Havana, has been received. In reply I have to state that a copy of the papers was sent by the mail, leaving the Department yesterday, to the Consul-General at Havana, with instructions to make most diligent inquiry concerning the fate of Mr. Keeler, and to report such information as he may obtain to the Department. I am, Sir, your obedient servant, J. C. B. DAVIS, *Assistant Secretary.*

Letter from the Consul at Santiago de Cuba to Mr. Hall, U. S. Consul-General, Havana

Santiago de Cuba, Dec. 24, 1873.

My dear Sir: I will give you all I have been able to learn concerning the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Ralph Keeler.

He represented himself as a civil engineer, while here, in the employ of an English firm, and so expressed himself to the numerous Spanish officers he conversed with; but they found out before he left that he was a *Tribune* correspondent, and I think he was closely watched. There was a young Spanish lieutenant who came with him in the same steamer from Havana, stopped at the same hotel, and left the same day as Mr. Keeler. He seemed very intimate with Mr. K. at our hotel, and told Mr. K. he was a Carlist sent out here for punishment, and that he expected to be sent into the country in a few days; but I am not certain when the officer did go.

The captain of the *Cienfuegos* testified that the last he saw of Mr. Keeler was at 12, midnight, just as he, the captain, was retiring. Mr. K. asked for a glass of cognac—the captain called a boy to give it to him and then retired; and he knew nothing further until next morning when the supercargo called on all the passengers for their passage tickets, just before arriving at Manzanillo, when it was found that Mr. Keeler was missing. Instant search was made all over the vessel, but he could not be found. Brigadier Morales de los Rios was on board the *Cienfuegos* on his way to Havana. Yours very truly, A. N. YOUNG.

To the Hon. Henry C. Hall, Havana.

INVESTIGATION BY THE SPANISH AUTHORITIES

An official investigation, continues the *Tribune*, has meanwhile been instituted by the Spanish authorities at Santiago, and copies of a part of the proceedings have been forwarded to the Spanish Consul-General at New York, by whom they have been transmitted to us. Mr. Sidney Webster, in the name of the Consul-General, has also invited us as well as the friends of Mr. Keeler to submit to the authorities any facts that may possibly throw light upon the case, and his suggestion has been followed.

From the correspondent of *The Tribune* at Havana we have received the following letter, and minutes of the official proceedings at Manzanillo:

Havana, Jan. 1, 1874.

Dear Sir: Inclosed you will please find the latest information concerning the disappearance of Ralph Keeler. I called upon Captain-General Jovellar, the Political Governor of this Department, and the Captain-General's chief of staff, and asked for information. They all said they knew nothing, but supposed from the circumstances that he must have been lost overboard. They, however, took memoranda and said that they would make inquiries. Inquiries were made, however, with no satisfactory results, as the officials in the interior knew nothing of his disappearance.

STATEMENTS OF CAPTAIN AND OFFICERS OF THE STEAMER

The Captain of the merchant steamer *Cienfuegos*, Valentin Lavin, made the following statement of the disappearance of Ralph Keeler to the Adjutant of Marine at Manzanillo:

I inform you that at 9 A. M. on the morning of the 15th of December, the time for collecting the fares of the passengers coming from Santiago de Cuba, we missed the passenger named Ralph Keeler (according to his passport). We immediately searched every part of the vessel without finding Keeler. Immediately after the search, I took possession of everything which I found in his stateroom. The articles in the stateroom belonging to him consisted of a valise and an overcoat. A trunk was in the hold. The contents of the latter we did not ascertain. These facts I communicate to you for your information. God preserve you many years.

VALENTIN LAVIN.

On the same day, an investigation was instituted by the Adjutant of Marine, and Captain Lavin affirmed the foregoing statement, adding that the disappearance of Keeler was noticed at 8 o'clock on the morning of the date already stated. At the time of collecting the fares Keeler's passport was left over, and when his name was called there was no response. There was an immediate search for him throughout the vessel, but he could not be found.

The purser of the steamer *Cienfuegos*, charged with the collection of the fares, recognized the cedula or passport which distinguished him. The cedula stated that Keeler was single, merchant-traveler, age 33 years. This passport had been duly presented to and vised by the authorities of Santiago. Jose Bocardi said that at the time of leaving Santiago he was with the purser when Keeler approached, and in French asked the dinner hour on board. He then left. Returning again, he saw him at dinner as they were seated opposite to each other, but Keeler left before dinner was finished. At about 8 o'clock on the same day, he called on the deponent, and requested him as a favor to ask the Captain to allow his (Keeler's) trunk to be passed from the hold to his stateroom. This was denied by the Captain. Deponent did not see Keeler again, and did not pay sufficient attention to him to learn whether he was in his right mind, or insane by reason of actual dementia, or from other causes.

The steward, Cipriano Laureire, deposed that he saw Keeler up to 8½ at night talking with the passenger Jose Bocardi, but did not overhear the conversation. He did not see Keeler during the hours of his watch from 1 to 3 A. M. The last time witness saw Keeler was at 8½ at night. Keeler had no arguments or quarrels, nor had he heard anyone say anything to that effect. The witness supposed the disappearance of Keeler was attributable to the fact that he had fallen overboard, as he did not know that anything else could have happened. He did not speak to Keeler. Jesus Cigarrau testified to the same effect as his companion, and none of the passengers could throw any light upon the matter. In making the inventory, a note-book was discovered which stated on the fly-leaf, "If anything happens to the bearer, Ralph Keeler of Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A., write to my brother-in-law, Mr. C. H. Machin, lawyer, at No. 322 Broadway, New York City, U. S. A."

This is all that is known of the disappearance of Ralph Keeler, and the Judge has directed that the brother-in-law of Keeler be communicated with.

LETTER FROM CAPTAIN BRAINE TO MR. MACHIN

U. S. Steamer *Juniata*, Navy-Yard, N. Y., Jan. 6, 1874.

Dear Sir: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2d inst. received on the evening of the 5th inst., relative to Mr. Ralph Keeler. You desire answers to the following questions:

1. Your opinion (mine) as to the sanity of Mr. Keeler when you last saw him.

When I last saw Mr. Keeler I believed him to be perfectly sane.

2. Your (mine) opinion, based upon your well-known acquaintance with Cuba and Cubans, and from what you saw on your last visit there as to the manner of Ralph Keeler's death?

I believe that he met with foul play aboard the steamer on which he took passage from Santiago de Cuba, which opinion is based upon the well-known treachery of these people, in connection with the fact that he desired protection and came on board this ship on Dec. 12, where he remained until Dec. 14, when he left to take passage on the steamer; and no doubt his stay on board assured him of a safety on shore with these people which after events proved, in my opinion, not warranted and most unfortunate.

I inclose you a copy of Mr. Keeler's letter to me, dated Dec. 12; also copy of my letter to Consul A. N. Young relative to Mr. Keeler, dated Dec. 13; also copy of Consul A. N. Young's letter to me in response to my communication of that date.

Very respectfully, your obt. servant,

D. L. BRAINE, Com. U. S. N.,
Commanding U. S. S. *Juniata*.

To Charles H. Machin, esq.

MR. KEELER TO CAPTAIN BRAINE

Santiago de Cuba, Dec. 12, 1873.

Sir: I am sorry to be obliged to inform you that in the present state of affairs in this city, and in the face of facts which have been brought to my notice on trustworthy authority, I feel my forced stay in Santiago de Cuba to be no longer safe. Therefore, as a native American citizen, with all my papers in order, I am constrained to throw myself upon your protection, and most respectfully to beg that you will allow me to remain on board your ship until some safe means of leaving this island shall be presented. Very respectfully yours,

RALPH KEELER.

To Commander Baine, commanding the U. S. sloop-of-war *Juniata*.

LETTER FROM THE NEW YORK HERALD CORRESPONDENT

Herald Office, New York, Jan. 15, 1874.

Dear Sir: I beg leave to state that I saw Mr. Ralph Keeler, the correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune*, on several occasions at Santiago de Cuba during the month of December, 1873.

In conversation with him on the evening of his departure for Havana by the mail steamer *Cienfuegos*, the thought of his being in the slightest degree deranged never once occurred to me. Yours faithfully,

GERALD MCKENNEY, Correspondent *N. Y. Herald*.

To C. H. Machin, esq.

CONSULAR AGENT LAUTEN TO CONSUL-GENERAL HALL

U. S. Consular Agency at Manzanillo, Dec. 18, 1873.

* * * I beg to accompany copy of my last communication to Consul Al. N. Young, St. Jago, by which you will observe what occurred to the American citizen Ralph Keeler on his voyage from St. Jago to this port, on board the Spanish steamer *Cienfuegos*. I leave it to your good care to inform per wire or in writing Mr. C. H. Machin, New York, of the case, which I could not do by some other way sooner. As soon as I shall receive a reply from Consul Young, who must have known Mr. Keeler, with respect to the latter's stay at St. Jago, his intention when leaving there, his state of mind as observed by his friends, and with what amount of money about him

when he started, I shall be placed in a position to form a more exact opinion of the case. It appears strange that among his effects only a few American paper dollars have been found, and the question remains open whether he had all his Spanish money on his person or not, because some amount he must have been provided with in order to pay his passage.

WM. LAUTEN, *Acting Consul.*

BY TELEGRAPH TO THE TRIBUNE

Havana, Dec. 31.—The captain of the steamer *Cienfuegos* testifies that he saw Ralph Keeler on the vessel at midnight, and that when the passengers were assembled next morning he was missing. He believes that Mr. Keeler went overboard.

GENERAL PRESS DISPATCH

Havana, Dec. 31.—No satisfactory replies have been received to the telegram and letters of the agent of the New York Associated Press, inquiring as to the whereabouts of Mr. Ralph Keeler. It is known conclusively that he embarked on the steamship *Cienfuegos* at Santiago de Cuba. The captain of the *Cienfuegos* saw him on the deck of that vessel at midnight, and in the morning he had disappeared. It is now considered certain that he was lost overboard. Captain-General Jovellar has ordered a strict inquiry into the circumstances of his disappearance.

While all the correspondence is not available, enough is given by the writer of this story of Keeler to show the extent of the investigation with no definite results, and as no proofs of foul play were ever discovered, the matter faded into tragic history.

A letter published in the *New York Tribune* from Keeler, dated at Santiago de Cuba, December 14, 1873, gives a description of the place at Santiago where the American prisoners of the steamer *Virginius* were shot, the details of which were recited earlier in this story.

The *New York Tribune* published a tribute to Keeler from the pen of Thomas Bailey Aldrich, from which the following further quotations are given:

"It was in the Summer of 1868, if I remember, that Mr. Keeler came to me with a letter of introduction from a friend in California. He was at that time very slight and boyish of figure, with that flourish in manner and conversation with which a certain kind of shy man always fails to blind one to his shyness. He was, in fact, at once curiously shy and aggressive. His instantaneous assumption that I was deeply interested in all his affairs, was so fresh a trait of character to me, that I lacked the heart to dispel his illusion until it was too late; for I ended by becoming very deeply interested.

"After remaining in Boston three or four weeks Mr. Keeler departed abruptly. I heard of him from time to time delivering lectures in various towns, East and West, but did not see him again until the following year, when he returned to Boston, and finally made his home in Cambridge—if it can be said of Keeler that he made his home anywhere. To state it correctly, he secured a room in the old University town, and occupied it at regular intervals during the next five or six years. It was at this period that professional work and inclination brought us frequently in company. * * *

"In spite of his varied knowledge of life—gained in long and curious pilgrimages beyond the sea, as well as by extensive travel in his own land—Mr. Keeler retained in many things the innocence and simplicity of inexperience. His unworldliness and want of tact, socially, often led

conventional people to underrate his sterling qualities. He had a hundred small faults in this sort, but looking back upon them now, I see how they were more than atoned for by an amiability so unforced and sweet that it could have flowed only from a loyal and generous heart.

"I never knew a man with so little bitterness in his nature. His childhood, as we have seen, was marked by neglect; adverse fates must have rocked his cradle; he was adrift upon the world when he was only 10 years old. The world is a hard stepmother for strong men and women—but for a little child! He suffered cold and hunger, and knew none of the pleasures of boyhood; he had no boyhood. He was a little sharp-faced old man from the first; it was only afterward that he grew young. Human nature must not have seemed to him bubbling over with sympathy and kindness in those days; but he cherished no resentment. He never lost faith in the goodness of human nature. He remembered, with an excess of gratitude, only the persons who had been kind to him when he was a waif. * * *

"He has left behind him neither book nor verse that adequately represent his ability. He has, perhaps, done better than that—he has left us the heroic example of a man who might have evaded danger without incurring any special reproach, but who preferred to face death rather than shrink from the duties he had assumed."

Under the title of "Lost at Sea," Aldrich, on the Christmas morning following Keeler's disappearance, wrote these verses, which appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*:

"The solemn head that Guido drew
Looks down from out its leafy hood—
The holly berries, gleaming through
The pointed leaves, seem drops of blood.

"Above the cornice, round the hearth,
Are evergreens and spruce tree boughs;
'Tis Christmas morning, Christmas mirth
And joyous voices fill the house.

"I pause, and know not what to do,
I feel reproach that I am glad;
Until today, no thought of you,
O Comrade, ever made me sad.

"But now the thought of your blithe heart,
Your ringing laugh, can give me pain,
Knowing that we are worlds apart,
Not knowing we shall meet again.

"For all is dark that lies in store!
Though they may preach, the brotherhood
We know just this, and nothing more,
That we are dust, and God is good.

"What life begins when death makes end?
Sleek gownsman, it's so very clear?
How fares it with us?—Oh, my Friend,
I only know you are not here!

"That I am in a warm, light room,
With life and love to comfort me,
While you are drifting through the gloom,
Beneath the sea, beneath the sea!

"O wild green waves that lash the sands
Of Santiago and beyond,
Lift him, I pray, with gentle hands,
And bear him on—true heart and fond!

"To some still grotto far below
The washings of the warm Gulf Stream
Bear him, and let the winds that blow
About the world not break his dream!

"I smooth my brow. Upon the stair
I hear my children shout in glee,
With sparkling eyes and dancing hair,
Bringing a Christmas wreath for me.

"Their joy, like sunshine deep and broad,
Falls on my heart, and makes me glad;
I think the face of our dear Lord
Looks down on them, and seems not sad!"

From the *New York Tribune's* "Obituary of Ralph Keeler" are taken the following further facts about his career, which that journal interspersed with other observations:

"When he returned to Heidelberg on Christmas, after his tour of Europe in the dress of the Handwerksburschen (German apprentice) his $181 about which he wrote his story was gone. At Heidelberg he fortunately received first $25 and then $50 for articles he had written for American magazines, and he started down the Rhine. He traveled through Belgium and Holland and brought up in a garret in the Quartier Latin in Paris. In Paris he met George Alfred Townsend, who suggested that he write for some English magazine, which he did, and his articles were accepted. On the proceeds he went to Florence and remained there some time, and finally shipped to America again and reached Toledo, from where he had started on his tour with the '$181 in currency' he earned in the Toledo post office. This was about the year 1863, when Keeler was twenty-three years old.

"Soon after his return he sailed for San Francisco, where he remained about two years, engaged in teaching foreigners English and writing for the *Alta California,* the *Golden Era,* and *The Californian,* besides lecturing. When he came east again he acted as correspondent for the *Alta*

California. In the early part of 1869, when he was lecturing and gravitating between his various boyhood haunts, Toledo, Weston and Custar, Ohio, at which latter place his only brother, W. O. Keeler, lived, he sent to the *Atlantic Monthly* his story entitled 'Three Years as a Negro Minstrel.' This was published in July that year, and a few months later he sent to the *Atlantic* his 'Tour of Europe on $181,' and received for this article nearly as much as his European trip cost him."

The *Tribune* puts the date as late summer, 1869, that Keeler received a position on the staff of the *Atlantic,* for which he wrote reviews and revised proof-sheets. In January, 1870, says the *Tribune* article, when Keeler became art editor of *Every Saturday*, then an illustrated periodical, he engaged in a tour of the picturesque pertaining to the Mississippi River. He was accompanied by Mr. A. R. Waud, and was remarkably successful. The first article he wrote appeared in the issue of May 20, of *Every Saturday,* and succeeding articles were published almost consecutively until November that year, and nearly every important city on the Mississippi was described.

RALPH KEELER

Keeler also wrote brilliant articles describing the great Chicago fire. When *Every Saturday* ceased to be an illustrated paper, Keeler again went to Europe. He resided five months at Geneva, partly engaged in reporting the proceedings of the Geneva High Court of Arbitration on the Alaskan boundary dispute, and also devoted several months to travel and writing for American magazines as heretofore alluded to.

The *Tribune* also says Keeler was correspondent in the summer of 1873 for that paper, at Kelley's Island, a fashionable western summer resort in Lake Erie; and when there seemed a likelihood of war with Spain (over the Virginius matter) he was engaged again as the *Tribune* correspondent.

These points in the *Tribune* "Obituary" are prefaced with the following words: "It seems impossible longer to resist the conclusion that the waters of the Gulf have closed over the young and gifted man of letters who represented the *Tribune* during the last few weeks at Santiago de Cuba. Ralph Keeler had probably not an enemy in the world and the news of his death will convey a pang of sorrow wherever he was known.

He was a man of such sunny, cheerful nature, such perfect health and active frame, such genial and hopeful views of life, that the thought of an untimely death seem incongruous with him. He had led a life of independent and unconventional wandering, but carried through it all an unspotted character and a youthful simplicity of manner unusual in men of his experience. He had a strong, natural, literary capacity, cultivated by reading and study, which already gave promise of a brilliant career. His life was short but unstained by any vices, and filled with honest work and kindly deeds done in his own independent way."

One of the best sources of information pertaining to the life of Ralph Keeler from any Toledo resident of late years, who knew him and about him, came from his aunt, Mrs. Sarah M. Keeler, a most delightful and accomplished lady, who died in Toledo in 1927, and whose husband was the late George Grinnell Keeler, who died in 1923. A woman of remarkable memory for details, she had stored up a vast fund of facts absorbed from a subject that was always uppermost in the minds of the Keeler family regarding the life and fate of a beloved grandson, nephew and brother, whose memory was always deeply cherished.

"Two occasions stand out above all the rest in my memory, of meeting Ralph," said Mrs. Keeler, when interviewed a few months before her death, as she gazed fondly upon a portrait in oil of the ill-fated author and writer which hung upon the wall of the room where the interview took place. "The first was on my wedding day, June 30, 1873. My husband and I, with our escorts, were driving to the old Union Depot on the Middle Grounds, Toledo. We were on our way to a family gathering at the home of W. O. Keeler, the brother of Ralph, at Custar, Ohio. As we crossed the Swan Creek bridge, I noticed three people standing on the bridge, and as we passed, they all smiled and waved their hands, and Ralph took off his hat and bowed gracefully, the way he could in his French fashion, while they bid 'God speed' to the blushing bride and groom. The other occasion, and the last time I saw Ralph, was when my husband and myself, in the fall of the same year, were walking down Madison Avenue, Toledo. Our honeymoon had just sunk below the horizon and we were beginning to think of the serious business of getting settled. I had seen very few of my new relatives and suddenly came face to face again with Ralph, who warmly grasped my husband by the hand and saluted him as 'Uncle' and turned and called me 'Aunt.' And I, not to be outdone, returned the compliment by calling him 'Nephew.' Much badinage passed, one reason being that I, as his aunt, was at least two years his junior. He had spent a good part of this last summer of his life pleasantly with his brother at Custar, and was busily engaged in writing when there. His two sisters, Mrs. Amelia Seeley of Illinois and Mrs. Grace Machin of New York City, were also visiting in this locality, and the four and his much loved sister-in-law, William O. Keeler's wife, spent many happy days together and visited the old farmstead at Weston and many spots in a way endeared to their childhood; although it had for Ralph many bitter memories. Everybody who knew Ralph regarded him kindly and he was beloved by the most of them, for he had a way that was charming and fascinating—an undercurrent of simplicity that aroused one's sympathy."

Mrs. Keeler said that, as the years rolled by, the possibility that he might be detained in some Spanish prison as a spy, and would yet come back to them, was a hope that gradually faded and finally became obliterated from their minds. Resurrection's dawn only will reveal the facts. His grandmother nursed and cherished this hope of return long after it had been abandoned by every one else. Between his grandmother and Ralph there existed a deep and true affection from his earliest boyhood. She was a typical New England home lover of fine mind and large heart; the mistress of the "red brick" mansion, Coleman I. Keeler, Ralph's grandfather, had built in embryo Toledo, and in the wilderness back from the river front. While Ralph was always welcome there, and he had a deep regard for his grandparents, the farm life, such as was theirs then, gave him no promise of advancement. He craved activity and knowledge of the outside world. He was dutiful in a way, used to milk the cows, did boy's work about the home, even peddled fruit and garden products. But the location was too far away from the river activities and the attractions of the wharfs with lake boats arriving and clearing with their cargoes, and where he could listen to fascinating "sea tales" from the lips of grizzly old captains and sailors. Nevertheless, in all his later years, until the marriage of his older brother in 1858, when a new attachment sprang up between his sister-in-law, Mrs. W. O. Keeler, and himself, he unfailingly remembered the fireside of the "old red brick," where there always burned a welcoming light.

When it was thought best to place him in school at Buffalo, as he relates, his home in that city was in an aristocratic section with his aunt, Mrs. Sarah Bond, his father's sister, whose husband was a Buffalo merchant. The climax of his running away from school there came from a "switching" his aunt gave him, which he considered from his point of view unjustified and the punishment unmerited.

Ralph Keeler had a habit through all his life of jotting down his thoughts and feelings. It is gleaned from these notes that while he was naturally of a sunny disposition, he had spells of depression and short seasons of melancholia. Evidently it was finding among his papers, when he was declared missing, some of these notes set forth below, that gave the Spanish authorities the excuse for declaring that he "was not right in his mind," and that he had destroyed himself by jumping overboard from the ship.

For example, among some of the "scrap notes" from loose book pages, handed over to the writer by Mrs. Sarah Keeler, is found a notation evidently made while he was in school at Kenyon, which reads:

"Dec. 26—Tired and dumpish. Have earned seventy-five cents by manual labor, besides my regular *salaried* work. (The word 'salaried' is underscored.) Now sitting in Parshall's room and thinking on my unhappy lot. Oh me! Miserable! Which way shall I—" (obliterated).

Another memorandum is headed "Acct. with Kenyon College, Milnor Hall, Wednesday, 17th—'57." Then follow rather rambling notes about supper, one collar, one coat, one shirt, etc., and illegible figures about prices.

When he was evidently boarding himself, he made these entries: "Week commencing Monday, May 10. Tuesday—bread—.15; Wed. bread —.10; Thursday eggs—.12." Later entries: "Butter—.25; candy—.05; bread, bread, bread." On the opposite side of the sheet are entries of shirts, towels, handkerchiefs and other necessities purchased.

Then come entries of "Ralph Keeler commenced at Mrs. Thurston's," with cash paid at intervals, of amounts ranging from $2.95 to $6, with a credit "by services up to date, $66.68⅔."

On the same page is written the following: "Milnor Hall, Sept. 19-'57. For a wonder I am tonight a little homesick. Nearly two years ago I wrote in this book my account with the 'Floating Palace,' and now, if I do right, I will write an account of my expenses at this institution."

True enough, there are sheets containing his account with the Floating Palace which recite that "according to agreement, I give my services to the manager of the Floating Palace for six months for one hundred dollars or $16.66 2/3 per month or 55 5/9 cents per day. Salary to commence on Monday, 27th of August, 1855. Reckoning 30 days for every month, or 360 days per year, 180 days I have to serve." This memorandum is followed with charges of salary to January 1, 1856, and credits of small amounts of cash, and below these words:

"Speak not to me
I speak to thee."

Another page contains an entry with debits and credits between "Johnny Booker and pupil" of the date of November, 1854.

Again he is evidently overcome with one of his seasons of depression, as he writes, "Oh how I have abused this book! It were a shame for such outrageous scribbling to be seen (in) a book. It would be difficult for a person to know my motives from the sight of this scribbling, scribbling, scribbling."

On another page he records what is apparently a copy of a letter he wrote to his "Dear Sister Melia," in which he says he received her letter at Cincinnati, but "has nothing of note to write about," and that as he could not do justice in describing the scenery on the Ohio River, he would not try.

While from his very earliest years Keeler evinced a longing for intercourse with men and people who did more than graze cattle and clear openings in the virgin western forests, this ambition had not taken matured form and was coupled with a spirit of adventure and restlessness. But when he was yet a "negro minstrel" on the Mississippi, and about fourteen years old, a definite purpose and fixed ideals seemed to have entered his soul and it took the form of wanting to become a writer. He realized that to attain his object, he needed an education. This is clearly shown by a letter he wrote to a Lieutenant Bond of Fort Ridgley, of which he evidently kept a copy, which is here given:

"My letter to Lieut. Bond of Fort Ridgley."

Wheeling, June 4 (probably 1855).

Dear Sir:

Perhaps it would not be worth your time to read the supplication of a poor and young navigator on the sea of life; therefore I shall be brief. Fulwell I know that I am approaching one far superior to myself in rank and accomplishments; but I am doing as Lord Chesterfield directs.

For the last two years I have been striving to lay by money enough to send myself to school, but have not been able to procure a sufficient quantity to send myself for any length of time. For it takes all the salary I can command to procure clothes and other necessities. I have been striving also to find or think of any way by which I could get schooling by labor instead of money; but have found no such way, nor have I had any idea of one until a few days since I became acquainted with a boy that once lived with Captain Hayden of your Fort. The boy's name was John Lloyd. He told me that officers frequently took boys to live with them. I need not tell you that such a situation would be all that I would ask?

Surely, you or some of your colleagues, have been cast out into the world when young; and know what a young voyager has to suffer and contend with. You know how easily he is led into profanity! Now you can imagine how I feel, alone in the world, with no Christian adviser, just old enough to form my character for life (be it either good or bad). Then can you refuse me at least your influence among your fellow Officers?

If you will favor me with an answer; and tell me of some way to get to the Fort; or of some officer that will take me, I will give you all that I can give, viz: my undissembling thanks! I hope you will overlook the imperfections of this letter, especially the Grammar. For all my knowledge of Grammar I have just picked from public and private libraries. I trust that I may some day be instructed in Grammar by the Faculty of Fort Ridgley.

Direct your letter to
Master Ralph Keeler,
Cincinnati, Ohio.
To Lieut. Bond,
Fort Ridgley
Minnesota Territory
via
Traverse Des Sioux.

No comment is necessary upon the composition of this letter, written by a fifteen-year-old lad who had traveled thus far on life's journey under the conditions the story itself relates. The penmanship is marvelously fine, better than even that of 75 per cent of men of maturity of today.

There is no record obtainable as to whether this boy, hungry for knowledge, ever received a reply from Lieutenant Bond, but later, as he relates, in going up the Mississippi, he saw the students of St. Vincent's College, out in the shade of the trees at Cape Girardeau, and at the first opportunity he put himself under the care of Father Ryan of that institution, and then to Kenyon and later to old Heidelberg.

In regard to a New Year's address he wrote for the Toledo papers, there is found on a slip this notation: "Written for the *Toledo Times*, Jan. 1, 1860. After much dunning, got $5 for my pay."

Even while across the Atlantic and at old Heidelberg, Keeler did not forget his beloved grandmother, the widow of Coleman I. Keeler. Here is a letter he wrote her and his uncle, George Keeler:

Heidelberg, Baden, Jan. 15/63.

Dear Grandma and George:

I have not written you as I promised I would because I knew that you had other means of hearing from me. I suppose you see all my letters published in the *Toledo Commercial*. If you do you are more fortunate than I am; for as yet I have not seen one of them.

I write to you now not to say much in addition to what I have said in my published letters, but to assure you that I am as prosperous as I could hope to be, five thousand miles from home and in the land of strangers. In a letter to a newspaper, I could not tell you that I am very near making my living here after so short a sojourn. I teach English to Germans and use my pen in all sorts of ways for the

American press. If it were not for the discount on and depreciation of American money, I would be at this time earning my own living and pursuing my studies at the same time. I have reason to hope, therefore, that I shall be able to support myself here and see the whole of Europe. * * * I have heard nothing more from either of you since I left, than that George is in the post office. But I want you both to write me as soon as you get this and tell me everything that has happened.

I know all the political news. I get this from the Paris and German papers every day, but I don't know anything about Toledo news. George must send me an occasional *Blade*.

I received a letter from Amelia and Grace (his sisters) a few days ago. I suppose you know that my uncle Brown and family have moved to Washington. Auntie was not well. If you ever see anything of Doctor Burrett's folks, you will please remember me kindly and gratefully to them. Do you ever hear anything from George Church? I hope the poor fellow is not killed.

How goes it on the farm? How does George like it in the post office? Does Billy Clark work in the Delivery yet? Where is Gus?

The New Year's address which I wrote this year for the *Toledo Commercial* was received too late. They had made their arrangements before it came. I wish George would send me one or both of the New Year's addresses of the Toledo papers this year. * * *

Living is wonderfully cheap here and everything generally agreeable, yet I often think of both of you—much oftener than you do of me.

If I had not been buffeted about the world so long, the good living and good treatment I experienced at your hands last winter would have thoroughly spoilt me —would have made me subject to homesickness. But as it is, I keep a 'stiff upper lip,' and look forward with pleasure to the day when we shall all meet again.

I hope Grandma has been well all winter. Remember me kindly to the Kelseys and all the neighbors. Give the accompanying letter to Sukey Stebbins and receive my best and most grateful wishes for your health and happiness away across the sea. Write to me directly and direct to me at this city, Ingrimstrasse.

Yours affectionately,

RALPH KEELER.

Doctor Burrett was a well known physician of the Perrysburg, Maumee and lower valley section. George Church was an employe on the Coleman I. Keeler farm, did enter the Civil war and was killed; while "Gus" Keeler mentioned, remains unidentified. The Kelseys were a prominent old Toledo family.

One of Keeler's articles to the *Toledo Commercial* is dated from Munich. June 9, 1863, and says: "We are way up here 1,600 feet above the level of the sea and in sight of the Alps. The ride in the cars from Stuttgart here was particularly agreeable and interesting. * * *

"The second consideration which rendered the ride from Stuttgart to Munich uncommonly pleasant was the glorious scenery through which it conducted us. As we wound along the green valleys of the Oberland and the Suabian Alps, the scenes which spread themselves out before us, in continual variety, formed such a lovely panorama as we shall never forget. The higher peaks of old castles or watchtowers would frown down from their beetling crags, while on the more gentle slopes an occasional shepherd and his dog might be seen leading his flock. Here, then, was a realization of pastoral poetry, and one instance at last where reality is more poetical than poetry. All the bucolics that were ever written, from B——— and Virgil to Pope and Phillips, can not equal the sublime word-painting of nature in the fertile dales and green, sunny slopes of the Suabian Alps.

"We stopped about an hour at the old city of Ulm, whose immense

fortifications loom up on all sides. My pilgrim feet came very near leading me into difficulty here. I had a great curiosity to see the old cathedral, and started thither on foot. Having obtained my object, I made the depot, more by running than walking, just in time to find my 'coupe' locked, and the train on the point of starting. By a judicious use of the root of all evil, and a little affectionate persuasion, I prevailed upon the conductor to open the 'coupe' again, and restore me to the arms (figuratively) of the perplexed 'Jeems,' who had come to conclude that I had terminated my pilgrimage by taking the veil, or, at least getting my head shaved. Before I had time to explain to 'Jeems' what had kept me so long, and to convince him I was true to the faith of my fathers, we had crossed the Danube, and were whirling toward the old Imperial city of Augsburg. We followed the mighty river for miles. I say mighty, because, if it is not so wide and deep here, as it is further towards its mouth, it is still the same great Danube that pours its world of waters into the Black Sea, and it is indeed mighty in its historical associations. It formed for a long time, as some of your readers know, the frontier line of the Roman dominion. Its valley has been the high road of the barbarous hordes of Attila, and of the armies of Charlemagne, Gustavus Adolphus, Solyman the magnificent, Marlborough and Napoleon. Its shores have echoed at one time with the hymns of the pilgrim of the Cross, and at another with the enthusiastic shouts of the turbaned followers of the Prophet; and its waters have been dyed, in turn, with the blood of Romans, Huns, Swedes, Germans, Turks, French and English.

"We did not remain long in Augsburg. Many and many a century looks down from the dingy old spires and gables we saw from the windows of the car; but I felt thoroughly cured of short pilgrimages from railway stations, and gave over all further sightseeing until I shall reach Munich. Now we are here in this Elysium of art and beer, and have seen so much, and yet have so much to see, that I at present feel unable to go on with my story. * * *"

There were a number of Northwestern Ohio residents who still remembered Keeler when this story was written. Most of the incidents they related about him were when he visited this locality for the last time before he went to Cuba in 1873; although Solon Davis, an old civil engineer residing at Weston, Ohio, said that he attended school with Ralph, at Perrysburg, for a time when they were boys, evidently before Keeler started on his negro minstrel venture. J. A. Holmes, president of the First National Bank of Weston, said he remembered well of seeing Keeler during the season he spent about his old haunts in gathering material for some of his later writings. He described Keeler as rather small of stature and having the dress and bearing of a French count, carrying a cane which he flourished conspicuously while gracefully walking along the street. Burton Dewese, cashier in the same Weston bank, related that his grandfather, Amos Dewese, worked for Ralph's father, Olmstead Keeler, on the old prairie which stretched northeastward from the present townsite, the first job Dewese had when he located in Wood County.

The late George E. Pomeroy, one of Toledo's prominent citizens, told

that his most vivid recollection of Ralph Keeler was when the latter returned from Europe and attended a dinner at the Boody House, given in his honor before he left for Cuba, and at which Keeler was the king pin with his wit and humor and his interesting account of his experiences abroad. There was the usual levity and badinage, in which Keeler joined heartily. Those present, besides Keeler and Pomeroy, were Ralph Osborn, William L. Malcom and Fred Shoemaker. George Grof was then the proprietor of the Boody. Ralph Osborn was the son of the then prominently known attorney, J. R. Osborn. Malcom was the general passenger agent of the Wabash Railroad, and Shoemaker was prominent in Toledo affairs, a banker and capitalist, and well known until a comparatively late date.

From an authentic source it is learned that Keeler had expressed the desire and had even made a will providing for the education of a nephew, Ralph Keeler, his namesake, still living when this story was penned; and also made provision that any income from his copyrights and future writings should go to Kenyon College. Little information could be gained from the nephew of value about his uncle, although he had received funds from the source indicated for academy schooling.

Keeler also was once offered an important place in the foreign diplomatic service by his home government, the nature of which is not now known. But such matters were not to his liking, and he respectfully declined.

In his "Vagabond Adventures" he hints of a boyhood Toledo romance, as referred to in an earlier chapter, and while it was a harmless affair, it is passed over without names being given or comment. From people intimate with his life, the statement was made that he was also betrothed to a young lady of a New York family when he last sailed for Cuba, but there are no authentic records that would warrant publication of the details here.

Several quotations have been made from Keeler's "Book of Thoughts and Reveries," he carried with him all through the years of his career; when he was a "negro minstrel" on the Mississippi, when he was at St. Vincent's College, then Kenyon and Heidelberg, and which was among his rescued effects when he met his death in Cuban waters. On the last loose page of this book, in Keeler's characteristic, flourishing style, is scrawled the following:

"One blank page left in this old book! What shall I write on it? Eight years have passed since you came into my possession, old book. We have been companions on long journeys. Our companionship has outlived Empires and Republics. May it not outlive our Republic.

Heidelberg, Saturday 6, September 1862."

What a wonderful tale this little scrap of paper might tell, could it only give up its hidden secrets! But it will ever be dumb as to what stilled the hand that penned these lines.

And finally, as this narrative ends, let the mind for a moment wander back to the site of the old homestead, where, by the spring still flowing at the foot of the ridge the poplars and weeping willows grew, Keeler wrote about after his last visit. For poplars and willows and maples yet grow

about the same spot where the little sister placed the whip in the ground which grew into a "tall tree." And let them be dedicated, along with the marble shaft, to the memory of the little boy who was so lonely after the death of his father and mother and sister, and who so craved parental affection and the ties of kinship that were his no more, that it made his young life unbearably restless, a restlessness he never entirely overcame.

RALPH KEELER MONUMENT, WESTON OHIO CEMETERY

Mr. Keeler was born at Weston in 1840, lost at sea, 1873; probably thrown overboard by Spaniards.

CHAPTER LVIII

EDUCATIONAL

FIRST SCHOOLS—EARLY MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY SCHOOLS—FIRST SCHOOL SYSTEM—HIGHER EDUCATION—COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

In spite of the severe handicaps experienced by the early settlers of Massachusetts—the Pilgrims and Puritans who settled Plymouth, Salem and Boston, from 1620 to 1630—those pioneers did not neglect to provide promptly for the education of their children.

Five years after the settlement of Boston—1835—the Boston Grammar School was organized. Sixteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, Harvard University was established

While those early schools were not free nor open to "all the children of all the people," yet they influenced the spread of education throughout the thirteen original colonies and demonstrated the possibilities of a school system which would enable every young person, regardless of wealth or social standing of their parents, "to secure an education."

Facilities for education in the colonies were very limited prior to the Revolutionary war. Of course, quite a number of educational institutions were established in different colonies prior to the Revolutionary war, but most of them were dependent for their maintenance upon the tuition paid by students who attended them. Comparatively few of the youth of the colonies were able to pay tuition, consequently, a very small per cent of the young people could attend the institutions or obtain an education.

Immediately after the Revolutionary war, the people began to migrate to the "West," and certain portions of the Northwest Territory became quite populous within a few years. The early settlers in Ohio were so busy erecting rude habitations, felling trees, burning off the heavy timber, fencing the clearings, guiding the plow through the rooty ground, and making passable highways to mill and market that, for a time, the school interests of

their children were neglected. However, in most of the pioneer settlements, as soon as provision had been made for housing, feeding and clothing the members of the families, some form of educational service was started.

In the vicinity of Marietta where Ohio was first settled, schools were started as early as 1789. In 1790 schools were started at Fort Washington (now Cincinnati). A school was opened near Lebanon, Ohio, in 1797. In other parts of this territory, which became the state of Ohio in 1803, some form of education followed promptly the settlement of the country.

The most of the early schools were supported by subscriptions of parents who had some financial means to help support a school. The children of parents who lacked financial means could not attend the schools. Such children were wholly dependent for education upon the few things which parents might be able to teach them.

The term of the early school was quite short—often but a few weeks during the year. Most of the earliest teachers were selected more on account of their unfitness to perform manual labor than by reason of their intellectual qualifications. The few schools established were oftentimes taught by cripples, worn-out old men and women physically unable to scotch hemp and spin flax, or constitutionally opposed to such labor. Often educational sentiment was at low ebb, and demanded from instructors of children no higher qualifications than could be furnished by the merest tyro. The estimation in which the teacher was held in the community at large was not such as to induce any young man or woman of spirit and worth to enter upon teaching as a vocation.

"The teacher was regarded as a kind of pensioner on the bounty of the people, whose presence was tolerated because county infirmaries were not then in existence. The capacity of a teacher to teach was rarely a reason for employing him. Often he was selected as teacher because he could do nothing else."[1] The people's demand for education was fully met when their children could write a tolerably legible hand, when they could read the Bible or an almanac, and when they were so far instructed in arithmetic as to be able to determine the value of the farm produce.

The parts of Ohio peopled by settlers from New England demanded better educational facilities—broader courses of instruction and better qualified teachers. In such localities the teacher was on an equal footing with the physician and minister.

[1] Burn's Educational History of Ohio.

Society welcomed him as an honored member. His periodic visit to the homes of his pupils was regarded as quite an event by each household where he "boarded out" the share of any patron of his school. His evenings were spent with the family. Many an inspiring youth was led into new fields of thought by coming in contact with the master in the home circle.

In the early schools a male teacher was employed for the winter term and a female teacher taught the summer term. The mode of government was simple. The hickory stick, or the birch, was the chief implement in managing the children. The nature of the child was assumed to be constant. There was a code of rules which applied to old and young, boy and girl alike, with a fixed penalty for each violation.

In spite of such limited school facilities, many people migrated from the Thirteen Original Colonies (even from Massachusetts, the "mother of education,") to the Great Northwest where it was said that "the children of the poor, as well as the children of the rich, have the opportunity to secure an education."

In Northwestern Ohio, prior to 1825, the facilities for education were, perhaps no better than those described above in parts of Ohio which were settled immediately after the Revolutionary war. Comparatively few of the youth were being educated in the limited "subscription schools."

In 1825 the General Assembly authorized County Commissioners to make a levy to provide school facilities for all the youth of school age in the school districts of the county.

In Wood County in 1826 the County Commissioners ordered a levy of ½ mill for school purposes. In 1827 this levy was continued. But the legislation of 1825 made levy for school purposes optional with the County Commissioners. In Wood County the commissioners ignored this tax in 1828, 1829, 1830 and 1831. In 1832 the County Commissioners levied one mill for school purposes. During the next few years nothing whatever was done toward levying a school tax.

In 1827 the General Assembly passed legislation which authorized the sale of school lands. In the most of Northwestern Ohio the sale of such lands did not begin until about 1837. About the same time legislation was passed which compelled county commissioners to make a levy for public schools in the districts of the county.

As stated, the qualifications of many early teachers were negligible. They were not required to have a certificate to teach. Their qualifications were determined by the local committee. Examin-

ers were first provided for by law in 1825. The Common Pleas Court was required to appoint three suitable persons as school examiners. In 1826 the number of examiners was increased to not exceed the number of organized townships in the county. In 1834 the number of examiners was made five, and in 1836 the number was reduced to three.

The early teachers were supervised by the clerk of the school committee. Later the board of education was authorized to appoint any competent person as township superintendent. The employment of a superintendent was optional, however, and, until about 1895, few township districts had supervision. From about 1890 to 1914 many townships employed school superintendents. Since 1914, as the law provides, there has been a county superintendent in every county. Many counties employ one or more assistant county superintendents.

Many of the one-room rural schools of Northwestern Ohio have been centralized. In Wood County since 1914 the number of one-room schools has been reduced from 182 to three. We now have laws which provide financial support for weak school districts within a county. In addition to the provision for equalization within the county districts, Ohio appropriates annually about $3,500,000 to aid the weak districts in the poorer counties of Ohio.

In Ohio school districts that do not maintain high schools the tuition of high school students is paid to enable them to attend high school in other school districts. Transportation is also provided for high school students who live more than four miles from a high school. This enables every Ohio child to obtain a high school education even though his home may not be able to finance his education.

Many other states are equally generous in providing school facilities for all of their children.—By Prof. H. E. Hill, County Superintendent of Schools of Wood County.

Further information concerning the early educational situation in this section of Ohio can be gleaned by referring to the work of the early missionaries. And the stories of the pioneer log cabin schools and the various local educational developments, are told in the histories of the various counties.

Early efforts towards higher education and the establishment of such schools are also set forth.

The Maumee and Sandusky section has seven highly developed educational institutions, represented by Bowling Green State

College; Heidelberg College, Tiffin; Toledo University; St. John's University, Toledo; Defiance College; Bluffton College, and Findlay College.

BOWLING GREEN STATE COLLEGE

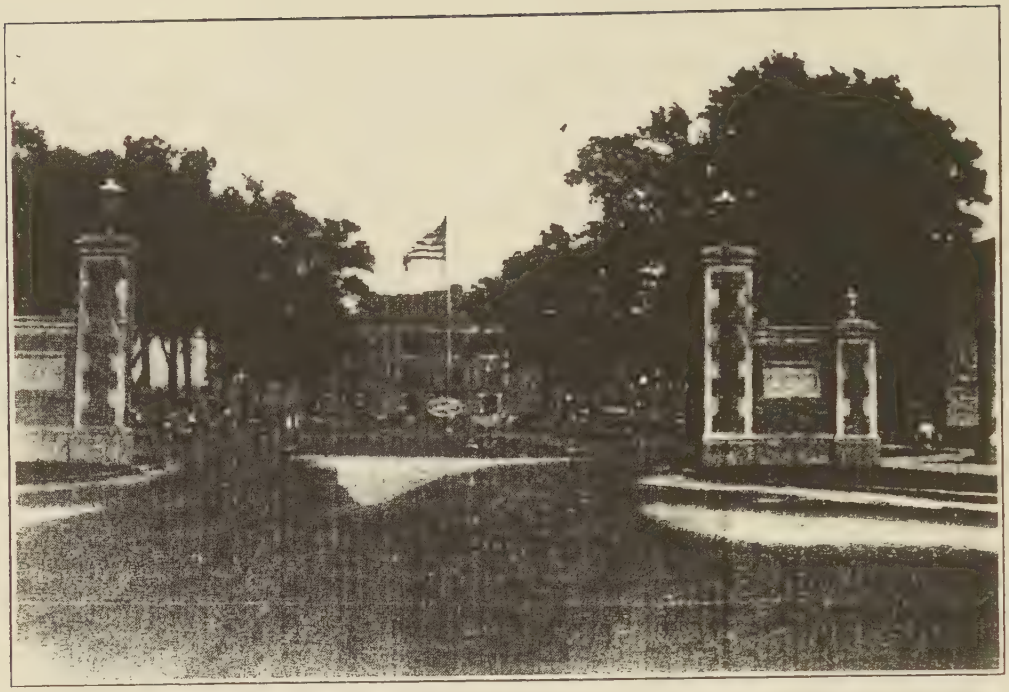
In 1910 the General Assembly passed an act authorizing the Governor to appoint a commission to locate two new normal schools, one in Northwestern Ohio and one in Northeastern Ohio. The commission selected Bowling Green as the location of the school for Northwestern Ohio. On June 30, 1911, the Board of Trustees, appointed by the Governor, organized and on February 16, 1912, elected Dr. H. B. Williams of Sandusky President of the College.

Early in the history of the College, a general building plan was adopted; also plans for the improvement of the grounds so as to preserve the natural beauty of the site and add to its attractiveness by artistic treatment. These plans have been developed from time to time by the construction of drives, entrance gates, and walks; also by grading, planting, and the treatment of the native trees, until the main features of the original design are practically completed, and the campus is now one of remarkable beauty and just pride.

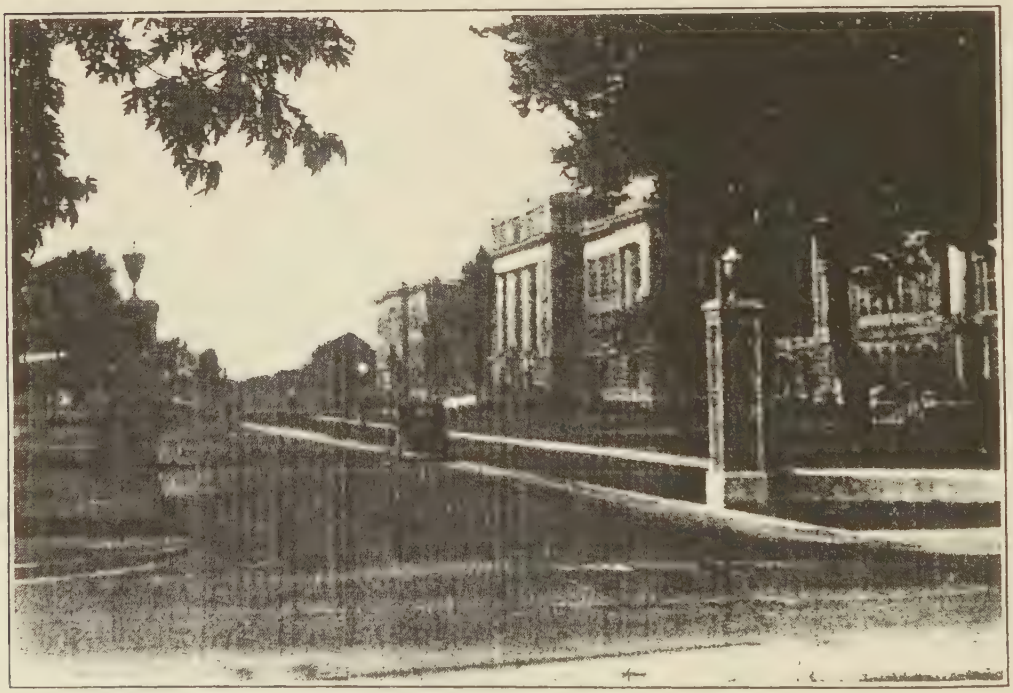
The Eighty-eighth General Assembly at its regular session in 1929 enacted the Emmons-Hanna bill which went into effect on July 3, 1929. This bill changed the legal name of the institution to the Bowling Green State College and extended the scope of the College to include courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and to the degree of Bachelor of Science.

The College is now organized into two divisions of coordinate rank, covering the fields of Liberal Arts and Education. In the College of Liberal Arts courses are offered in Arts and Science leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts and to the degree of Bachelor of Science. The College of Education offers four-year courses in Elementary, Secondary, and Special Education leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science in Education, and two-year Diploma Courses in Elementary Education.

The campus and grounds are located at the eastern edge of the city and cover an area of 105 acres. Seven college buildings, a central heating plant, president's home, engineer's cottage, and a group of farm buildings comprise the present plant. An appropriation of $300,000 was made in 1929 for the erection of an additional building for the accommodation of the department of mu-



MAIN ENTRANCE TO BOWLING GREEN STATE COLLEGE
Library Building at extreme right



WOOSTER STREET ENTRANCE TO BOWLING GREEN STATE COLLEGE

sic and the department of commerce, and work on this building will be started in the near future.

The buildings have all been erected since 1914 and represent an expenditure of over $2,000,000. The group idea has been carried out in the style of architecture and material used, so as to give a pleasing unity and harmony of design in the general appearance of buildings. The most recent buildings are the Library and the Physical Education building. The Library is a three-story structure of appropriate design with ample stackroom space, main reading room 42 feet by 150 feet, freshman reading room, and all conveniences for administering a college library. Its well selected collection of books and periodicals affords superior opportunities for reference and study. The Physical Education building has a playing floor 150 feet by 90 feet, running track, handball courts, corrective rooms, team rooms, general locker room, examination rooms, classrooms, offices, and a complete equipment for indoor athletics for men. It is provided with furniture for the accommodation of large audiences and is the center for large social gatherings. The outdoor facilities for games and athletic sports are complete. The aim is to interest every student in some form of healthful exercise. Tennis courts, running track, and playing fields are provided for both men and women, but only men students participate in intercollegiate contests.

The outstanding features of the State College are its rapid growth both in enrollment and physical plant, and its high standing for scholarship and conduct. It takes just pride in the personal attention that is given to its students and in the excellent morale that characterizes both faculty and students. Student participation in government is fostered within reasonable limits, and the moral tone is stimulating and wholesome.

The enrollment has steadily increased each year except for a short period during the World war. For the current year, 1928-1929, there were enrolled 957 for the regular academic year, 874 for the first summer term and 348 for the second summer term, thus making a total enrollment of nearly 2,200 for the year.

The addition of the College of Liberal Arts will doubtless double the enrollment before many years. The College has been a member of the North Central Association for many years and is ranked as a Class A institution by the American Association of Teachers' Colleges. It has been the policy of the management to keep the expense of college training as low as is consistent with

accepted standards of work. Students find it possible to live comfortably and keep their college bills within $300 per year.

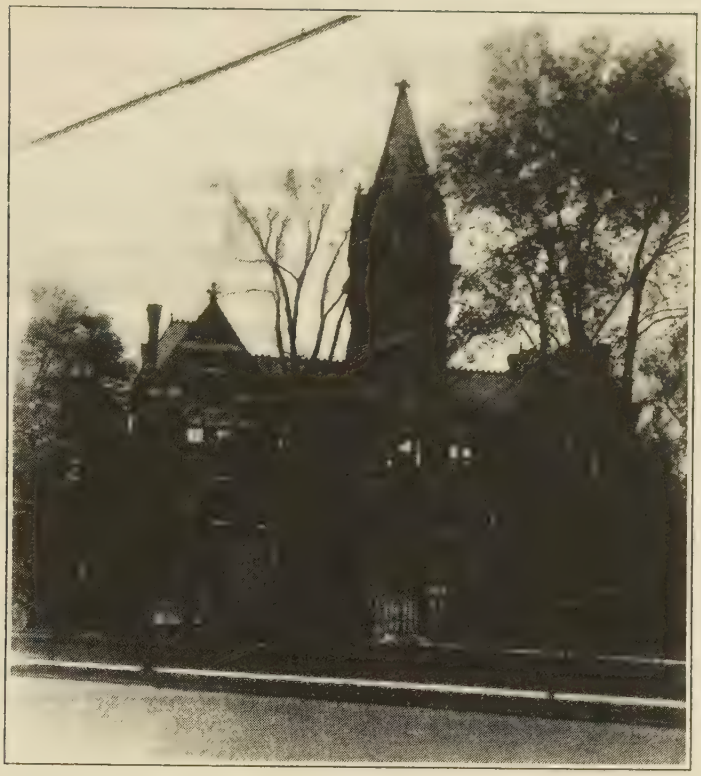
The resume of the development of the State College would be incomplete without particular mention of the faithful and efficient service of the Board of Trustees. This body of five citizens, appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate, has been composed of progressive, capable persons who have never allowed any personal or factional considerations to influence them in the performance of their function in the management of the institution. The College has, therefore, been singularly free from any outside interference or internal dissension. This attitude has inspired confidence and promoted a feeling of stability that has been an important factor in the success of the college. The first Board was composed of the following members one of which, Mr. D. C. Brown, has served almost continuously up to the present time; J. E. Collins, Fremont; D. T. Davis, Findlay; D. C. Brown, Napoleon; John Begg, Columbus Grove; J. D. McDonel, Fostoria. The Board at present (1929) is staffed and organized as follows: Dr. H. J. Johnston, president, Tontogany; Mrs. Myrtle B. Edwards, secretary, Leipsic; D. C. Brown, Napoleon, treasurer; T. C. Mahon, Kenton; Judge Orville Smith, Cleveland, Dr. H. B. Williams, was elected president of the College on February 16, 1912 and has served continuously in that position to the present time. He has been an untiring worker every day in the year for its success and is counted one of the most able administrative college men of the country.

Housed in the College Museum, is a valuable ornithological and mammal collection. One of the most valuable relics is the bell from the old Maumee Indian Mission, established on the Maumee River in 1822.

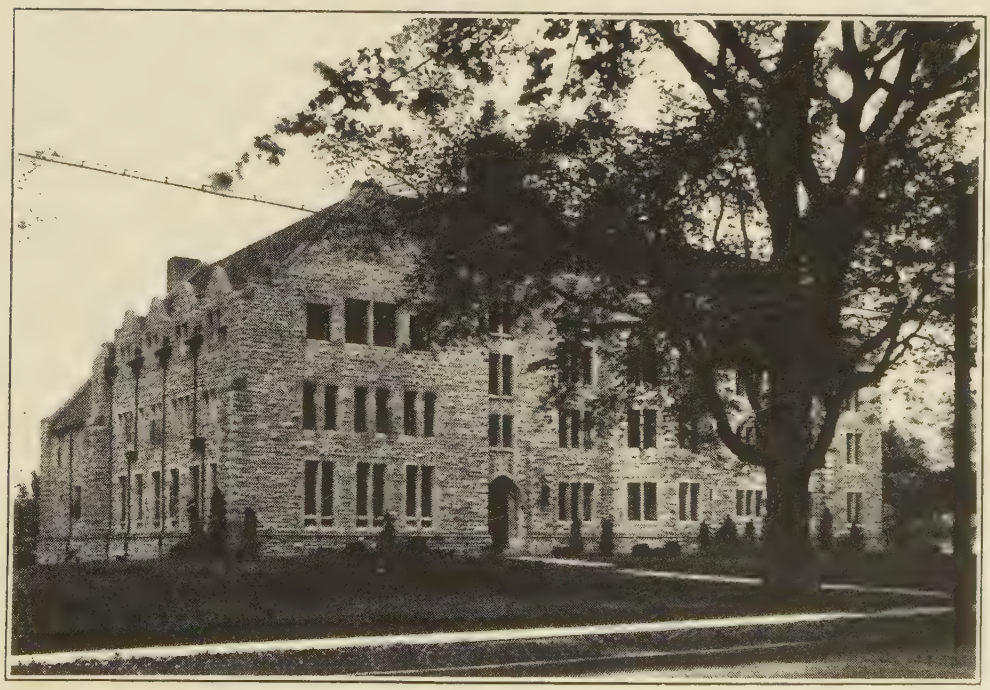
HEIDELBERG COLLEGE

Heidelberg College located at Tiffin, Ohio, in a beautiful situation containing over thirty acres, is one of the oldest institutions of learning in the Middle West. It was opened to students on November 11, 1850. The school was established and has been fostered by the Reformed Church in the United States. While attached to a religious denomination, the institution is in no sense sectarian. Its courses are liberal and students of all religious beliefs receive equal consideration and equal opportunities.

This institution, as now organized, includes the College of Liberal Arts, the Academy, the Department of Pedagogy, the De-



COLLEGE HALL, HEIDELBERG COLLEGE, TIFFIN
Completed in 1886



FRANCE HALL, HEIDELBERG COLLEGE, TIFFIN
Dormitory for girls, completed in 1926

partment of Oratory, the Conservatory of Music, and the Art Department.

This college has done faithful work throughout the years, turning out annually those who have done much to advance the work of the world, not only in Ohio, but throughout the length and breadth of the United States. During the past years under the direction of its energetic president, Charles E. Miller, it has taken wonderful strides not only in the increased attendance of students but also in the general equipment of the institution and the standards of work done. Heidelberg is one of the standard colleges in Ohio belonging, ever since its organization, to The Ohio College Association. Heidelberg is also a member of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and is approved by the Association of American Universities, as a college of the first rank. In 1901, when President Miller assumed the office of president, there were five buildings, eight acres of campus, an annual budget of $13,700 and an enrollment of 314. In 1929 there are twelve buildings, twenty acres of campus, an annual enrollment of over 700.

Among the buildings are Willard Hall, one of the best equipped women's buildings in the Middle West; a science building, a library building, and France Hall, a new dormitory for women and a gymnasium.

These buildings have had a wonderful influence in transforming the life and work of the institution, which now includes besides College Hall, Sarah Keller Cottage, Conservatory Cottage and College Commons, a new building for men.

The Conservatory of Music has in the past few years also made wonderful progress. The methods employed in voice and on the organ, piano and violin, are the most modern and progressive and there is no doubt but that the character of work now being done in this department is deserving of the great appreciation already manifested by the rapid increase in students.

This institution is aiming to give a thorough preparation for life's responsibilities, laying deep the foundations of culture. It seeks to send young men and women out into the world not only equipped with knowledge but also established in moral principle. It does not pretend to do what it is not equipped to do. It is not a technical school; but much of the work done at technical schools of engineering, etc., in the first two years can be done profitably at Heidelberg, at a lower expense and amid better moral surroundings.

The standards of Heidelberg are everywhere recognized and her credits have been received without question when taken for advance work at Yale, Harvard, Columbia, Chicago, and other universities of similar rank. The institution has a peculiar field in Northwestern Ohio since no school having the same general purposes is found in that part of the State.

With an endowment of over a million dollars and with a fine equipment and strong faculty, Heidelberg ranks with the best institutions of learning in the country.

ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY, TOLEDO, OHIO

St. John's University, for thirty years Toledo's main institution of higher learning for Catholic youth, owes its origin to the Rt. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstman, third Bishop of Cleveland. A great champion of education, he had an intimate knowledge of the various systems followed by schools both at home and abroad, and of these he felt a special preference for the educational system of the Jesuits; for he was aware of its long trial and proverbial success.

The system is guided by the principles set forth in a body of rules and suggestions outlined by the most prominent Jesuit educators in 1599, revised in 1832, and attended up to the present day with unfailing success. The educational system in use at St. John's University is substantially the same as that employed in 227 educational institutions conducted by the Society of Jesus in nearly all parts of the world.

Truly psychological in its methods, and based upon the very nature of man's mental processes, it secures on the one hand that stability so essential in educational thoroughness, while on the other hand it is elastic and makes liberal allowance for the widely varying circumstances of time and place. While retaining as far as possible all that is unquestionably valuable in the older learning, it adapts and incorporates the best results of modern progress.

As understood by the Jesuits, education in its complete sense is the full and harmonious development of all those faculties that are distinctive of man. It is more than mere instruction or the communication of knowledge. The requirement of knowledge, though it necessarily pertains to any recognized system of education, is only a secondary result of education itself. Learning is an instrument of education which has for its end culture, a mental and moral development.

Consonant with this view of the purpose of education, it is clear that only such means as science, language, and the rest, be chosen both in kind and amount as will effectively further the purpose of education itself. The student cannot be forced, within the short period of his school course and with his immature faculties, to study a multiplicity of languages and sciences into which the vast world of knowledge has been scientifically divided. It is evident therefore that the purpose of the mental training given is not proximately to fit the student for some special employment or profession, but to give him such a general, vigorous, and rounded development as will enable him to cope successfully even with the unforeseen emergencies of life. While affording mental stability, it tends to remove the insularity of thought and want of mental elasticity which is one of the most disheartening results of specialization on the part of students who have not brought to their studies the uniform mental training given by a systematic school course. The studies therefore are so graded and classified as to be adapted to the mental growth of the student and to the scientific unfolding of knowledge. They are so chosen and communicated that the student will gradually and harmoniously reach as nearly as may be that measure of culture of which he is capable.

It is fundamental in the Jesuit system that different studies have distinct educational values. While recognizing the importance of mathematics and the natural sciences, the Jesuit system of education has unwaveringly kept language in the position of honor, as an instrument of culture. Mathematics and the natural sciences bring the student into contact with the material aspects of nature and exercise the deductive and inductive powers of reason. Language and history effect a higher union. They are manifestations of spirit to spirit, and by their study and for their acquirement the whole mind of man is brought into widest and subtlest play. The acquisition of language especially calls for delicacy of judgment and for a constant, keen, and quick use of reasoning powers.

Furthermore, the Jesuit system does not share the delusion of those who imagine that education, understood as an enriching and stimulating of the intellectual faculties, has of itself a morally elevating influence in human life. While conceding the effects of education in energizing and refining the student's imagination, taste, understanding, and powers of observation, it has always held that knowledge and intellectual development, of themselves, have no moral efficacy. Religion alone can purify the

heart and guide and strengthen the will. This being the case, the Jesuit system aims at developing side by side the moral and intellectual faculties of the students, and sending forth into the world men of sound judgment, of acute and rounded intellect, of upright and manly conscience. It maintains that to be effective morality is to be taught continuously; it must be the underlying basis, the vital force supporting and animating the organic structure of education. It must be the atmosphere that the student breathes; it must suffuse with its light all that he reads, illuminating what is noble and exposing what is base, giving to the true and the false their relative light and shade. In a word, the purpose of Jesuit teaching is to lay a solid substructure in the whole mind and character for any superstructure of science, professional and special, as well as for the upbuilding of moral life, civil and religious.

Fully convinced of the excellence of the Jesuit system of education and its good results, Bishop Horstman, who had long desired the erection of a college for the education of the Catholic youth of Toledo, earnestly pressed the Jesuit Fathers in 1898 to undertake the new enterprise. Having purchased a site with a suitable building, the Jesuits opened St. John's College in September, 1898,—a momentous event in Toledo's history of education. The first classes were conducted in a stately mansion located at the corner of Superior and Walnut streets. As in less than three years this building, which is now the Faculty Building, proved entirely inadequate to accommodate the rapidly expanding enrollment, a much larger building, thoroughly equipped and better fitted for teaching purposes, was erected in 1901. This new addition, which has a frontage of over seventy feet on Superior Street and a depth of ninety feet, included large and commodious lecture rooms, a gymnasium, a library, and a chapel.

Incorporated as a college on May 22, 1900, the institution, on August 29, 1903, in accordance with the general law of the State of Ohio had its original charter amended and the corporate title changed into "The St. John's University of Toledo, Ohio," with power to confer such academic degrees and honors as are conferred by similar institutions in the United States.

In September, 1907, another building, which offered more extensive facilities, was opened to the incoming classes. It is a six-story structure of imposing design. Additional class rooms, assembly halls, and laboratories are some of the features of this construction. To meet the high requirements of the national and

state associations that regulate the conditions for entrance into the professional schools and for the admission to State examinations, the physical, chemical and biological departments, with their respective laboratories were enlarged and equipped with the most modern appliances. A well-furnished meteorological department was also added. On the top floor is an exceptionally well-stocked museum. The collection of coins is singularly rare. Some three thousand are on exhibition, of which a splendid series of 823 pieces, obtained from the Vatican Library, are Roman coins, ranging from the year 300 B. C. to 400 A. D.

In 1909 Westminister Church, situated at the corner of Superior and Locust streets, became the property of St. John's. In its remodeled state, besides serving as a hall for entertainments and meetings, it is a gymnasium with a roomy and unobstructed basketball court which is considered one of the finest in the city.

It is one of the decided advantages of the system followed at St. John's that the student may begin his studies in the high school connected with the college and then pass on through the college course to graduation. In addition to the moral influence thus gained, this secures a uniform homogeneous course of teaching and training. The results of such a course of study are a continuous and normal development of the mental faculties along well-defined lines and the possession of a clear and coherent system of principles upon which any special course may afterwards safely rest. Students of any denomination are admitted to the courses; only the Catholic students, however, are required to attend the Religion courses.

In 1924 the spacious Pomeroy residence at the corner of Walnut and Huron Streets was acquired and converted into a department distinctively for college classes. It was much enlarged in 1928. The Jesuit property in the heart of the city now includes the entire block bounded by Superior, Walnut, Huron, and Locust streets.

In 1926 there was affiliated to St. John's University as the College of Women, Mary Manse College—an institution under the immediate management of the Ursuline Sisters. Degrees are conferred upon graduates of the College of Men and of the College of Women at the joint commencement exercises in June.

The Teachers' College of St. John's University was organized in the spring of 1922. Previous to that time St. John's University had conducted courses for Sisters at the main building on Superior Street and in the Mother Houses of the Notre Dame

and Ursuline Orders. The Teachers' College was established by the diocesan school authorities in conjunction with St. John's University in order to place at the disposal of the Sisters the maximum educational resources of the diocese. It is a department of St. John's University and the quality of the work done in the various courses is certified by that institution. It is accredited by the Ohio Department of Education as a teacher training institution, its graduates being eligible to provisional state teaching certificates.

Throughout its whole career St. John's University has been in the hands of a succession of men of unselfish and loyal devotion to the cause of higher education in Toledo, who united scholarly attainments with a breadth of view and worldly wisdom which spell success. Not only has the institution improved and expanded its buildings and facilities, but the assiduous efforts of the faculty have always been to advance and elevate the standard of scholarship. The students have access to well-stocked libraries in the College, High School, and Faculty buildings. Various college activities, such as literary, oratorical, dramatic, orchestral, scientific, athletic, and religious societies, have recently been given new impulse.

Very satisfactory results have crowned the labors of the Jesuit Fathers in their educational work at St. John's University. Thousands of students have gone through its classic halls since its foundation thirty years ago. Its alumni are to be found in the most varied walks of life, holding honorable and distinguished positions in the ministry, in the professions, in scientific and mercantile vocations.

St. John's University, besides conducting the St. John's High School, includes at present three college departments—College of Men: St. John's College, address, 807 Superior Street. College of Women: Mary Manse College, address, 2413 Collingwood Avenue. Teachers' College, address, 2535 Collingwood Avenue.

The executive officers are: William H. Fitzgerald, S. J., president; William J. Engelen, S. J., Dean of St. John's College; Sister St. Margaret, O. S. U., Dean of Mary Manse; Francis J. Macelwane, A. M., Dean of Teachers' College; Charles J. Wideman, S. J., Faculty Director of Athletics; Godfrey Schulte, S. J., Chaplain; Charles F. Wolking, S. J., Librarian; Edward F. Mohler, A. M., Registrar.

It was in October, 1920, that the Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, then Bishop of Toledo, who heartily desired that St. John's ex-

pand on a much broader scale, transferred the ownership of a twenty-six acre plot of land with a frontage of 1,280 feet on Bancroft Street, and 900 feet on Parkside Boulevard, to the Jesuit Fathers, for a sum far below its actual value. This site, the most ideal and picturesque in the city, will eventually be the future location of the Greater St. John's University.

With the purchase of the new college property the St. John's Endowment League, consisting of hundreds of Catholic laymen, was organized for the purpose of providing an outside means of establishing, maintaining, and developing a Catholic University in the City of Toledo, second to none in this part of the country. The Rt. Rev. Samuel A. Stritch, second Bishop of Toledo, has shown himself keenly interested in the constructive measures taken by the college authorities and fervently hopes that the days will be shortened until their realization. The Faculty of St. John's and the members of the Endowment League are now eagerly awaiting the propitious time to launch forth upon the expansive movement and erect the first building of the new and Greater St. John's University.

Defiance College.—Located on both banks of the Maumee, midway between Toledo and Fort Wayne, the City of Defiance has for its slogan, "The Central Market of the Maumee Valley." Equally fitting for Defiance College from the standpoint of situation would be the slogan, "The Central College of the Maumee Valley."

The buildings of Defiance College are located in a beautiful grove of natural trees in North Defiance—just near enough to the business part of the city to be readily accessible, and just far enough away to be sufficiently exclusive for effective educational work. These buildings consist of the Central Heating Plant; the administration and library building, known as Defiance Hall; the large and well-furnished dormitory for women, named Trowbridge Hall because of the generosity of Lyman P. Trowbridge; the auditorium, recitation and music building known as Weston Hall, so named in honor of John B. Weston, well-known educator, late member of the Defiance College Faculty, and at one time a co-worker with Horace Mann; the gymnasium and the three story dormitory for men, made possible by the generosity of Mrs. Ardella Blade and named Sisson Hall in honor of her sister, Mrs. Anna B. Sisson; the Sutphen Memorial Home for the president, the gift of the heirs of the late Hon. Silas T. Sutphen; and the large, modern science building, which has been named Tenzer

ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, DEFIANCE COLLEGE

TENZER HALL, DEFIANCE COLLEGE

Science Hall in honor of Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Tenzer whose gifts made the building possible.

Just when the idea of an institution of higher education in Defiance had its beginning none can tell. Very likely such an idea was entertained by those who were with General "Mad Anthony" Wayne while building the famous fort which gave to the city of Defiance its name. At any rate, we know that by 1850 such an idea had sufficient endorsement to secure by act of the General Assembly of Ohio the setting aside of certain tracts of land for the purpose of establishing the Defiance Female Seminary. This land was sold, and in 1884 a large building, later known as Defiance Hall, was erected. Various efforts to run a school in this building met with only partial success, but made clear the need of a more efficient organization.

Dr. J. H. Latchaw, who became head of the school in 1896, took definite steps to prepare the way for the establishment of such an organization, which under the leadership of his successor, Dr. P. W. McReynolds, became an accomplished fact in 1903 when by act of the Ohio General Assembly the school was reorganized and given the legal name of Defiance College.

But at this time the institution had very limited resources. There was only one building, a very small faculty, a few students, and almost no endowment. With tireless energy and inspiring enthusiasm, up to the very day of his tragic accidental death in 1917, President McReynolds gave himself to the building up of Defiance College. As a result of his efforts, the Christian Biblical Institute of Stanfordville, New York, was moved to Defiance College campus and later consolidated with the college under the name of the Christian Divinity School. Surrounded by a devoted group of self-sacrificing assistants, Dr. McReynolds was constantly strengthening the faculty, perfecting the organization, increasing the student enrollment, gathering funds and constructing college buildings—in fact the contract for erecting the last building to be constructed on the campus was let only a few days before his death.

But the sudden death of President McReynolds left incomplete much of the work undertaken for the College. The building program was still in progress, and only in part had provision been made to meet the financial obligations incurred, and, furthermore, there was pressing need for money to purchase equipment for the new buildings.

The responsibility of carrying forward this work fell upon the

shoulders of Dean A. G. Caris, who had been intimately associated with President McReynolds during almost the whole of his administration. Dean Caris became acting president in 1917 and president in the following year. Under his administration Tenzer Science Hall was built, the McReynolds Memorial Endowment fund completed, numerous changes in the organization made, and numerous constructive programs undertaken.

Although a small college, with limited resources and a brief history, Defiance College has already made a commendable record. It is a member of the Ohio College Association and is in good standing with leading special graduate schools and universities in some of whose advanced classes Defiance College graduates have achieved distinction. Successfully engaged in the various vocations will be found members of the College Alumni. Perhaps the majority of these will be found in the professions, legal, medical, ministerial and educational.

With reference to its ideal in education, it may be said that Defiance College believes in and works for an education that is cultural but not impractical, scholarly but not impersonal, economical but not cheap, religious but not sectarian. While it believes in a training that prepares one to make a living, its ideal is an education whose spirit is service and whose purpose is the enlargement and enrichment of life.—George C. Enders.

Findlay College.—The first steps toward the establishment of Findlay College were taken during the session of the General Eldership of the Churches of God, in May, 1881, held in Findlay. This body meets quadrennially, and is composed of ministers and lay delegates elected by the various annual elderships throughout the United States.

The question of founding an institution of learning had been agitated among the Churches of God almost from their founding in 1825. The founder, John Winebrenner, was one of the best educated men in the ministry of the German Reformed Church before he began the organization of Churches of God. During the first fifty years of the history of this church in America the ministers were drawn largely from the denominations, or were trained in various colleges which had a tendency to draw them away from the church and cause various groups to divide on questions of doctrine. To overcome these difficulties it was thought best to establish a college similar to those of other religious bodies, in order to secure a trained ministry as well as to furnish an institution where the young people of the churches could secure

a scientific or professional training with an environment to their own liking.

To show the zeal of the churches for a college a special session of the Eldership was held devoted entirely to the consideration of this project. Enthusiasm ran high and by a unanimous vote it was decided to establish a college. The action taken was the authorization of the founding of a college "for promotion of such branches of science, art, literature and such theological instruction as the trustees might elect." Steps were immediately taken to secure money and a suitable location. Several thousand dollars was subscribed at once toward a building. Under the leadership of A. C. Heck and George Pendleton, the citizens of Findlay, offering ten acres of ground and $20,000, secured the location of the college in Findlay.

The Committee on Education of the General Eldership, C. H. Forney, George Sandoe, W. B. Allen, J. H. Besore, and T. Koogle, decided that the name of the school should be "Findlay College." They adopted Articles of Incorporation and elected as incorporators: J. M. Carvell, Robert L. Brynes, Isaac Schrader, T. Koogle, J. M. Cassel, A. C. Heck, J. C. Strickler and G. F. Pendleton.

The college was incorporated on the 28th of January, 1882. The corporation held a meeting for the election of trustees February 8, 1882, resulting in the choice of Isaac Frazer, E. G. DeWolf, A. C. Heck, E. P. Jones, Thomas Metzler, A. Blackford, Samuel Howard, D. J. Cory, Isaac Steiner, John Ruthrauff, and T. Koogle of Ohio; J. H. Redsecker, J. F. Stoner, D. M. Bare, J. B. Henderson, of Pennsylvania; R. M. Paige, of Indiana; John Stare, of Illinois, and John Huff of Iowa.

Agents went into the field to secure funds for erecting a college building with the result that after two or three years spent among the churches a total of more than $60,000 was raised. The cornerstone of the main building was laid in 1884. Soon after the building was completed. It stood in the center of an eleven acre campus that bordered on the main street of the city. It was a large building for that time and purpose, being 172 feet long and 107 feet in depth. It was four stories high and contained an auditorium seating 800 people. There were two large literary society halls, library, class rooms, offices, etc., making it when complete what was said to be the "finest college building in the Northwest."

The college opened its doors to students September 1, 1886, closing the year June 23, 1887, with a faculty of thirteen and 170 students enrolled.

While arrangements were being made to establish the college, the board elected Dr. C. H. Forney of Pennsylvania as president. Upon his resignation in 1886 Dr. J. R. H. Latchaw was chosen to fill the vacancy. The school grew for a number of years but the small endowment fund and the ever increasing deficit due to current expenses caused Doctor Latchaw to resign and Dr. W. N. Yates, also of Pennsylvania took the position. Dr. Yates was a scholarly man with wonderful oratorical ability. He stirred up enthusiasm among the churches, built up a strong student body and after pulling the college through some trying times he re-

MAIN BUILDING, FINDLAY COLLEGE

signed in 1895 to be succeeded by Dr. C. T. Fox the present Dean of the college. Doctor Fox acted as president and refused to accept the position of president though it was offered to him more than once by the Board of Trustees. Doctor Fox stayed on the job at the college and all things were going well except the growing debt due to insufficient income from endowment and other sources.

In the fall of 1896 the Board elected Dr. Chas. Manchester "President of the Faculty." There were some trying times in store for him and the college for the next few years. Every pos-

sible economy was practiced in running the school even to adopting the coöperative plan of dividing the income from endowment and tuition pro rata among the teachers.

Dr. Manchester spent eight wonderful years as head of the college, being soon elected "President without date," instead of the first title "President of the Faculty." During these years the endowment grew, new buildings were secured, teachers added, the enrollment increased and the future of the college instead of experiencing "its darkest hour" as it did soon after he became "President of the Faculty," could see the light breaking. A new day was dawning but to the regret of many Doctor Manchester resigned in 1904 because of "the many burdens of the office."

Dr. C. I. Brown of Pennsylvania was unanimously elected President to succeed Doctor Manchester. The work of the institution went forward splendidly under the leadership of Doctor Brown. He was a great organizer, a polished platform speaker and very popular with students and faculty. The endowment continued to grow, money being obtained from Andrew Carnegie, local business men and from church leaders over the country. One new building was secured for dormitory purposes. During the last year of Dr. Brown's administration some of the securities of the college in the form of bonds and stocks made a great drop, and while Doctor Brown was not to blame he felt very badly over it and perhaps as a result offered his resignation in April, 1913, but it was not accepted until offered a second time at a later meeting of the Board during the same year.

The Board then elected a member of the faculty, Dr. W. H. Guyer, acting president. A year later he was chosen president, which position he held until his sudden death in July, 1926. During his administration the school grew in every department, until the endowment reached the total of $277,070. A new Physical Culture Hall was erected under his supervision and an athletic field was given the college by the Alumni.

A special session of the Board of Trustees was held in August, 1926, to elect a successor to Dr. Guyer. Several precedents were broken in their selection. Instead of electing a man from Pennsylvania, as had always been done, they elected H. L. Allen, who was at that time superintendent of the city schools of Guthrie, Oklahoma.

He is a native of Missouri and a loyal member of the Church of God. He is of old Church of God stock running back three generations. One of his chief reasons for accepting the position, was

that his father, Rev. H. W. Allen, a pioneer Western Missionary, requested before his early death that his sons should "carry on."

President Allen holds the M. A. degree from Oklahoma University and has done graduate work both there and at Wisconsin University. He is the first person to be elected president of the college without first serving as acting president. He is also the first non-clerical president of the institution. His election was unanimous, one vote coming in by telegraph and another by air mail, making the total of fifteen votes for him.

The College is today on a firm financial basis, the endowment being $400,000 and pledges and notes in the amount of an additional $100,000 have been recently secured. There are now six buildings owned and used by the college. Including the athletic field the school owns nearly eighteen acres of land which forms a beautiful campus in the heart of the residence section of Findlay.

The past year there was an enrollment of 400 students in the various departments including: liberal arts, education, commerce, music, theology, oratory and physical education. There are twenty-five members of the faculty. The Preparatory Department is being discontinued and the liberal arts work is being stressed. Application for membership in the North Central Association will be made at the next meeting of the Association. Eligibility to membership in this highest accrediting association has been made possible by the increased endowment and the raising of standards for faculty members. Every liberal arts teacher in Findlay College has, as the minimum requirement, a master's degree from a nationally recognized graduate school. The buildings are well equipped with apparatus and books. The library has over 11,000 volumes with numerous magazines. The science department is considered as well equipped as any in the state. Strong courses are offered in preparation for medicine, law, engineering, etc., articulating with the best professional schools, especially Ohio State University.

Over four hundred alumni of Findlay College are scattered over the country and may be found in almost every nation in the world. The graduation class of 1928 was by far the largest in the history of the school. Many noted doctors, teachers, ministers, lawyers, and business men secured their early training in Findlay College.

The future looks bright for the college as she speeds up to meet the new high standards of accrediting agencies. Located in

a beautiful city of over 20,000 population and a county whose schools rank first in the state an increased enrollment and an increased, more efficient product is assured. The tax duplicate within a radius of ten miles of Findlay College is over $100,000,000. The tax rate is the lowest of any city in the state. Each year there graduate from Findlay high school and the centralized schools of Hancock County over three hundred young people eligible to enter Findlay College as freshmen. With these resources at her doors the future surely holds great opportunities for building a larger, greater college.

Toledo University.—Out West Bancroft Street, Toledo, opposite Old Orchard and on a fine thirty acre tract of land, is in the course of building, what is planned to be one of the finest Municipal University plants in America. The relocation of Toledo University was made possible when a bond issue for that purpose of $285,000 was passed by the city authorities in the fall of 1928.

In speaking of the movement Ruth Elgutter in the *Toledo Sunday Times* in August, 1929, wrote that "It will be a far cry from the university founded in 1872 by Jessup W. Scott and his wife as a forerunner of the University of Toledo to the handsome buildings which it is hoped to have ready for occupancy in the fall of 1930. * * *

"Dr. Doermann and his staff have been preparing for increased efficiency in curriculum, by meeting the highest standards of present day education, by giving heed to the individual needs of the students, by considering their play program as well as their work.

"Particular attention will be devoted by the president next year in the presentation of a new junior college program which will give each student a broad concept of education as a whole and give him opportunity to view all sides of a subject before he decides to make it his life work. As far as is possible with the present limited facilities, new subjects are being added and courses are given new treatment. Enlargement will come with increased space.

"When the doors of the relocated University of Toledo are opened to reveal what promise to be the best buildings possible to erect, the academic side of the college will be ready to match it and Toledo will have a university worthy of its pride."

Five buildings have been planned for the first unit of the University. University Hall the main feature, Engineering and

Science halls, Physical Education Building and Field House. The general type of architecture will be Gothic. Mills, Rhines, Bellman and Nordoff are the architects. The building committee of the board of directors of the university, consisting of Judge George P. Hahn, Albert H. Miller, William P. Clare, Dr. Stephen K. Mahon, president of the board, and Dr. Henry J. Doermann, president of the university, started work with the architects almost as soon as they were named.

The property on Bancroft Street has been termed by authorities one of the most beautiful sites for the purpose which could

MAIN HALL (PLAN) TOLEDO UNIVERSITY

be found anywhere. Its rolling topography will set sections of the buildings at different levels and the Ottawa River, which winds through the rear section of the property, affords natural beauty of scenery.

A boulevard has been planned along the picturesque little stream and the view which will be obtained from the proposed drive has been kept in mind in the planning of the building.

In a later chapter concerning Toledo, is set forth the announcement of Jessup W. Scott of his original gift for the Uni-

versity. As noted, Toledo (Municipal) University was founded in 1872 by Mr. Scott as the Toledo University of Arts and Trades. In 1884 the University was established as a Municipal University and in 1909 was reorganized. Since that time the institution has had a steady development, but has been handicapped by lack of buildings, equipment, proper environment and the wide range of the location of the various buildings.

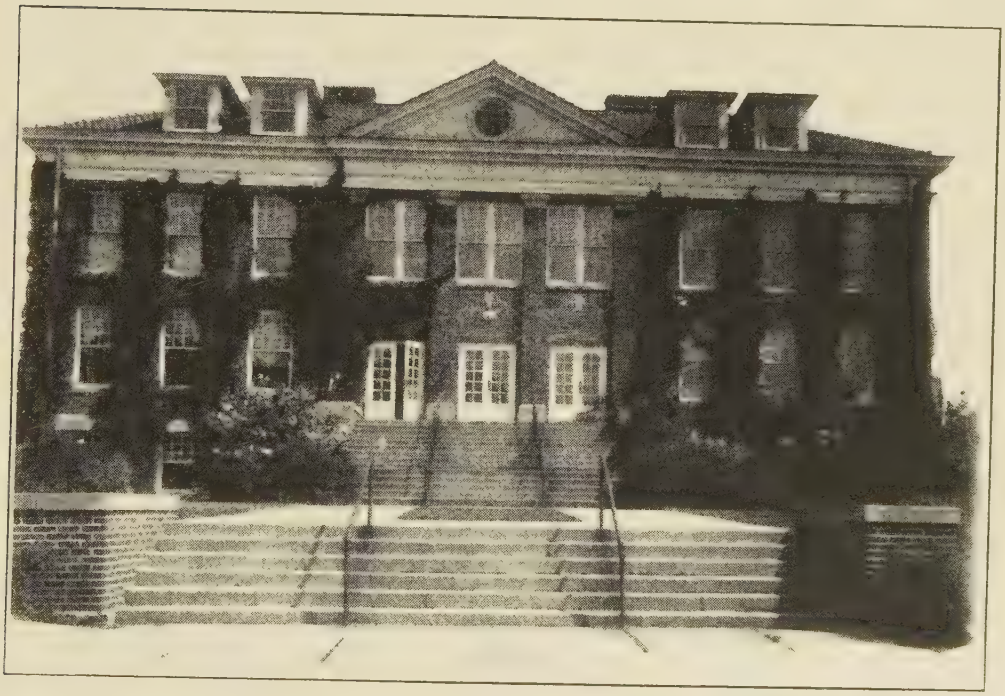
The institution is under the control of a board of directors of nine members of which board, as stated, Doctor Stephen K. Mahon is president.

Dr. A. Monroe Stowe did good work for the institution while he was president, Dr. Henry J. Doermann assuming the duties of that position in 1928.

Bluffton College.—The school which for fifteen years was Central Mennonite College and in 1914 rechristened Bluffton College, was "established upon the enduring foundations of liberal learning, permeated and saturated with the spirit and the truth of the Christian faith." While it is loyally an institution of the various branches of the Mennonite Church in America, it draws no lines of denomination or creed among students or faculty groups. Its "animating purpose is to lead the way into realms of learning and to interpret therein the truths of Him who speaks as never man spoke before; to develop worthily the minds and the hearts of those who study in its halls and who worship at its altars." Deep into sacrifice run the roots of Bluffton College. It seeks to be as vital as truth; as genuine as life. Bluffton aspires to have all that is necessary for its best usefulness; to do right by the young people of its faith and aid all who seek its instruction, its privileges and its associations.

Bluffton College is an accredited A-Grade College with the proper endowment, equipment and buildings. It has been a long and strenuous journey from the erection in 1900 of the first college hall in a beautiful situation in the virgin forest on the edge of the town of Bluffton, to the ten pleasing handsome buildings which now grace the heights of the spacious grounds. A new endowed library is in course of construction "over yonder among the trees," and in rallying to raise the school to its proper standards, its 400 alumni and its 2,000 former students have displayed clearly the spirit which has animated and permeated the institution since its beginning with nineteen students, down through the years to where its splendid group of 381 young men and women now grace its campus.

BLUFFTON COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT PROCESSION
President S. K. Mosiman to the left at head of the line



SCIENCE HALL, BLUFFTON COLLEGE

For a long period the question of a new college had been under discussion. As the result of the conference at Noble, Iowa, in October, 1896, N. C. Hirschy, Wadsworth, Ohio, J. F. Lehman, Berne, Indiana, and J. B. Bear, Bluffton, Ohio, were appointed as a committee to look into the possibilities for such a project. This committee met at Bluffton, Ohio, in January, 1897, and drew up plans for a proposed college. Further meetings were held and further committees appointed and at the conference held at Danvers, Illinois, the first vote as to the location of the new college decided upon was, Bluffton (O.) 49, Berne, Indiana, 31, Goshen, Indiana, 16, and Wadsworth, Ohio, 9. On the second ballot Bluffton received a majority.

The cornerstone for the first and for many years the only building was laid Tuesday, June 19, 1900, the address of the day being delivered by N. C. Hirschy of Wadsworth. October 31, the same year, the dedicatory services took place, with a great concourse of people present.

Noah C. Hirschy was chosen the first president and the story of the progress and struggles of the institution which has brought about its present solidity and standing is a long one.

It was in 1908, that Doctor Samuel K. Mosiman came to Bluffton College as an instructor of languages and literature. In 1909 he was made president of the institution, which position he held in 1929. Much of the success of Bluffton College has been due to the great energy and constant effort of Doctor Mosiman, aided of course at all times, by a faithful and efficient faculty, including such men as Prof. C. Henry Smith, Prof. Edmund D. Hirchler, and Dean Noah E. Byers.

Regarding the strengthening and broadening of the work of the institution, a meeting was called by President S. K. Mosiman to be held at Warsaw, Indiana, on May 29, 1913. Friends from the Mennonite Brethren in Christ, the Defenseless Mennonites, the Central Conference of Mennonites, the Old Mennonites and the General Conference Mennonites agreed to attend the meeting. The most important resolution passed was the following:

"Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that an institution be established, representing the various branches of the Mennonite Church, giving the undergraduate and the graduate work of a standard college (courses leading to the A. B. and A. M. degrees), the theological and Biblical work of a standard seminary and courses in music aiming at the thorough development of the musical ability of our people and meeting the needs of our churches."

Bethel, Goshen and Bluffton were informed of the plan and later it was decided that the proposed school should be established in connection with Central Mennonite College, Bluffton, Ohio, and the name adopted was "Bluffton College and Mennonite Seminary."

The first Board of Trustees was constituted as follows: Old Mennonites—F. S. Ebersole, H. W. Eby, Amos A. Geiger; General Conference of Mennonites—Maxwell H. Kratz, Peter Jansen, J. F. Lehman; Mennonite Brethren in Christ—A. B. Yoder, J. A. Huffman, L. J. Lehman; Central Conference of Mennonites—Emanuel Troyer, J. H. King, A. B. Rutt; Defenseless Mennonites—Aaron E. Souder, D. N. Claudon, Noah Steiner; Local members—A. D. Lugibihl, N. W. Cunningham, and Noah Moser. J. E. Lehman was chosen president of the board. Rev. Emanuel Troyer, vice president and C. H. Smith, secretary.

On January 27, 1914, the boards of both Central Mennonite College and the new Bluffton College met at Bluffton, and the reports of the Executive Committees of both Boards, transferring the property of Central Mennonite College to Bluffton College and Mennonite Seminary were accepted, and Bluffton College and Mennonite Seminary began its legal and corporate existence as an institution of higher learning.

The story is told that when Bishop Chase located Kenyon College, he was wandering through the forest and along unbridged, beautiful streams until he arrived at a delightful situation. Mounting a huge, fallen tree he surveyed the surroundings, and from his elevation exclaimed—"this is the place."

As to the location of a site for Bluffton College, a member of the first board of trustees told this: "The offer of Bluffton was $10,000 in cash and land on which to build the colloge. It was at this time that the Conference elected me a member of the board. In December, 1899, I made a trip to Bluffton to assist in the selection of the site where the college should be built. We trudged through six inches of snow to look at different pieces of land that were offered by the owners. When at last we made our way west of town over little Riley Creek, climbed a rail fence and went into a natural grove rising gently to the west, I envisioned how beautiful this grove would be next spring, and had decided almost before I jumped down from the rail fence that this place would be my choice for the location of the college. Evidently, the other members of the committee must have had similar thoughts, for this place was unanimously selected in preference to three others at which we had looked that day."

CHAPTER LIX

MAUMEE AND SANDUSKY VALLEY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

JESUIT FATHERS—CHRISTOPHER GIST—REV. JOSEPH BADGER—PRESBYTERIANISM—METHODISM—EARLY BAPTISTS—LUTHERANS AND OTHER EARLY CHURCH SOCIETIES.

Christianity and education, the functioning of church and school, necessarily go hand in hand with the advancement of civilization—they are its vital elements. With the explorers of the New World, came religious teachers, missionaries, and preachers of the gospel in the various interpretations.

In the beginning in the West, the Jesuit Fathers in their wanderings with the exploring parties, "carried the cross to the savages of the wilderness," and in their zeal, braved great hardships and even death. In the establishment of the new colonies, religion of the Protestant faith took root and its practices were fostered, the Bible the foundation and guide.

The Jesuit Fathers and priests of the Catholic Church were the first to conduct religious services among the Aborigines in the earliest days of the Maumee and Sandusky regions. But the first settlers who arrived, were in a large measure of the Protestant belief. All during the early wars and the contest for the possession of this rich section of the New West, when bloodshed was rife and the military supreme, the church had its representatives and advocates, who performed their work in the name of the Master.

The date of the arrival of the earliest missionaries of the Catholic faith in this section is indefinite. It was at a very early time; though in the beginning they had no established missions. The first Protestant religious service in Ohio was evidently in charge of Christopher Gist. The date was Christmas day, 1750, and the place was "the King's House" at the Town of the Wyandots, located at the "Muskingum Forks"—the head of that river, in now Coshocton County. The English flag had been hoisted over the old chief's quarters by George Croghan the explorer, and when Gist arrived on a journey west through Ohio, he was greatly

elated to see the colors of civilization flying in the village. There were present at the services the English traders and "several of the well-disposed Indians, who came freely." Gist discoursed upon the "doctrine of Salvation—Faith, and good works, as extracted from the Homilies of the Church of England." He read the service to the best of his ability, and his words were interpreted to the Indians by one of his companions—Montour. The Indians seemed well pleased with the exercises and the words of Gist and "returned to him thanks."

The operations of the early missionaries, both Protestant and Catholic, are told about in the chapter on the Missions of the Maumee and Sandusky country which include the work of Father Richardie and the Catholic Mission in the Sandusky region, Father Burke on the Maumee, the Protestant missionaries Bacon and Badger, and others throughout this section of the then Northwest.

While the Rev. Joseph Badger first came to the Maumee and the Sandusky in 1801 as a missionary of the Presbyterian Society to labor among the Indians, he also preached to the first white settlements and was one of the organizers of early churches of the Presbyterian faith in connection with Congregationalism. In Badger's Memoirs, he relates that he arrived on the Western Reserve late in the year 1800, where during the following years he preached to practically every community in the Reserve east of the Cuyahoga River. In the year 1801 on horseback, with a white friend and an Indian boy, he "arrived at Whitakers, a little before dark on the Sandusky. Swam our horses." This was September 9, 1801. In the afternoon of the 10th, "went our way to Portage River and camped. 11th, Rode through the swamp to the Shawnee village on the Maumee." This was at the foot of the Maumee Rapids where is now Perrysburg. That evening they visited the aunt of the Indian boy who lived on the Big Island. (Pilliods, between now Maumee City and Perrysburg). Here he preached his first sermon in this western region, there being present the Indian family and the three visitors. More details of Badger's work is found in Chapter XLVIII. He preached at many points on the Sandusky and the lower Maumee at intervals, from 1801 to near a half century thereafter. He died at Perrysburg, April 5, 1846, in sight of the point where he delivered his first sermon and near where he was in 1813 chaplain at Fort Meigs, War of 1812.

Although Badger was a graduate of Yale, and other early ministers were educated, college men, a majority of the early

religious teachers and preachers were itinerants. While truly men of God, they were in a way crude and uneducated. As exhorters, they headed religious gatherings of the shouting, amen type.

The first church services were held in the cabins of the more prominent pioneers and the attendants would travel through the wilderness from long distances. Some reached the meeting place on foot, others on horseback, and if there were trails or roads that permitted, some in wheeled vehicles. They would often bring their dinners and spend the day at the cabin, or perhaps a crude log church or schoolhouse. First the sermons were an hour and a half long, then Sunday School, followed by dinner. Experience meetings and prayer service came next. The complete day's program was interspersed with social periods at which the events of the times would be discussed and pioneer experiences exchanged. The discussions, however, were necessarily very circumspect, as on Sunday no boisterous activities, whistling, or ordinary amusements were allowed among the children and young people.

Camp meetings were among the religious methods, where revivals were held, and many "got religion" under dramatic and strange experiences. Scenes at the camp meetings of those days have been vividly pictured by the Rev. James B. Finley in his "Autobiography," where are told strange operations upon the minds and persons of some of the most extreme subjects, who became imbued with the "power." Immediately before they became totally inactive "they were sometimes seized with a general tremor, and often uttered several piercing shrieks in the moment of falling. Men and women never fell when under this jerking exercise until they became exhausted. While some were unable to stand, yet they had the use of their hands and could converse with companions. Others were unable to speak. The pulse became weak, and they drew a difficult breath about once a minute. In many instances they became cold. Breathing, pulsation, and all signs of life forsook them for hours; yet I never heard of one who died in this condition, and I have conversed with persons who have laid in this situation for many hours. They uniformly testified that they had no bodily pain, and that they had the entire use of their reason and power of mind. * * * Persons have fallen on their way home from meeting, some after they arrived at home; others while pursuing their common business on their farms. Numbers of thoughtless, careless sinners have fallen as

suddenly as if struck by lightning. Professional infidels, and other vicious characters have been stricken, sometimes at the very moment when they were uttering their blasphemies against God and the work." * * * In the end at times, upon their revival, a "happy smile which lightened up the countenance" would overspread the face of the stricken. Such testimony as this from a reliable authority as was Finley.

While representatives from other denominations may have been the forerunners of religious teachings in the Maumee and Sandusky Region, generally speaking, the ministers from the Methodist Episcopal Church were the most prominent in the pioneer times of these sections. It may have been partially because the character of their tenets fitted the better into the minds and lives of the pioneers, and again from the zeal of the early circuit riders of that church. However, it is not vital to the story of early religion in Northwestern Ohio, which denomination was in this field, earliest. One society was the first to organize in one community and another sect in still another locality. Whenever a minister of the gospel appeared, he was readily welcomed, no matter what his creed and the log cabin home or schoolhouse was opened for his ministrations. Investigation shows that the Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, Catholics, Baptists, United Brethren, Lutherans, German Reform, Protestant Episcopal, Church of Christ then known as Campbellites, and still others, had their early followers.

The story of Methodism by Lura Warner Callin is given and the history of Catholicism in the Maumee and Sandusky by the Rev. Francis J. Macelwane; also sketches of Presbyterianism and other societies. But to attempt to give a connected history of all denominations is not possible in ordinary space.

While the real pioneers of the clergy of the Sandusky were the Revs. Joseph Badger, and James Hughes of the Presbyterian faith, James Montgomery, who was Indian agent at Fort Seneca, in 1819, preached the first sermon by a Methodist clergyman ever delivered at Lower Sandusky (Fremont), and thereafter for a year continued to preach there. He had been ordained by Bishop Asbury and for thirty years continued his religious work along the Sandusky River.

There was increased activity and extension of Methodism in Northwestern Ohio in 1825. The Detroit District was organized that year, with two appointments in Ohio, the Defiance Mission and the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky. Rev. William Sim-

mons of Xenia was the first presiding elder and probably the first preacher at Defiance—1825. A religious teacher named Weir followed him and Rev. Elias Patten was sent to the Defiance Mission in 1826, then in the Monroe, Michigan Circuit. Services were held in the home of Benjamin Leavell and late in 1826 a class was organized and a small log church was built on the present site of 406 Wayne Street, Defiance. "Fort Defiance charge" included all the Maumee Valley west to the Indiana line down the Maumee River to near Waterville.

PRESBYTERIAN ORGANIZATION

Francis Makemie organized the first Presbyterian Society in America in 1683, in Maryland. The Rev. Joseph Badger the Presbyterian missionary who "preached the Word" to an Indian family gathering in their humble hut on the Big Island, September 11, 1801, as noted, was the advance guard of Presbyterianism in the Maumee and Sandusky Country. Yet to Isaac Van Tassel, Sr., his son-in-law and who married Lucia Badger, belonged the honor of being the father of organized Presbyterianism, especially in the Maumee section. Mr. Van Tassel on coming west from New York state taught school at Austinburg, Ashtabula County, Ohio; under the Rev. G. H. Cowles studied theology, and in 1826, was licensed and ordained by Huron Presbytery. However, he established the Maumee Indian Mission before this in 1822, and was appointed superintendent therein 1826, when the mission was transferred to the American Board of Foreign Missions.

Years before the permanent work of Van Tassel, however, there was a Presbyterian organization formed. On January 9, 1820, a sturdy little band of this faith gathered at a cabin at Orleans, at the foot of Fort Meigs, which pioneer home was also used for school purposes. The society was constituted as the First Presbyterian Church of Christ in the township of Waynesfield, Ohio. "Then they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord harkened and heard it, and a book of remembrance was written before Him for them that feared the Lord and that thought upon His name"—Malachi 3:16. Thus reads the first page of the church record. The Rev. Mr. Burgess presided and the charter members were Samuel Spafford, Catharine Spafford, Aurora Spafford, Olive Spafford, Horatio Conant, Eunice Nearing, Elisha Martindale, Clara Martindale his wife, Thomas McGrath, Eunice McGrath and Solomon Cross. A Mr. Barlow and a Mr. Baldwin were present, but did not become members. A

missionary from the General Assembly, Rev. Mr. Hunter, drew up the articles of faith and covenant, and Samuel Cross, Samuel Spafford and Thomas McGrath were chosen elders with Aurora Spafford, Horatio Conant and Elisha Martindale deacons. The Rev. Mr. Monteith delivered the solemn dominition. The organization was maintained as a mission adjunct of the River Raisin (Monroe) settlement. On February 19, 1827, the society became a member of the Presbytery of Huron, Ohio. This was some years after the initial work of Rev. Isaac Van Tassel.

On Tuesday, December 6, 1836, several Presbyterian ministers and delegates met at Perrysburg in accordance with the appointment of Synod, to organize a new Presbytery. Rev. Joseph Badger, who then on account of his health had retired to a farm home in Milton township, Wood County, was made moderator. On account of a goodly representation from the Congregational Society, a Presbytery was organized on "the accommodation plan and articles were drafted by Rev. Joseph Badger and Rev. J. H. Eels, Presbyterians, and Rev. Benjamin Woodbury, a Congregationalist." The following members reported at an adjourned meeting: ministers—Rev. Joseph Badger, church of Milton; Rev. Benjamin Woodbury, church of Plain; (both in Wood County); Rev. J. H. Eels, church of Maumee; Rev. Isaac Van Tassel, church of Perrysburg; Rev. J. H. Alvord, church of Waterville. Elders and deacons—Elisha Martindale, Plain; Deacon Ballard, Maumee; Deacon Hillis, Perrysburg.

In 1837, the church memberships were: Maumee, 40; Plain, 41; Waterville, 18; Perrysburg, 36, and Milton seven members. There were added to the ministerial role the Rev. Isaac Hagler, Rev. David Smith, Rev. J. H. Francis, Rev. N. F. Smith and A. L. Parsons, licentiate. The church of Toledo, now the First Congregational Church was received into Presbytery, November 5, 1837. A Presbyterian society, however was organized in 1833. The meeting was held at the residence of Coleman I. Keeler and seven members were enrolled by Rev. Mr. Warriner of Monroe, Michigan; also in 1828 the Rev. John Robinson organized a Presbyterian Society at Melmore, Seneca County. Findlay had an organization of Presbyterians about 1830, and Defiance in 1837.

The Presbytery of this district was dissolved in 1840 and again reorganized in 1843 on October 18. At this session, Rev. Cyrus L. Watson presided. Other ministers present were: John McCutchen, E. Richard Tucker, and Hubbard Lawrence, licentiate. Delegates—Isaac Kelly, West Millgrove, Wood County;

Horatio Conant, Maumee; Abner L. Brown, Perrysburg; John M. Mount, Toledo; Dr. E. Ranger, Montgomery township, Wood County, and Henry Reed, Waterville. There were various changes in the territory contained in this Presbytery. A feature of the early work of this society was the establishment of a Presbyterian Academy at Williams Center, on the south line of Williams County, south of Bryan. The site contained four acres, and a two-story building, size 32x40 feet, was constructed from funds mostly donated by the citizens. The school was opened about 1852 under the direction of Rev. David S. Anderson and wife and was in operation for several years before abandoned.

As noted, the first Presbyterian organization was merged or changed into a Congregational society. March 2nd, 1854, the Maumee Presbytery appointed Rev. I. M. Crabb and Rev. D. S. Anderson as a special committee to organize a society in Toledo. As a result the First Presbyterian Church in Toledo was founded January 27, 1855. The Rev. J. M. Baird was the moving spirit and he was installed the first pastor. Early services were held in Stickney Hall on Summit Street, and in 1860 quarters were obtained on Lynn Street by the lease of the old Bethel. A new edifice was completed in 1873.

From 1860, the growth of this Presbytery was steady. Churches were organized at Hicksville, Delta, Bryan and at other points. Writing of the reuniting of the two divisions of the Presbyterian Church which had had their differences, one of the pastors wrote that "it was a happy time for the cause of Christ when the division of these two great branches of the Christian Church, holding to the same standards of faith, were led to forget their dierences and come together as one body, and no part of the church rejoiced more over the prospect of reunion than these two Presbyteries of Maumee. The action of the General Assembly was ratified joyously by both of the Presbyteries and the day was set for their meeting together as one ecclesiastical body. It was like the meeting of the waters of the two saints, Saint Joseph and Saint Marys at Fort Wayne, which forms the beautiful river from which we have taken our name, 'the Maumee,' which, mingled together, flow ever so peacefully past the beautiful towns of Antwerp, Defiance, Napoleon, Grand Rapids, Waterville, Maumee, Perrysburg and our great and populous city of Toledo, where it pours its waters into the lake and thence to the great ocean beyond."

The ministers of the reunited Presbytery were Perry C. Bald-

win, David S. Anderson, George A. Adams, Henry M. McCracken, John P. P. Stockton, Robert Edgar, James E. Vance, William W. Williams, D. D., Samuel R. Hughes, Henry M. Bacon, Bernard W. Slagle, David Edgar, George M. Miller, John Eaton, Jr.; licentiates, Martin Koehler, R. B. Marshall.

Something near fifty churches are on the roll of Maumee Presbytery, with some 8,000 members. A Presbyterian church was organized at Perrysburg, November 13, 1834, by Huron Presbytery. The original members were: Abner Brown, J. W. Smith, W. Williams, J. A. Scott, J. A. McBride, Mary Williams, Mary Fowler, Jane Wood, Mary Loper, Elizabeth Smith, Eliza Ann Nye and Catharine Spafford.

In the Sandusky territory, at Fremont, Tiffin, Upper Sandusky, and throughout that section, the societies are equally thrifty and prosperous. The First Presbyterian Church at now Fremont was organized November 30, 1833, in the then old courthouse, later occupied by the St. John's Lutheran Church as a parsonage. The ministers present of the Huron Presbytery were the Revs. Xenophon Betts, Enoch Conger and Ellory Bascom. The ruling elders chosen were David Camp and W. C. Otis. The members in attendance were—Jacques Hubbard and Sophia, his wife, Alexander Ross and Hannah his wife, Joseph Cookson and Mary his wife, Samuel Crowell and Mary his wife, James Ross and wife, Nancy Cookson, Margaret Nyce, Eunice Everett, wife of Jeremiah Everett, Samuel Moore, Henry Spohn, John Magee, Ruth Magee and Elizabeth Camp, wife of Elder Camp. The first minister of this congregation was Rev. Ellory Bascom.

Concerning the work of early Presbyterianism in the Melmore, Seneca County section, referred to, Dr. Robert G. Steele of Melmore has in his possession the original record of the society the first pages of which read as follows:

"Melmore, Feby 1828

"A number of the inhabitants of the townships of Eden and Bloom met for the purpose of trying to prevail with the Rev. James Robinson who was now among us as a traveling preacher to settle among us. Accordingly we agreed with him for the one-half of his time for one year at the rate of $200, to commence about the first of April (1828).

"Mr. Robinson came and entered upon his labors among us according to contract.

"In July, we made ourselves known to the Huron Presbytery, that we might be taken under their watch and care, and that they

would appoint Mr. Robinson to be our stated preacher according to our contract, that we might be organized into a church known by the name of the Church of Melmore. All of which was granted by Presbytery. Mr. Robinson and Mr. Conger were appointed to form our church, and July 21st was the time appointed for us to meet for that purpose. Thus in the providence of God did this Church of Melmore commence."

The next entry then reads—

"Melmore, July 21, 1828

"According to notice previously given, the congregation met for the purpose of forming a church, when it appeared by their certificates that the following persons were regular members of the Presbyterian Church: Samuel Clark, Sarah Mathers, Kathrine Harper, William Campbell, Mary Campbell, Mary Darrald, Thomas Boyer, Mary Boyer, James Boyer, Isabell Boyer, Susan Kinger, Mary Robinson, Electa Smith." At a later meeting, David Clark and William Patterson and Phoebe Patterson were added to the membership and Samuel Clark, David Clark and William Patterson were chosen ruling elders. Rev. James Robinson was clerk.

There are many human interest records of church trials of alleged wayward members. A son of one of the churchmen was arrested for "the fast driving of his horse on the highway on Sunday." The arrest and fine so incensed the father that he absented himself from the church services and was cited to appear before the session on account of his delinquency. He refused to appear and a member of the church was selected to represent him at the trial. He was found guilty of the irregularity charged and suspended from membership for church nonattendance.

The Melmore Presbyterian Church came under the control of Maumee Presbytery some years since and about 1924, became inactive. Doctor Steele was one of the last elders.

About a mile west of Bloomville, Seneca County, is an old cemetery where once stood a church, and where what was evidently the Bloom Presbyterian society held services. This organization must have been older than the Presbyterian Church of Melmore. As the Missionary Rev. Joseph Badger, as before related, visited the Honey Creek section as early as 1805, and at later times, it is reasonable to suppose that he spread the doctrine of Presbyterianism in the Melmore and Bloomville locality in such a manner that the Melmore and Bloom churches were the outgrowth.

At this point in the story of Religious Organizations, it will be noted that Lura Warner Callin of Bowling Green, Ohio, has written an extended account of Methodism, which follows so closely the work of all other denominations, that it is presented in its completeness.

A SKETCH OF METHODISM

By Lura Warner Callin

The word method comes from two Greek words—Meta, after, and Hodos, a way. The word Methodist is almost universally associated with the group of Christians led by John Wesley, but there have been other methodists,—groups of people who did things "after a way"—before his time. A sect of physicians centuries before the church was organized, bore the name. At an earlier date the title "New Methodists" was used much as "New Thought" is today to indicate more liberal religious thought and sentiment. But for almost two hundred years the name Methodism has stood for that reaction against legalized religious and bound Christianity that had stifled individual religious experience for centuries. Wycliff, Huss and Luther, each had in his own generation encouraged a revolt against the hypocrisies of the State Churches. Each century added its bit toward the realization of such freedom, until to John Wesley was given the wisdom and understanding which enabled him to define and promote the gospel of free, full, and present salvation of souls. A gospel that has lost none of its appeal and power, but rather, has gathered impetus during the years, and for which the word Methodism has become a synonym.

However, as we take our pen in hand to sketch the growth of Methodism in this Northwestern locality, a movement is on foot that may result in a change in name. On January 26, 1929, a joint committee from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Churches, met in Cleveland to consider the advantages of joining the two sects and the possibility of effecting a union. What will this new union be called? Call it what you will, the outstanding principles of these two sects will stand above any name. With the possibility in mind that this sketch may be an obituary as well, a brief review of the start and growth of Methodism may be appropriate.

John Wesley seems to have been peculiarly fitted, both by heredity and environment for the task that spread itself before him. He came from families of distinguished ministers on his

father's and mother's sides. He was one of a large family of children all of whom received Christian training from a devout mother who understood the problems of her children and gave each one her careful personal attention in a most methodical way.

When John was seven years old he was almost miraculously saved from a fire that destroyed the home, and like Hannah of old, Susannah Wesley consecrated this child and wrote in her journal—"I do intend to be more particularly careful of the soul of this child that Thou has so mercifully provided for, than I have ever been."

His methodical and logical turn of mind showed itself in his early demands for the "reason why" for everything; a trait of character which made him later on a leader among his college associates and served him in mapping out a practical course of procedure in every new phase that the phenominal development of the new movement presented to him. Wesley took his master's degree at Oxford in 1724. In 1728 he was ordained priest of the Church of England and was curate to his father at Epworth for a short time, before he was called back to Oxford. It was during this time that he became leader of the Oxford Methodists, when in 1729 a small group of students began spending certain evenings in the week studying the New Testament and in prayer.

The first Methodists were John and Charles Wesley, Robert Kirkham, and William Morgan; and later George Whitefield. "They read the Greek Testament daily." And in the spirit of the New Testament they "systematically visited the prisoners in jails, and the poor in the lanes and alleys of the town, instructing them and relieving according to their means."

In 1736 Governor Oglethorpe came to the new colony of Georgia and brought Charles Wesley as his secretary. John Wesley was requested to come as a missionary to the colonists and the Indians. He accepted the invitation and stayed in the colony for two years. He preached and taught in English, French and German, as the occasion required. His strict ideas of discipline and religious life stirred up the opposition of leading families, and finding his work thus embarrassed, he returned to England.

On his way to America he became acquainted with some Moravians. During a severe storm Wesley realized that he had not attained the spiritual strength that could keep folks in such a tranquil state of mind as these people showed in such a terrifying experience. In his journal he wrote: "I went to America to convert the Indians; but O, who shall convert me! I have a fair summer

religion; I can talk well and believe myself while no danger is near, but let death look me in the face and my spirit is troubled. Nor can I say, 'To die is gain.' "

After returning to England, he attended a Moravian meeting in London, one evening in May, 1738. While listening to some one reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, in which is described the change which God works in the penitent heart, he received the positive assurance that Christ had taken away his sins and saved him from the law of sin and death. He was nearly thirty-five years of age when this experience started him out on the wonderful career that closed with his death at eighty-eight years of age.

Francis Asbury and Richard Wright were sent to the societies in America in 1771—Asbury as assistant superintendent. Later Thomas Rankin was authorized by Wesley to become Superintendent of the entire work of Methodism in America. He convened and presided over the first Conference in America, held in Philadelphia in 1773. Ten preachers were present. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, all of the ministers, being from England, and sympathizing with the mother country, they soon after made plans to return home. After two years, only Francis Asbury remained. Native preachers, however, continued the work and, although uneducated and of the poorer classes, their labors were wonderfully blessed with extensive revivals. This work had to be confined to the colonies not occupied by the British troops, hence the strong societies were in Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, which may account for the fact that when the split on the slavery question came in 1845, the church was badly disrupted.

Up to 1775 the members of all these societies did not constitute a church. They were still members of the Church of England and received the holy sacraments from its clergymen. Wesley's assistants were lay preachers and were not ordained. Wesley had no idea of forming a new church; did not in fact contemplate any such move until the Revolutionary war brought about a peculiar situation in America. Here the rise of Methodism was incidental. Two emigrants from Ireland who brought their religious convictions with them, lighted small spiritual fires in the neighborhoods around them; fires which eventually spread to every state and province of the Union.

Robert Strawbridge settling on Sam's Creek in Maryland in 1764, soon made his home the center of religious services, where

his neighbors met for praise and prayer. His work in other neighborhoods resulted in the conversion of several who became active and zealous preachers. Philip Embury, whose parents were expelled from Germany for their religious beliefs and had found a refuge in Ireland, began services in his home in New York City in 1776, at the earnest request of Barbara Heck, whose name is inseparably connected with the history of pioneer Methodism. Neither of these men came as missionaries but soon found active work in the communities in which they lived. But the chief apostle of Methodism in this locality at this time was Captain Webb, who had been converted in England and licensed a local preacher by Mr. Wesley. He was connected with the barracks in Albany, N. Y., and when he sought out the Methodist meeting being led by Embury one day, he struck terror to the hearts of the little group, as the uniform of a British soldier might mean persecution. He was the real leader in the society's affairs and helped in the erection of the John Street Church in New York City. His excursions led him to Long Island and the chief towns in New Jersey, and Philadelphia, where he formed a class of seven and helped to buy the first church property, St. George's on Fourth Street.

In 1775, the societies had nineteen preachers and 3,148 members; a wonderful showing, when we remember that the colonies were under English rule, the Church of England widely established, and was supported by taxation and appropriations. In Maryland, the state of free toleration, the inhabitants had to pay to the Church of England a poll tax of forty pounds of tobacco.

Many other denominations had established churches, and most of them being Calvinistic in doctrine, the Methodists being Arminians, were made the object of bitter attacks from the pulpits. Then the handicap of not being a church embarrassed them. Children were baptised and the sacraments were administered by the clergy of the English Church, who did so grudgingly. Although John Wesley had asked that his preachers be ordained by the English Church, it had never been done. After the close of the Revolutionary war, this situation became crucial, and Wesley describes it as follows:

"By a very uncommon train of Providences, many of the provinces of America are totally disjoined from the mother country and erected into independent states. The English government has no authority over them—either civil or ecclesiastical. No one either, claims any ecclesiastical authority at all.

"In this peculiar situation the inhabitants of those states de-

sire my advice and in compliance with their desire I have drawn up a little sketch. * * * Lord King's account of the Primitive Church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are of the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time to exercise this right by ordaining a part of our preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, but because I have determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national church to which I belonged.

"But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none—neither any parish minister. So that for some hundreds of miles together, there are none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. I invade no order and invade no man's rights by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest. I have appointed Doctor Cope and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents of our brethern in America.

"I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one, but I could not prevail. If they could ordain them now, they would expect to govern them, and how grievously this would entangle us. They are now at full liberty to simply follow the scriptures and the primitive church. And we judge it best that they stand fast in that liberty * * * wherewith God has so strangely set them free."

When at the close of the Revolutionary war, the Societies of America found that the dependence on patronage of the English Church, always grudgingly given, was no longer advisable, Mr. Wesley was obliged to consider some form of administration especially suited to their needs. His study of church history had convinced him of the fallacy of Apostolic succession and the right of the Christian Church to ordain its officers. He also believed the Episcopal form of government the most efficient in the establishment and spread of the church. With this plan in view, he proposed to Doctor Cope a presbyter of the Church of England who had associated himself with the Methodists in England, that he be ordained superintendent of the societies in America. After several weeks consideration of this surprising proposition, Doctor Cope consented to undertake the mission and in 1784 left England with Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, who had been ordained as elders at Bristol, where Dr. Cope had been also ordained as superintendent of the church in America. In the mean-

time Mr. Wesley had prepared an abridgement of the English Church prayer book which Doctor Cope brought with him. Doctor Cope spent only a part of his time with the American societies. His autocratic ideas of church government conflicted very often with the democratic notions of the colonists, which had not only won liberty in government but had permeated their church organizations as well. Yet his unpopular ideas served the new church well in a negative way. The opposition to what they did not want clarified their ideas of what they did want and gradually step by step the new societies developed a church government that was in accord with the democratic ideas of the new Republic. Doctor Cope finally returned to England to stay. He was intensely interested in missions, and in 1784 had drawn up a plan for a missionary society. He collected and disbursed large sums of money to support missions in the islands adjacent to England, the West Indies and Nova Scotia. He for years planned the establishment of a mission in India, and finally sailed for Ceylon, with six preachers, in December, 1813. On May 3, 1814, when he had almost reached that country, he was found dead in his cabin.

It is interesting to note how the obstacles that arose seemed to serve not as obstructions to the work of the gospel, but to direct its development along lines that proved to be most practicable and became permanent features of the organization of the growing church.

So many people called on Wesley daily for help in interpreting the scriptures that he finally set aside Thursday evening as a regular time for meetings, to read and pray and discuss individual problems. Thursday is still the common meeting night. When George Whitefield went to Bristol to preach, all the pulpits were closed against him, so he went down to the collieries and preached in the open air, just as many another missionary, such as Livingston, John Stewart, Lorenzo Dow and Peter Cartwright have done since then.

When John Wesley had to be absent from London, he left the societies in charge of some of his ablest young men. Thomas Maxwell was inspired to preach, but was not ordained. Wesley hastened back to stop such a procedure, but his mother cautioned him, saying, "Examine what have been the fruits of his preaching, and hear him for yourself." Wesley did, and being convinced of Maxwell's call to preach, again allowed the leading of the Spirit to overcome his prejudice, and thus released a power which

has tended to keep the spirit of service alive and working—the power of the lay preacher.

As the work grew and chapels were built, expenses were incurred that finally demanded some system of finance to meet them. So, Mr. Wesley appointed a number of stewards to take care of the moneys received from collections, to account for them and disburse them. Sixteen were first appointed in the principal societies, but the number was soon reduced to seven. For many years none of this money was given to the support of the preachers. All of it was used for general purposes and the poor. As church property ownership increased, trustees relieved the stewards of the responsibility of its care, and took charge only, of the money given for this specific purpose. This plan works two ways. Church property cannot be charged for debts for current expenses, but on the other hand, preachers have no recourse if their salary is not paid up.

The forming of classes, which was an outstanding feature of the church until just recently, came about through the inability of John Wesley to personally supervise the spiritual and temporal welfare of the numerous members; it being his original plan to call on each member once every three months. Many of them were poor and often had to shift from one place to another, and so some were lost track of. One day when the plans for meeting debts in the society at Bristol were being discussed, a Captain Foy suggested that every member pay a penny a week until the debts were paid. When another objected because many were too poor to afford to do so, Captain Foy said: "Then put eleven of the poorest with me and if they cannot pay it I will pay it myself. And each of you call on eleven of your neighbors weekly and receive what they give and make up the rest." It was done. In making these calls the leaders, as these men were called, had a chance to observe how the members were living and were given an opportunity to reprove and encourage. By this means many were kept from stumbling, others were lead back to the narrow path, while some were put away from the class because of their persistent wrongdoing. The house to house method took so much time that the leaders decided to meet the members of the classes at a certain time and so gave rise to the classmeeting, an outstanding feature of Methodism. Class meetings have accomplished a vast amount of good. They have been the means of supplying regular religious services in the absence of ministers and developed many a timid convert into an active Christian worker. The phe-

nomenal growth of Methodism is due to this interpretation of the promise, that "where two or three are gathered together there I will be also." All of the pioneer churches of this Northwest Territory started from just such small classes held together by some consecrated member, who carried on during the time between the visits of the itinerant preachers.

John Wesley was the first itinerant. He tried, as has been said, to visit each member of the early classes once in three months, and gave each member that was approved a ticket. As late as 1860, in the United States, tickets were issued to members worthy of being admitted to the love feast held at the time of the quarterly conference, and no one was admitted without this passport.

As the work grew, John Wesley accepted the offers of service from a number of consecrated young men and sent them out to classes where they were most needed. In 1744 the first society—a group of classes—was formed. Five years later Wesley held his first Annual Conference. The suggestion that the Society in London be the mother church was not accepted, but London became, naturally, the headquarters of the Conference. Here the itinerants met and from it they were distributed from year to year, and so a regular itinerancy was established. Bishop Simpson in "A Hundred Years of Methodism," sums up the organization thus:

"In ten years the outlines of the coming church were already prepared. Societies were organized, classes formed, leaders appointed, stewards selected, love feasts and quarterly meetings held, annual conferences assembled, and preachers were exchanged. All these were the outgrowth of the earnest revival spirit and were instituted to meet a long felt want. It is remarkable that to this day, amid all the changes and secessions which have taken place, in all its branches and in all countries, the Methodist family has preserved all these outlines. They form a broad platform, a ground of common union. Differences have arisen as to the mode of appointing leaders and stewards; as to who should compose the annual conferences and how the preachers should be appointed to their work. These have involved questions as to a General Conference, as to episcopacy, and as to ordination. But in all the points which touch the mass of people directly, Methodism is one everywhere. It is simply, in the language of Chalmers, "Christianity in earnest."

After the Revolutionary war immigration took its westward way and the Northwest Territory became dotted with pi-

oneers' cabins and the beginnings of cleared and cultivated farms. To these early settlements the Methodist itinerants soon found their way. Dr. Charles H. Payne in a sermon given at the Centennial Celebration of Ohio Methodism in 1898 at Delaware, tells this incident. An itinerant finding his way through a deep forest came upon a woodman felling trees for a hastily built shelter for his family. The itinerant asked if he could preach in his cabin. "What!" exclaimed the astonished man, "are you here? I lived in Virginia and a Methodist preacher came along and my wife got converted. I fled into North Carolina and had hardly got settled until another Methodist preacher came along and some of my children got converted. Then I went to Kentucky, but they followed me, and I thought this time I'd get beyond their reach. I've hardly got to this settlement until here's another Methodist preacher wanting to preach in my cabin!" "My friend," replied the itinerant, "I advise you to make terms of peace with the Methodist preachers, for you will find them everywhere you go in the world, and when you go to heaven as I hope you will, you will find plenty of them there. If you go to hell, as you will if you don't repent, you will find a few there." The man surrendered.

In 1787-8, George Callahan came to Carpenter's Station a point about a mile above Warrenton, Jefferson County, Ohio, to preach to a group of pioneers. A few of these pioneers had crossed the river in the morning to hear Mr. Callahan preach at Regin Pumphrey's cabin in Peach Bottoms, Va. At their earnest request he promised to preach at the block-house to where the Indians had driven the settlers at four o'clock that afternoon. As he preached, fifteen or twenty backwoodsmen armed with rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives, kept guard outside against attack by the Indians. This is the first recorded Methodist preaching in Ohio. Up to 1798 there had been no organized plan for preaching, although itinerants had held services in different parts of the state for ten or more years. Among these were Rev. James B. Finley, who set up housekeeping at Bainbridge, Ohio, and has given vivid pictures of the experiences of the early settler in his "Pioneer Life." Peter Cartwright whose time was spent in the saddle, practically for years, found time to write of his experiences, which were on the same lines as those of all the early preachers. Itineracy did not mean driving out a few miles to some country point every two weeks as it does today.

Among many unusual experiences, Mr. Cartwright tells of the preparation of a meal: "We stretched deer skin over a hoop,

burned holes in it with the prongs of a fork, sifted our meal, baked our bread, ate it and it was first rate eating, too. We raised or gathered from the woods our own tea. We had sage Bohea, cross vine, spice and sassafras teas in abundance. As for coffee, I am not sure that I smelled it for ten years. We made our sugar from the water of the maple tree and our molasses, too. These were great luxuries in those days." He also tells of traveling for ten years before he was invited to sleep in a plastered house. This was the house of Gov. Edward Tiffin in Chillicothe. Peter Cartwright traveled over the larger part of Ohio, visited the societies and formed and organized new ones. He was, one may learn from his own stories, rough and ready, both spiritually and physically. He often showed his prowess in silencing the carping disturber, and with his physical strength would put to rout the leaders of organized efforts to break up his meetings. Lorenzo Dow was another pioneer preacher of a little different type, often referred to by the older generations of Methodism. He is said to have been the originator of the camp meeting idea, having been obliged to hold outdoor services while on an evangelizing tour through England. On returning to this country, the conditions peculiarly favored that form of revival work.

Many of the incidents of pioneer itinerants' lives are so interesting it is hard to pass them by for more practical matters of history. One writer tells that in 1774 the preacher was paid $64 a year and traveling expenses. Many of the preachers supported themselves. Emsbury was a carpenter, Strawbridge a farmer. Many were unmarried. Robert Williams is said to be the first American Methodist preacher to publish a book, get married, locate and die! In 1782 a resolution was adopted requiring the preachers to bring to the quarterly conference all the gifts of money or clothing or their value.

In 1780 a question reading "What provision shall be made for the wives of married preachers?" was answered thus: "They shall receive an equivalent with their husbands if they stand in need. In 1785 the regular annual salary for preachers was $64 and no more, and for each preacher's wife $64, and for each preacher's child under age of six there was allowed $16, and for each child over six years and under the age of eleven, $21.33. This rule in reference to the children created so much dissatisfaction that no provision was made for them after 1787. At that time no deacon, nor elder was allowed to receive fee or present for marrying, baptizing, or burying the dead—"Freely

we receive, freely we give." Later, a gift might be received for a marriage ceremony, but it must be reported and applied on the quarterage. In 1860 the salary of a preacher was fixed at $100; also $100 for his wife, a small allowance for his children and an amount estimated for house rent and family expenses. These sums were paid out of a common fund and all preachers shared alike. In this year (1860) however, this custom was set aside and each charge gave as it saw fit—sometimes not at all. Worn out preachers could have an allowance of $64 "if he wants it;" a widow and child, "if wanted, $53.33" provided they had paid $6.67 into the Chartered Fund and had kept up the yearly fee of two dollars.

For a number of years peace and harmony characterized the inauguration of the new form of church government. It was finally disturbed by a feeling voiced in a resolution presented by Rev. James O'Kelly which proposed that ministers dissatisfied with their appointments were given the right of appeal to the conference.

The resolution failed and Mr. O'Kelly left the conference, taking with him a few adherents who formed a sect called the Republican Methodists. This sect later united with groups from the Presbyterian and Baptist churches and formed the Christian connection, which sect affiliated with the Disciples of Christ in 1831; only to separate again on the slavery question in 1854.

In view of the democratic ideas pervading all forms of social and political organizations in America, it is not at all surprising that a feeling of unrest should develop, and other groups cut loose from the original society. Besides the Christian connection led by James O'Kelly in 1792, the question of larger privileges of laymen led to the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1828. Laymen that had not been represented in church councils were given full rights in this organization. It has a membership of 189,583, with 1,082 ministers (1927). The slavery question divided the church seventeen years before the nation was divided.

In 1843, a small anti-slavery and anti-secret society element split off and was called the Wesleyan Methodist Connection of America. In two years it had 15,000 members, but after the Civil war thousands of its members returned to the Methodist Episcopal Church. But the real split came in 1844. James O. Andrews, a southern Bishop had become, by marriage and inheritance, a slaveholder. A resolution passed at the General Conference that

year requested Bishop Andrews to "desist from the exercise of his office as long as this impedimenta remains." Five thousand ministers and a membership of 500,000 were represented in a protest presented. A convention which met at Louisville, Kentucky in 1845, resulted in the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which still, in spite of all overtures, exists as a separate body, with a membership of 2,602,217 (1927). From this branch of Methodism the Congregational Methodists withdrew in 1852 on a question of church polity.

Free Methodists were organized in 1860 by ministers and members who had been expelled or had withdrawn from the Methodist Episcopal Church on account of differences concerning membership in secret societies and doctrinal questions. This sect believes that sanctification is instantaneous and subsequent to regeneration. Often it is called the second blessing.

In 1815 the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia became dissatisfied, and under the leadership of Richard Allen organized a society called the African Methodist Episcopal Church. It has a membership of almost 700,000. Several other denominations have been formed by groups of seculars among the colored people.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, organized in New York in 1796, permits the ordination of women—membership (1927) 490,000. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, organized at Jackson, Tenn., 1870, came from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, membership 342,000. There are several other denominations, each having very small followings.

LOCAL METHODIST SOCIETIES

The first classes organized in the northwestern part of Ohio were, one at Fremont in 1819, and one at Perrysburg in 1820. From this time until 1840, there were about forty classes formed in the Maumee and Sandusky valleys, which developed into churches and which are doing active work today.

Fremont, up to 1848, was known as Lower Sandusky. The class at Lower Sandusky was organized in 1819 by Rev. James Montgomery. Mr. Montgomery had been appointed agent for the Seneca Indians by President Monroe in 1819. He was a local preacher, having been ordained by Bishop Asbury at Lebanon, Ohio. This first class consisted of himself and wife and daughter. Rev. James Finley was the Presiding elder, in this part of the state at that time, and the first communion service was attended

by the three members of the pastor's family and a local preacher from Springfield, Ohio, by the name of Moses Hincle. More pioneers settled in this neighborhood from time to time, and in 1822 the class was reorganized with eleven members, which was the beginning of the Methodist Church in Fremont, Ohio.

This class was ministered to by Rev. Elijah Fields from the Cincinnati Conference, which at that time extended into the northern part of the state. Its membership grew rapidly and the little society prospered until the scourge of cholera broke out in 1834, which frightened away those that could get away and only three men were left to bury the dead. When the disease had abated and the inhabitants had returned to their homes, plans for building a church were made and a part of the building was ready for use in 1836. Two other churches have been built since that time—one in 1850 and the present one in 1883. But the latter was partially destroyed by fire in 1888, and was rededicated, 1888-89. Fremont has a membership of 860, a Sunday School enrollment of 640, and is one of the four outstanding points in the Toledo District outside of the City of Toledo.

It is rather difficult to keep track of the changes in conference boundaries at this time, as the rapid development of the work required frequent alterations, and more definite areas of work. Fremont with the rest of the northwestern points, passed from the Ohio—the North Ohio, the Michigan, North, Central and West Ohio into the Ohio Conference, where it now belongs. Each one of these changes was made to better serve the growing churches.

Perrysburg was laid out in 1816 by the government, which accounts for its wide streets and their names. At that time the river was navigable up to that point and the new town was to become the metropolis. So, one could foresee how nature frustrated such a plan and the honor went to Toledo.

In 1820, the pioneers who had worshiped in Fort Meigs and other settlements mentioned, formed the Perrysburg Society under the leadership of John P. Kent and P. B. Morrey. The Spafford and Webb homes were the preaching centers until a combination church and schoolhouse was built. In 1836 a church was built which served the congregation until this year (1929) being 92 years old. It is probably the oldest church building in continuous use in the state. This society passed through a crisis during the cholera scourge in 1834, but has sustained itself and is building a fine new structure that is planned to meet the needs of an increasing membership and a prosperous community.

Perrysburg was the first society organized in the Maumee Valley. During the settlement of the Maumee Valley a number of small settlements were made along the river. Their names only occasionally recur in the history of this region—Orleans, McCutchensville, Johnstown and others. Small classes were formed at some of these points.

Mount Blanchard, in now Hancock County, passed its centennial in 1928, having been organized in 1828. At that time Elnathan Gavitt and Thomas Thompson, who were preaching to the Indians at Upper Sandusky, organized a class that met in a log cabin and then in a log schoolhouse, until a church was built in 1838. Three churches were built and a short time ago these buildings were still standing. The first society in Findlay was organized in 1829 by Adam Poe. He was connected with the Wyandot Mission at Upper Sandusky and came up to Fort Findlay to preach.

The first preaching service in the immediate vicinity of Toledo was at a settlement known as Ten Mile Creek, later Tremainesville, and still later, West Toledo. B. O. Plymton and Elias Pattee were the preachers in 1823, before Toledo became a city. There were two classes formed in 1826 by Rev. John A. Baughman; one at the house of Eli Hubbard near the Tremainesville bridge, which became the Collingwood Church. The other class formed at the Whitney residence, became the Monroe Street Church. There are sixteen Methodist societies in Toledo at the present time (1929) as follows: Asbury, membership 350; Bethany, membership 185; Broadway, 1153; Central, 790; Clark Street, 706; Collingwood, 805; Epworth, 1228; Euclid, 760; Hamilton, 60; Ironville (Farley), 179; Monroe street, 1523; St. James, 360; St. Johns, 443; St. Pauls, 1236; Wesley, 320; Western Avenue, 330. This makes a total of 10,428 out of the 16,460 members in Toledo District, who belong to the city churches.

The Bowling Green society was organized in 1834. The first group of neighbors met in a barn on the Peter Klopfenstein place on the Napoleon road south of the village in 1832. The first class was probably organized here. Later meetings were held in a log schoolhouse on the Napoleon road, near the now Dixie Highway. The Rev. I. R. Tracy and Joshua Carr, local preachers, ministered to the little class. The first itinerants were Alanson Fleming and Wesley Shortis, who traveled the Waterville Mission, which included Wood, Lucas, Henry, Hancock, Ottawa, and

Sandusky counties. In that year there were 224 members on this circuit. Eight years later there were 104 members.

The situation may be explained by this incident. In 1848 Rev. Charles Thomas came to the Waterville Mission, but after spending one night at the home of Father Pray, he left before daylight next morning, leaving a message that if he must starve or die of chills and fever, he preferred a natural death and burial at Jeromeville, Wayne County, Ohio. But there was a brave and gallant force whose nerve did not fail them in facing the terrors of the "Black Swamp" in behalf of the struggling pioneers in the name of our Lord. There is a long list of the names of those who traveled the circuit, some of whom lost their lives through the exposure. Among them was Wesley Shortis, who was so active in this early work and who is buried at Springfield Church near Holland Station. The first church, built in 1846 on South Main Street, Bowling Green, where the Church of Christ now stands, became the cradle of every new church organization in town but one. The old parsonage across the street bought in 1856, still stands. In 1871 the cornerstone of a new brick church to be built on the corner of East Wooster and Prospect streets was laid. In 1899 a fine stone building was erected on the same site. In December, 1928, a property on North Main Street was purchased for a parsonage.

In 1834 a Methodist Class was formed at Waterville with twelve members. Elam Day was the pastor. Its history was so like that of most of the other early classes it is given in detail.

In July, 1842, "A church 36x50 was in process of erection in Waterville Village." It stood at the corner of Mechanic Street and the river road; where the filling station now stands (1929).

In these early years there was no Sunday school under the control of the Methodist Church, and not until 1847 is found a notice of a Sunday school of "about 50 scholars."

In the record of February 20, 1841, is found the following: "Resolved, that we view with ardent pleasure the strong footing that Methodism is gaining in this section of our country, and therefore cheerfully recommend a steady and persevering adherence to the whole Economy and Maxims of our beloved Church."

On January 10, 1846, a constitution for a Missionary Society was adopted and a resolution passed that the members of the Quarterly Conference should use their influence to circulate the *Missionary and Sabbath School Advocate.* The preachers who served the Waterville Circuit between 1836 and 1848 were: Alan-

son Fleming, Wesley Shortis, Austin Coleman, Chas. Babcock, George Brown, Alexander Campbell, Liberty Prentice, Orion Hatch, John Brakefield, Chas. Thomas, H. K. Bain, Thos. J. Pope, Wm. Hatcher, Sam'l. Mower, C. H. Owens, Henry Chapman, John Burges.

Situated in the famous Black Swamp with its malaria, ague, almost impassable roads, unbridged streams, dense forests and all the conditions of pioneer life, it needed hardy as well as consecrated preachers to minister to the no less hardy settlers. That they were found and counted no hardship too severe, if only the Kingdom could be advanced, is seen in the way the churches in this whole territory have grown. However, one who was sent to Waterville in the early '40s decided after a few weeks that if he had to starve or die of chills and fever, he would do it among accustomed scenes; so resigned and returned to the eastern part of the state. He was doubtless influenced, also, by the constant state of terror in which his wife lived. She had been told dreadful tales of the terrors of life in the Black Swamp, such as that the settlers tied rattlesnakes to the tails of their hogs, and she was almost frenzied with fear all the time.

We may wonder why all the preachers did not starve, when we read such items as these in the quarterly conference minutes: on October 15, 1842, a committee, composed of Bros. Pray, Morrison and Trowbridge, reported their estimate for the support of the preacher for the ensuing year. For Table Expenses, $50; for Horse Keep, $20; for Quarterage, $200; and for the Presiding Elder, quarterage and expenses, $30. In the year 1845-46 the preacher, C. H. Owens, was paid $100, with $17.07 for traveling expenses. To the Presiding Elder, Thos. Barkdull, was paid $26.-23, and as there was "a surplus of $1.22," it was paid to the P. E. We notice at this time that two dollars had to be removed from the collection because it was conterfeit.

In 1856, the Delaware Conference was formed out of the western part of the North Ohio, but in 1860 the name Central Ohio was substituted for Delaware, and again Waterville became a part of a new Conference. The local records from 1848 to about 1900 are lost, so it is from the memories of the older residents that are gathered names and facts. Among the preachers that served the charge during these years are found J. F. Burkholder, B. Herbert, Russell B. Pope, T. N. Barkdull, P. P. Pope, F. Marriott, R. B. Olive, John A. Lucy, A. D. Newell, A. J. Keister.

The parsonage was built in 1879, A. D. Newell being the first to occupy it. As it had no dining room, it was enlarged in 1893 by the addition of a kitchen. The pastor, A. J. Keister, did the work, and $36 in subscriptions, ranging from ten cents to one dollar, were collected to pay for the lumber. But the money was exhausted before the shingles were provided, so Rev. Keister roofed it with tin cans. Later alterations on a more generous scale, have resulted in the comfortable home of the present.

The Ladies' Aid Society was organized in 1889, and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society at a later date. In the fall of 1914 the present beautiful brick church at the corner of Mechanic and Fifth streets was commenced, and dedicated the next summer by Bishop D. H. Moore.

Again, Waterville has changed its Conference; for by the uniting of the Central Ohio and the Cincinnati in 1913, it became a part of the West Ohio and once more in 1928, it belongs to the Ohio, when the West Ohio and the Ohio are joined.

The preachers who have served the charge in the last thirty years are: W. McK. Brackney, J. J. Richards, E. D. Cook, F. L. Hook, E. L. Motter, C. W. Jameson, M. D. Scott, H. F. Zierer, G. W. Matheson, Wm. Gross, D. E. Rhoades, E. E. McCammon. One, H. F. Zierer, went from his pastorate here to the Philippine Islands as a missionary.

Two daughters of the church married missionaries and went to China; one laying down her life there—Florence Suter, who married Chas. Roberts. The other, Grace Farnsworth, married W. I. Lacy, and after a few years had to return to the U. S. for health reasons. A return is made from Waterville to the general story.

In 1834, the first Methodist prayer meeting in the Fulton County section was held at the home of Sidney Halley in Six Mile Woods, now Delta. In 1835 the Methodist Episcopal Society was formed by Rev. Elisha Trowbridge, who gave the ground for the first church about one mile east of Delta.

The Church at Napoleon was organized by Rev. Austin Coleman in 1835, the same year that Henry County was established and Napoleon was the county seat. Rev. Ira Chase organized the society at Sylvania in 1837. As the outgrowth of the efforts of these early pioneers in Methodism, there are about one hundred and twenty-five M. E. churches serving the communities in the Maumee and Sandusky river valleys.

(The story of the Upper Sandusky Indian Mission is told in another chapter).

The missionary work of the church is carried on through three distinct organizations. The Board of Home and Foreign Missions represents the work of the church at large. It is supported by apportionments made to each church, based on membership. By these funds, churches, schools, and preachers in both home fields and foreign, are established and sustained. To distinguish from other missionary societies, it has been called the "Parent-Board."

The women of the church work through two societies. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society was organized in 1869, in Boston. It undertook its first work in behalf of the women in heathen lands. Miss Isabella Thoburn was the first woman missionary to India. From the one missionary in 1869, the force has grown to an army of 217. During the year 1928, $373,157 was raised from a membership of 84,316 in the Cincinnati Branch, which included Ohio, Kentucky,parts of Tennessee and Michigan.

The Woman's Home Missionary Society was organized in 1880. Its objects were, to administer to the negroes and poor whites in the south, and later the Indians, and also foreigners locating in the big cities of the north and west. It supports fourteen Industrial schools for blacks, five for white children, 3 for Indians, five for orphans, and sustains social centers in the large cities and industrial districts, where foreigners can be helped. One of the most interesting perhaps is the service to the immigrants at Ellis Island.

THE EPWORTH LEAGUE

In the late eighties the question of providing especial service for the young people claimed the attention of the church. Doctor John H. Vincent, who was made bishop later, was much interested in young people. He fostered the Sunday School idea for years and did much toward standardizing Sunday School work. The Berean Lesson Leaf was the first fruit of this effort. This soon became the International Lesson Study; and soon, not only Methodists, but all denominations were stressing Bible study in a systematic way. To further the work for the young people, Doctor Vincent was instrumental in organizing the Oxford League and published a paper called *Our Youth*. Soon other societies sprang up. One, the Epworth Society, was quite popular, as well as Christian Endeavor groups. In 1890 an effort was made to

unify all Methodist groups into one strictly Methodist organization, and a meeting was called in Cleveland to effect such a plan. The idea worked through to the name the new society should bear. Doctor Vincent had a strong support for Oxford League, but an equally strong faction held that anyone might have a right to use the name Oxford, but only Methodists were interested in Epworth, and so the balance hung for sometime until someone speaking in behalf of "Epworth Society" made a slip in speech and said "Epworth League," and the deadlock was broken instantly and happily, and so these groups called Epworth Leagues, play a most significant part in the work of the church. The young folks of this northwest section gather at Lakeside, Ohio, for a week of instruction and conference every summer, the session ending in a day of decision for different forms of life service.

The church supports two colleges in this territory, Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, from whose halls hundreds of young ministers have stepped into the arena of life and have ministered to the church life from humble stations and circuits to places in the rank of bishops.

Ohio Northern at Ada was first a popular school for teachers seeking special training for their work, until it was taken over by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

One of the first attempts to educate the young men and women,was in the establishment of a seminary, in Maumee. A written request made in 1860 to the conference for such a school, resulted in the establishment of a school, or seminary in the old courthouse, which stood on the site of the present Lucas County Library. Maumee was the early county seat of Lucas County, and the old courthouse, a fine building of the Grecian style of architecture, with the grounds, was turned over to the Methodist Episcopal Church to be used forever for educational purposes. The absence of many young men during the Civil war closed the seminary and the property was turned back to Maumee in 1881.

Flower Deaconess Home and Hospital at Toledo, was made possible by a gift of $20,000 and the family residence, by Stevens W. Flower, a leading business man of Toledo. This hospital, the only one under the church's direction in this part of the state, has proven a wonderful asset in ministering to the needs of the community. Another piece of property on Superior Street, The Esther Flower Home for girls, cares for girls that are struggling for a business foothold in the city, providing home comforts at a reasonable price for them.

Many references are made to the itinerant's love of argument. It seems interesting in the twentieth century, that so much importance should be attached to the questions of the mode of baptism, foreordination, foreknowledge, sanctification, the character of heaven and hell, the sinfulness of ribbons and veils and buckles and other accessories of dress, and that so much time and energy should be spent in arguing about them. But that seemed to be the one thing among all their hardships that they were free to enjoy. And did they? Read Peter Cartwright's *Life*, or Elder Gavitt's *Saddlebags*.

One incident has stuck in our memory that illustrates this phase of the preacher's life. A district conference was being held at Genoa, Ottawa County, in 1880. The Disciples had the strongest society there and there were many hot discussions on the comparative efficiency of immersion and pouring or sprinkling. It seemed that the subject presented from a Methodist point of view might help a little in clearing up the controversy. So Dr. Lorin C. Webster was chosen to speak in the evening and open the way for a discussion on the subject. The Disciples sent a delegation led by their minister, a tall, splendidly built man with hair and complexion as ruddy as David's and with whom the folks of the Methodist pursuasion had formed a warm friendship. After a very strong setting out of the facts from his standpoint, Doctor Webster met the criticism of the delegation with fire in his eye, apparently routing the "enemy," so to speak. The Disciples' minister in his last rebuttal stretched his arm toward the Doctor, saying in closing, "I hope, my dear sir, when my hair is as white as yours, I'll know more about the Bible than you do!" We held our breath for we knew that he had rung his own knell, remembering as we did, how as a child when Doctor Webster was P. E. in this district, we had stood beside him and wondered at his flaming hair which now was white as snow. The red head reaction didn't fail the doctor. He leaned his tall form over the stand and with an imitative gesture with his long right arm said, "Don't take any comfort to yourself on that score, my brother. When I was your age my hair was as red as yours is!" The discussion ended.

Among our souvenirs we have a number of love feast tickets. Before quarterly meeting, tickets were given out to persons whose daily walk entitled them to participate in the love feast and communion service. The love feast was a testimony meeting, and bread and bowls of water were passed. There was no anxiety on sanitary conditions at that time, and the fact that our Savior

"took the cup and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them, and they *all* drank of it," was sufficient reason for everyone drinking the water from the same bowl. Grandmother told of taking her baby on the pommel of her saddle one cold winter morning and arriving at the steps of the church just as the door was closed and locked in her face. She had her ticket, but she was a few seconds late and fifteen miles from home with a young babe. What a furor such an incident would cause now. But grandmother had no words of reproach, for she had not met the conditions, and law was law in those days. She mounted her horse and went back home—justly punished for being late!

One of the young ladies in their neighborhood had been to town and had caught on to the fact that young ladies were wearing veils, so she went to the country church wearing one. Imagine her consternation when the preacher halted in the midst of his morning lesson and striding to the pew where she sat, unceremoniously pulled the veil from her hat and took the opportunity to administer a most scathing rebuke for such vanity.

This sketch has been drawn with the help of several most interesting articles of a like nature to which an interested student may turn for more information on the subject than can be included in this story.

"An Hundred Years of Methodism"—written in 1876 for the Centennial of Methodism by Matthew Simpson, one of the early Bishops of the church. "Handbook of all Denominations"—compiled by M. Phelan, published in 1927 by the Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn. "Introduction of Methodism in Ohio"—an article prepared by Rev. I. F. King, D. D. for the Ohio Archeological and Historical Society Publications, Vol. X. "History of Central Ohio Conference"—published in 1913; and some others.

BAPTIST SOCIETY

The Baptists were the first denomination of British Christians to engage in missionary work among the so called heathens. Again as told in the chapter on the missions of the Maumee and Sandusky Region, the Board of Managers of the Baptist Missionary Convention for the United States, appointed Rev. Isaac McCoy as missionary to the Indians of the Maumee, October 17, 1817. McCoy also preached to such white settlers or squatters as were found at the head of the Maumee River as early as 1817. Later he carried on his work in Michigan.

When settlements were more freely developed, a Baptist society of twenty-six members, was organized at Lima in 1834, and was admitted into the Mad River Association. A society of the Baptist denomination was established at Bucyrus in 1838. The First Baptist Church of Bellevue was organized May 14, 1836, with Rev. J. Kelly the first pastor. Much of this early work was accomplished through the zeal of Rev. John D. Birdsell, who established Baptist societies at Maumee and Perrysburg, followed by organizations at Sylvania and Ten Mile Creek or West Toledo.

An organization was effected in Toledo about 1842, in Findlay in 1857, and after 1860, churches of that denomination began to be established in many sections of the Maumee and Sandusky valleys.

The following account of early Baptist work in Toledo, is of so much general interest that it is produced here rather than in the story of Toledo:

The earliest gathering of Baptists for public services within the present Toledo city limits, was at Ten Mile Creek now designated as West Toledo, and a society was organized some time about 1842. But on account of adverse conditions the work for a time in this locality was suspended. The alignment of the people upon questions of public concern, included slavery, and as said in a historical paper written by Mr. P. N. Mackinder this agitation "had its effect on religious activities, and as far as Baptist work was concerned, every vestige of denominational activity was abandoned and the very term Baptist became only a memory. Its effect throughout Ohio was such that the name of Toledo and surrounding territory became a synonym of reproach to denominational activities. Yet the fire was not quenched, it was only slumbering."

Taking further information from this valuable paper, in the spring of 1853, a young man named Henry J. Hayes arrived in Toledo from Loudonville, Ohio, and became the leader of the commission firm of H. J. Hayes & Company. Being a devout churchman and a Baptist, he wanted a church of his own faith he could call "home." Fortunately he met Rev. S. B. Page of Norwalk who gave him the name of some Baptist adherents in young Toledo and they were invited to his home on St. Clair Street near Jefferson. The gathering resulted in regular weekly prayer services being held there. One faithful attendant was Deacon Solomon Johnson of Maumee, who each Sunday afternoon walked all the way "through thick and thin" to lend his influence in aid of his

Toledo brethren to keep the faith. From these little gatherings "where two or three met together," sprang the germ of the present First Baptist Society of Toledo, which will soon occupy a magnificent new edifice on north Collingwood Avenue, where they own a plant worth more than a half million dollars.

The climax came on July 6, 1853, when a permanent organization was decided upon. And from the New York Catskills came the man of the hour. Failing health compelled Rev. Edward Francis Platt, the young pastor of the Baptist Church of Catskill to relinquish his work there in 1852. A change of climate was advised and the American Baptist Home Mission Society appointed him to local mission work in St. Paul, Minn. On his way west in May, 1853, he stopped at Cleveland where he became interested in Toledo conditions through Rev. S. W. Adams and a Mr. J. M. Hoyt, missionary enthusiasts. Among the letters of introduction given him to Toledo Baptists was one addressed to William Baker. As the train bearing Mr. Platt westward left Norwalk, a young man who had taken passage was addressed by another passenger by this very name included in his list. His personal appearance also corresponded to the description of this leading Toledo Baptist given Platt and he immediately made himself known to him. In the ride to the new city on the Maumee a friendship was established between Platt and Baker which became more firmly cemented as time passed and lasted until they were parted by death.

Mr. Platt made the same favorable impression upon other Toledoans on his arrival, and so it was that on July 6, 1853, eight men met to establish a Baptist Society. Besides Rev. E. F. Platt the others were this William Baker, Benjamin Farley, J. E. Franklin, Ransom Wilkinson, W. S. Grow, Dr. Lewis Pagin and Dr. W. C. Scott. Rev. Mr. Platt was made chairman of the gathering and Dr. Scott secretary. The result was that Platt was invited to a pastorate at a salary of one thousand dollars a year, and his work opened July 13, one week later. A committee consisting of William Baker, Dr. Pagin, Dr. Scott and H. J. Hayes, was selected to secure a place to hold services until a church could be built. The place chosen was Union Hall located on Summit Street near now Jackson Avenue. The rental was one hundred dollars per year. The first sermon was preached there by Mr. Platt Sunday, August 7, 1853. A Bible School was organized a week later with eleven scholars.

October 16, plans were laid that resulted in the regular organization of the First Baptist Church of Toledo, on October 31, 1853,

with the following members: Rev. E. F. Platt, Mrs. E. F. Platt, Benjamin Farley, Mrs. Almira Farley, Miss Harriet Shumway, William Baker, Henry J. Hayes, Mrs. Henry J. Hayes, Ransom Wilkinson, Mrs. Margaret Pfanner, Mrs. Sophronia Blodgett, S. G. Harvey, Dr. W. C. Scott, Mrs. Elizabeth Scott, Mrs. Mary E. West, Miss Clarissa Shaw, Mrs. Minerva Freeman, Mrs. Clarissa Flint. The deacons chosen were H. J. Hayes, Ransom Wilkinson and Benjamin Farley. The first board of trustees selected March 15, 1854, were W. C. Scott, H. J. Hayes, William Baker, H. L. Hosmer and Charles A. King.

On November 2, 1854, the society was formally recognized as a church and at the recognition council there were representatives present from Cleveland, Norwalk, Monroeville, Bellevue, Fairfield, Maumee, Perrysburg, and no doubt Findlay, Lima and Bucyrus. From Michigan Detroit, Adrian and Tecumseh were represented. The sermon was preached by Rev. S. W. Adams of the First Baptist Church, Cleveland, and the charge to the new organization was given by Rev. W. H. Crane of Adrian.

On December 9, 1854, the first church located on Huron Street near Cherry, was dedicated, the cost of which with the lot it occupied, was about $15,000 and pronounced the finest Protestant church then in Toledo. The Home Mission Society aided in the support, until 1859. A great shock to the organization, although not unexpected, was the death of the pastor in the year 1866. One feature of his work had been his aid to the cause of the Union in the Civil war, many of the church members being in the field, including the noted Brig.-Gen. John W. Fuller.

An illustrious character identified with the First Baptist Church was Mr. H. L. Sargent who came to Toledo from Davenport, Iowa, in 1864. He was the organizer of the Sargent Mission on lower Ontario Street, which later became Riverside Baptist Church. Soon after being regularly ordained in the ministry he took up a pastorate at Springfield, Mass.

Following the service of Rev. Mr. Platt, there were one or two temporary supplies, after which Dr. C. D. Morris became pastor in October, 1867, and continued until 1882. The pastors since that time at the First Baptist have been: Rev. Byron A. Woods, 1882-1884; Rev. A. S. Hobart, 1885-1888; Rev. W. H. Sloan, 1889-1893; Rev. Philip J. Ward, 1893-1896; Rev. W. E. Loucks, 1897-1908; Dr. George C. Moor, 1909-1911. Then came Rev. J. Y. Montague, Rev. T. B. Frizelle, and finally the Rev. Al-

bert King Morris, in September, 1920, from Wilkes-Barre, Pa., the present able pastor (1929).

So much of the story of the First Baptist Church, Toledo, concerns other organizations which sprang from the parent body, and also human interest side lights on early Toledo. In the year 1866, a mission was established at Clinton Park, the site of the old Toledo circus grounds, now the corner of Ashland Avenue and Prescott Street and where is located Ashland Avenue Baptist Church. Mr. Mackinder in his story says this Mission was at first independent of the First Church, but soon came under its supervision with Mr. Frank Braisted as superintendent. The Sunday School was at first held in the open air, but when the fall weather came on the little band built a refuge from the cold, of which they took possession in December of that year. The site of the structure was owned by the then Gen. R. B. Hayes of Fremont, later president of the United States. The Clinton Park Mission became the Platt Mission and is now the Ashland Avenue Church, one of the leading Baptist societies in Ohio.

In 1866, the colored element of the First Baptist society withdrew and they are now known as the Third Baptist Church. In the same year the church organized a mission in then the celebrated old Fifth Ward. This resulted in the Oliver Place Baptist Church, now the Trinity Baptist society. Among the First Baptists identified with the new movement, were F. D. Suydam, F. P. Beaver, T. J. Collins, C. L. Rhoades, Miss Carrie Platt, Miss Mary Lane and others. Miss Lane, now (in 1929) Mrs. W. H. Alexander, is perhaps the oldest living person at any time connected with the First Baptist membership. Dr. F. P. Beaver is a leading business and church man of Dayton. Lately Mr. Beaver recounted that when he came to Toledo and attended the First Baptist services, he was invited home to dinner by one of the members; whereupon the daughter of the prospective host rejoined that the invitation would be conditional upon Mr. Beaver attending the Mission in the afternoon and teaching a Sunday School class, to which the guest assented. Miss Platt is now Mrs. P. P. Farnham of Michigan. Mr. Rhoades was an uncle of the present Toledo attorneys, John D. and E. H. Rhoades, Jr., and was a successful preach- for over fifty years.

On the organization of the Oliver Place Mission into a church society, the first pastor was Rev. William Sheridan of New York City who presided over the flock for twenty years. Sheridan was known as the "Grand Old Man of Ohio" in Baptist work. In fact

the Oliver Place Church, the Ashland Avenue Church, the Riverside Church and the Second Baptist Church, are the outgrowth of the First Baptist mission work.

In June, 1888, the First society had a membership enrollment of 368. And like the change in the center of commercial activites of a city, churches are likewise affected. Gradually the principal residential section had gravitated toward the Collingwood district. The first Baptist Church was still on Huron Street and the Ashland Avenue location was much nearer and more convenient to a large number of the membership of the Huron Street Church. In consequence in this year 1888, sixty-two members of the First Society withdrew in a body and identified themselves with Ashland Avenue. The pew renting system was abolished by the First Baptist people in 1886.

During the summer of 1897 the church property on Huron was remodeled and improved at an expense of $6,000 and the church rededicated in the fall of that year. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the Rev. G. R. Robbins of Cincinnati.

Not long after the beginning of the pastorate of Dr. Morris, on account of the growth of the society and local conditions, a movement was inaugurated for a new church in a new location. In 1923, $250,000 had been pledged and a fine location was donated by the late R. A. and Mrs. Bartley at Collingwood and Collins. Later the size of the tract was found to be inadequate for the plant in mind, and a delightful location was secured on Collingwood, near Central Avenue. The first unit of the new church was dedicated in September, 1925. The old church property in Huron was sold in 1924. In 1929, $200,000 more had been pledged to complete the new First Baptist on the original plans. And so more than seventy-five years of the society is now history.

In the last three quarters of a century, the Baptist membership has grown from eighteen to about 3,000 in Toledo. The first missionary offering has grown from ten dollars in 1859 to nearly $100,000 given by Toledo Baptists for missionary purposes. Individually the late Mr. and Mrs. R. A. Bartley's contributions have been stupendous compared to a five dollar donation made by Mr. Bartley on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church, to assist in raising three thousand dollars to clear the church debt. And this subscription in 1878 was contingent upon the whole three thousand dollars being raised. Others who later contributed their thousands were then as follows: J. G. Lamson $10, F. D. Suydam $25, W. O. Brigham $20, J. J. Freeman $25, Herbert Baker

$25, T. J. Collins $25, W. H. Alexander $40, E. A. Rood $15, E. H. Van Hoesen $25. Among those who were already more forehanded were William Baker who headed the list with $300, followed by John W. Fuller $100, R. H. Lane $100, and Thomas A. Taylor $100.

Further work of the Baptists will be found in the special stories of the various Northwestern Ohio counties.

LUTHERANISM

The Christian denomination known as Lutherans, which adopted the principles of the great Martin Luther, is strongly represented throughout the Maumee and Sandusky regions. In the city of Toledo alone, there are some thirty-seven organized societies, which is more than represented by any other Protestant denomination. Lutheranism developed early in the Sandusky Valley, as well as the Maumee section. From 1820 to 1830, Lutherans from Germany and Pennsylvania began to establish themselves at Lower Sandusky (Fremont). They were ministered to by missionaries from Western Pennsylvania and Somerset, Ohio. One of the first local preachers was Rev. A. Conrad of Tiffin.

However, when the settlements were sparse the pioneer church people of different faiths often joined in their organizations. This was the case with the Lutherans and Reformed people of the now Fremont territory. The history of the Reformed Church of Fremont starts in connection with the St. John's Lutheran Church. In 1842 a society was incorporated under the name of The Evangelical Lutheran and German Reform St. John's congregation. In 1843, they purchased the old courthouse property. The first minister was a Lutheran, and in 1853, the name was changed to The Evangelical-Lutheran St. John's Congregation, and later the St. John's people acquired title to the church property. Further details would hardly come under this general story of churches, including the German and English branches of this sect. But another early organization in Sandusky County was Solomon's Evangelical Church of Woodville, which dates from 1830. In that year settlers began to arrive from the Osnabruck section of the province of Hanover. Then in 1841 came the Rev. George Cronnenwett who served his people faithfully for forty-seven years and for much of the earlier period was the only Lutheran pastor within a radius of more than fifty miles. During his service Father Cronnenwett baptized 2,341 subjects, confirmed 1,730 and had charge of 1,214 burial services.

As told by Doctor Kennedy of Heidelberg College, in Seneca County and Tiffin, the German Evangelical people were early in the field. They received their charter in 1836, under the name of "The United German Evangelical Lutheran and German Evangelical Reformed St. John's Congregation of Tiffin, Seneca County." The first meeting-house was constructed of hewed logs and located on now South Jefferson Street, Tiffin. For the Reformed society, on June 8, 1833, the Rev. John L. Sanders of Maryland began his services as the first pastor of the First Reformed Church of Tiffin.

At the present time there are many strong Lutheran organizations throughout the Maumee and Sandusky regions, including Henry, Hancock, Ottawa and other counties, with many good schools in connection.

The first Lutheran church west of the Alleghenies was built under the direction of Father John Stout, in Washington County, Pennsylvania, in 1808, although the society records there date back to 1802. The old parsonage in a beautiful situation is still standing and a memorial tablet marks the site of the church. At Brentwood on the Brownsville Road, upon another delightful plat today stands a fine brick edifice the present Zion Lutheran Church, although some distance from the old location. Here Rev. Fred O. Schuh now of St. Paul's Lutheran congregation, Toledo, was pastor from 1917 to 1922.

Father Stout the first Lutheran minister west of the Allegheny Divide, did noted missionary work for his church all through Ohio, including the counties of Pickaway, Montgomery, Jefferson, Perry, Stark and Fairfield. He also came to the great Black Swamp region of Northwestern Ohio and only a short time since his grave was discovered in a little cemetery near Attica, Seneca County, marked by a modest marble slab, the site now being honored by an appropriate memorial tablet.

The Rev. Dr. H. Lindemann, Ph. D., of Woodville, has written extensively upon the early work of American Lutheranism. In speaking of the early Lutheran settlements, and of the celebrated Muhlenbergs, he quotes the late Secretary John Hay who said, "Martin Luther's far-reaching influence, which is today felt from the Atlantic to the Pacific, helped to people our Northern Continent with colonists who laid the foundation of its future liberties on the truths of the Bible. He recommended the oppressed people of Europe to take the teachers of their choice, and with the Bible

in their hands to follow the star of freedom to lands where religious liberty could find a home."

In the early pages of this (Van Tassel's) history, the work of Conrad Weiser is spoken of in connection with his explorations across Ohio to Pickawillany, the Indian town at the head section of the Great Miami River, in 1748. Concerning Weiser, Doctor Lindemann says: "In the final contest with the French, the Lutherans bore a prominent part. Conrad Weiser the wizard of Conestoga, the Lutheran elder, the father-in-law of Patriarch Muhlenberg, was the Indiana agent, who, more than any other man, held the Six Nations in check and prevented the French from securing their invaluable assistance. We would not deny to Sir William Johnson the credit of influencing the Mohawk tribe, but it was Conrad Weiser who treated with the rest of the Six Nations, and this saved our cause. When laid to rest on his farm at Womeldorf, the Indians came to mourn over his grave for years." Concerning the Revolution Doctor Lindemann further writes: "In the Revolutionary war our Lutherans were loyal to the cause of freedom. The Germans were ever opposed to all forms of tyranny. The appeal of their Philadelphia Society in 1775 aroused their countrymen throughout the Colonies. The motion of Richard Henry Lee to declare 'the United States free and independent' was held in suspense because the Pennsylvania delegation, composed of Quakers and allied sectarians, refused to support it, and would have doomed it to defeat. Had not our Pennsylvania Germans, the majority of whom were Lutherans, rallied their forces to the Pennsylvania convention of June 18, 1776, and cast their votes in its favor, the Declaration of Independence could not have been passed on July 4, 1776." Then of Peter Muhlenberg, the eldest son of Patriarch Muhlenberg, Doctor Lindeman says: "We have heard of Putnam leaving his plow in the furrow to shoulder his musket, but we have heard little of Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, who after preaching to his people in Woodstock, Va., said, 'There is a time to preach, a time to pray, but there is a time to fight, and that is now.' Removing his gown and standing in military dress, he commanded the drum to beat, enrolled 300 of his congregation and served as colonel under Washington. 'He saved the day at Brandywine and led the reinforcements which took the last of the British works at Yorktown.' "

John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg was born in Trappe, Pa., October 1, 1746. He was educated in Germany. In 1766 he re-

turned to America, studied theology and was pastor of Lutheran churches in New Germantown and Bedminster, New Jersey. In 1772, he settled in Woodstock, Va., left his former charge in consequence of the Virginia laws and obtained Protestant Episcopal ordination from the Bishop of London. He continued his ministry at Woodstock for three years and in 1775 accepted a colonel's commission in the American Army. His organization of a military force has been referred to and after his valiant war record, he was at the close of hostilities made a major-general. In 1785 when Benjamin Franklin was chosen president of Pennsylvania, General Muhlenberg became vice president, in 1801 was chosen to the U. S. Senate, and in 1803 made Collector of the Port of Philadelphia. He died October 1, 1807, and his remains rest in the cemetery of the Lutheran church at the historical hamlet of Trappe, Montgomery County, Pa., and which was consecrated October 6, 1745.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL

This religious denomination was early in the field of the Maumee and Sandusky region. The First Protestant Episcopal Church at Maumee was organized in 1837, with Rev. B. H. Hickox the first pastor. This society has prospered, early built a substantial little house of worship which was a short time ago greatly enlarged and improved. An Episcopal society was organized at Manhattan, now within Toledo, in 1838. In 1840, Bishop McIlvane conducted services in the old Presbyterian Church, Toledo. But even before that time, April 23, 1837, Rev. Narcissus Lyster, a Protestant Episcopal minister, conducted services in the room in Toledo used for holding court. Rev. Joseph S. Large of the Maumee society also during his pastorate there traveled to Toledo on Sunday afternoons and held services in a frame building on Summit Street, between Cherry and Walnut. The present Trinity society sprung from a meeting held by Bishop McIlvane in 1842. The story of this organization appears in the article on the City of Toledo.

St. Paul's Parish, Fremont, as told about in the story of Fremont, had its beginning January 12, 1842, when the articles of association were signed on that date. There are many strong organizations in the region of the Maumee and Sandusky of the Protestant Episcopal faith.

CONGREGATIONAL

As has already been noted, the early days of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches were closely associated in the

Maumee Valley. Their early history in this section was practically parallel. What is now known as the First Congregational Church, Toledo, was organized as the First Presbyterian Church, in 1833. At Bellevue in 1836, the present First Congregational Church was formed under the direction of the Huron Presbytery as a Presbyterian society and remained as such until 1846, when it was made a regular congregational organization.

Out in Plain township, Wood County, at a beautiful situation some four miles west of Bowling Green, rises the spire of a substantial church belonging to one of the oldest religious organizations in this section—the Plain Congregational. The beginning of this society, still in a flourishing condition in a cultural community, was November 27, 1835. Upon that date in this then new country there gathered at the cabin home of Jacob Minton, near the present church site the following named noble, pioneer churchmen: Rev. Joseph Badger, Rev. Isaac Van Tassel and Rev. Benjamin Woodbury, together with Elisha Martindale, Jacob Minton, Nathaniel Edgerton, Mehetable Woodbury, Philetta Minton and Lydia Edgerton. Missionary Badger presided with Rev. Mr. Woodbury as scribe. The confession of faith and articles of practice of the Presbyteries of Grand River and Portage were adopted for this little church in the deep wilderness. In the seventh article, instead of the reading "when he has not thus elected" the words "who will not repent" were accepted. In October, 1836, the membership organized a Home Missionary Society to aid the American Home Society. The first church, a substantial frame structure, still intact in 1929, was built in 1840. In April, 1836, an Indian interpreter known as King, from the old Maumee Mission, who had united with the society, for his waywardness and intemperance, was tried and suspended. Rev. Benjamin Woodbury, the first pastor, also labored at Milton Center, West Millgrove and Freeport (Wayne) Wood County and at Swanton, Lucas County. The Congregational organizations of the Maumee and Sandusky regions are among the strongest in this territory.

UNITED BRETHREN

The United Brethren Society, relatively is not an old organization. The denomination was established under the labors of P. W. Otterbein (1726-1813) a native of Germany, who as a missionary arrived at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1752 and later established himself at Baltimore. He became associated with the Mennonite teacher Martin Boehm and in his work also coöperated with the

early Methodist preachers of Pennsylvania. The first U. B. annual conference was held in 1800.

Considering Northwestern Ohio, the origin of the Sandusky Conference according to the historical sketch of the same, written by Rev. W. R. Arnold of Findlay, dates back to 1822, when Rev. Jacob Bowlus and family moved from Maryland to a farm near Lower Sandusky (Fremont). Evidently he was the first of the United Brethren faith to preach within the bounds of this conference. Soon after establishing himself he threw open his home for religious service and invited his neighbors and friends to assemble for worship. This culminated in the forming of a society by himself and family joining with his newly-made converts. He opened his doors and spread his table for ministers of other religious faiths. He was a good provider, generous, hospitable, and religiously zealous. Thus he made many friends and wielded a good influence, thereby giving the United Brethren Church a hearty welcome and permanency.

Without quotations the story of Rev. Mr. Arnold says the General Conference of 1829 attached a portion of Sandusky County to Muskingum Conference and named it Sandusky Circuit. At the following session of Muskingum Conference, this new territory was made a district and called Sandusky District. Mr. Bowlus was elected presiding elder and placed on the new district, and Rev. J. Zahn was appointed pastor of the Sandusky Circuit. Thus it is evident that Mr. Bowlus was truly the nestor of Sandusky Conference, being its first pastor, its first presiding elder, its first representative in the General Conference.

Other societies and circuits were formed in adjacent territory and counties. The work grew and was strengthened by other ministers moving within the territorial bounds. Such were Revs. George Hiskey, John and Jacob Numann, John Smith, Philip Cramer, Henry Kimberlin, Israel Herrington, Daniel Strayer and others. As this work grew and was of such great promise the General Conference of 1833 authorized the organization of a new Conference and on the twelfth day of May in the following year the first session of Sandusky Conference was held in the private home of Mr. Philip Bretz, near Melmore, Seneca County, Ohio, Bishop Hiestand, presiding. The stone dwelling was still standing, in good repair, and was occupied in 1913, when Mr. Arnold penned his history. The farm belongs to the Zeigler heirs. A number of sessions were subsequently held at the Honey Creek chapel, a few rods from this house, but it is now abandoned. The

following ministers were present: Jacob Bowlus, George Hiskey, Jeremiah Brown, C. Zook, John and Jacob Crum, W. T. Tracy, Jacob Bair, O. Strong, Henry Erret, J. Smith, Lawrence Easterly, Philip Cramer, J. Alsop, Benjamin Moore, Daniel Strayer, Israel Herrington, Henry Kimberlin, and John Fry. The following brethren were admitted: John Davis, Jacob Garber, Stephen Lillibridge, A. Winch, J. C. Rice, and B. F. Kauffman. There were twenty-six in all.

The value of the work of Jacob Bowlus may be realized when the state of the church in 1913 is compared with the small beginning. At the annual session on the latter date there were 142 ministers and 232 organized churches, with a membership of 23,374; church houses, 227, and their value $763,805; parsonages, 62; valued at $100,425; salaries paid to pastors, and Conference superintendent and all purposes, $178,945.29; Sunday schools, 222, with an enrollment of 25,878. All other statistics are proportionately as good.

"In the early days of the Conference," says Arnold "most of the ministers and their parishioners were German. By nature they were content to stay in the country and rural districts. Furthermore, they were a little opposed to adopting the English language and customs. Consequently many fine openings closed and some may never be opened to the church, as others have now occupied the territory. And yet it is remarkable what progress has been made, especially in the last few decades."

The Conference originally occupied all the territory it now holds except that portion annexed in 1902 from the Auglaize Conference. In 1853, the North Ohio Conference was formed, and all that portion of Northern Ohio, northwest of the Maumee River, was placed into the North Ohio Conference, and later in 1878, the Central Ohio Conference was formed and some valuable territory was taken from Sandusky Conference. Among the fields taken were Marion and Galion. Such men as Revs. J. B. Resler, J. A. Crayton, A. Orr, M. A. Powers, J. W. Waggoner, and others, men of great worth and influence in the Conference, became members of the new conference.

When this territory was re-annexed to Sandusky Conference in 1901, only Revs. M. A. Powers and J. W. Waggoner returned, but the society was fortunate in getting Drs. J. L. Hensley, A. Snider and a number of young brethren who have rendered valuable service. At the same time that portion of Ohio which was a

part of northern Ohio and once a part of Sandusky, was re-annexed to Sandusky.

The Auglaize territory annexed at this time furnished some fine city fields such as Lima and Sidney, and also Van Wert which has been taken up since the consolidation. The fathers who were at the head of this band of men and their fields of labor were Elias Counseller, R. W. Wilgus, and the late W. E. Bay, whom Bishop Edwards called "The sweet singer of Israel." Rev. Stephen Lillibridge, a young man of promise and zeal, was one of the early ministers of the Conference. He died at Findlay, Ohio, in 1843, and his body rests in Maple Grove Cemetery at that place. He was only twenty-eight years old at the time of his death.

Rev. Henry G. Spayth, the Church's first historian, came into the Conference by transfer in 1835.

The "Peter Cartwright" of Sandusky Conference was Rev. John Davis, the hatter, who made and sold white hats. He had an exceedingly pleasant disposition, was shrewd and witty in his sayings; honest in his dealings. He was a favorite among his brethren and well patronized by them. He spent his later days with his daughter at Fostoria, Ohio. It was here that a good number of his ministerial brethren, who were visiting him, planned to get his favorite piece of chicken. The joke contemplated was so good that one of the brethren revealed their plan to his daughter: He was to say "grace" and thereby they would have the advantage. But the trusty daughter informed her father of the plot and placed the plate of fowl near him, with his piece in easy reach. At the proper time, he was called on to return thanks, and with fork in hand, watching as well as praying, he was heard to say, as he was about to conclude, "The gizzard is mine, Amen." The joke is still remembered by some of the older brethren, and his name and sharp sayings are handed down from one to another. He was a great lover of tea, and for fear he would not always be fortunate enough to get it where he might stop, he carried with him a supply. At one place where they had none, he brought his tea sack from his saddle-bags and cautioned the lady of the house that he desired his tea good and strong. On leaving the home, he asked for the remainder, but the good sister said: "Why, Father Davis, you told me to make your tea good and strong, and I used it all," to which he replied, "Well, I thought it had an extra twist to it." His body rests in the Fostoria cemetery.

One of the able and honored pioneer ministers was Rev. Joseph Beaver, who joined in 1835. He served as pastor and presiding

elder. He compiled a small song book, called "The Christian Songster," which was used quite extensively for many years both in and out of the United Brethren denomination. He died at Fostoria, Ohio, in 1896. Rev. John Lawrence, for fourteen years editor of the *Religious Telescope*, was for a number of years a member of Sandusky Conference. In later years he entered the legal profession. He died in Tennessee.

One of the most prominent characters of the Conference and the entire Church was Rev. Alexander Biddle, who joined by transfer from Muskingum Conference in 1847. He was a member of the General Conference of 1841, which framed the Church's first constitution, and of each succeeding General Conference to and including that of 1865. At one session he came within one vote of being elected Bishop. He spent almost seventy years in the ministry and died at the age of eighty-nine, at Galion, Ohio.

Rev. Michael Long was a leading revivalist, pastor, and presiding elder in his day. He was a fine singer and had a powerful voice, and in the days of the camp meetings he could be "heard over two miles." He served fifty-one years as an itinerant minister.

There were at one time three brothers in the Conference well known for their physique and handsome appearance. These were Revs. John, George, and Reuben French. They were fine preachers and had great evangelistic ability, and added their thousands to the church.

Rev. Michael Bulger, known as the "Ecclesiastical Lawyer," was a lover of debate. It is said that he delighted to argue with the advents, and always floundered them when he had a chance to do so. There are many other workers worthy of mention if space allowed.

Rev. Isaac Crouse served as circuit and station preacher, and as presiding elder. He was the founder of the Sunday School system in its general organization.

Rev. Wm. Mathers, who became a member of the Conference in 1847, served long and faithfully as a circuit rider, station preacher, and as presiding elder. He lived to near the century mark.

Rev. D. S. Caldwell, a former member of Sandusky Conference, who was an able preacher, and an efficient pastor and presiding elder, and who was a Union soldier, captured and imprisoned in the Libby prison, wrote a small pamphlet telling of the daring escape of himself and a number of his fellow prisoners.

Without a doubt Dr. J. W. Lilly served more years in the presiding elder's office than any other member of the Conference. He served twenty-one years in the Sandusky and North Ohio Conference. Rev. Henry Doty served longer than any other in this capacity in the Sandusky Conference proper, having served nine years consecutively.

Rev. T. J. Harbaugh was a soldier during the Civil war, served as chaplain of the Second Regiment of Ohio in the Spanish-American war. He served as state senator, two terms, and gave credit to the state and party that elected him.

Rev. John C. Bright, one of the early ministers of the Conference, was the founder of the Home, Frontier, and Foreign Missionary Society of our church.

Sandusky Conference was one of the first to give its support and influence to Otterbein University. Hundreds of the young men and women are graduates of the institution. It was also an early supporter of Union Biblical Seminary, now Bonebrake Theological Seminary. At one time the Conference erected and supported Fostoria Academy. The school always had an able faculty and its work was thorough. Many of the young people of the Conference attended school there, and many became well equipped for their life's service, and have made good records. In later years the school passed from the control of Sandusky Conference and in 1905, the building burned. The dormitories were sold and the campus has been laid out into town lots, and dwellings erected thereon. An important event in the early history of this society, seemingly lost track of by that denomination, is that services were held by a United Brethren minister at the cabin of Collister Haskins, soon after his location on the Liberty township side of the present village of Portage, in 1824. With this statement, further facts of their work will be found in the stories of the various county organizations which follow later in this history.

CHURCH OF CHRIST

While the Church of Christ, also known as the Christian Church, Disciples of Christ, and in pioneer sections early called "Campbellites," is not an old organization, comparatively, it had a representation in the Maumee and Sandusky valleys nearly a century ago. Alexander Campbell, with his father, Thomas Campbell, is generally recognized as the founder of the society, the organization springing from a meeting held at Bush Run, Pa., in 1810, and perfected May 4, 1811, with a membership of thirty.

It was truly a church in the wilderness. Thomas Campbell, the father was selected elder, with George Sharp, John Dawson, William Gilchrist and James Foster, Deacons. Alexander Campbell was ordained as a preacher January 1, 1812. The first baptisms took place in Buffalo Creek.

The teachings of the Church of Christ were applicable to the religious ideas of a goodly number of the wilderness pioneers of the Maumee and Sandusky valleys. Among the early gatherings of those in sympathy with this movement, were those which took place in the Whitacre and Mercer settlements, in Liberty township, Wood County. It was in 1840 that George Lucy, a Disciple preacher, came to visit his sister, Mrs. Martha Whitacre, and with the Whitacre family visited the Mercer neighborhood, where he preached the first sermon of the denomination at the cabin of William Mercer. Lucy then organized a class of Disciples at the Whitacre schoolhouse near the north line of Bloom township, Wood County. Among the first members of the class were Caleb and Abraham Mercer and a Mrs. Groves. About 1842, John and William Mercer became identified with the movement and James Alton arrived to conduct services at this schoolhouse. Some time later Mahlon Whitacre received word that Moses Bonham, a Disciple, was holding meetings in Putnam County and went there on foot to induce Bonham to come to the Whitacres' to hold services. He consented, and under his influence Daniel Mercer (thereafter known as "Uncle Danny") John and James McCrory, George Mercer, Sr., and a Dr. Hutchins were baptized (immersed) into the church. For preaching there one year, Mahlon Whitacre gave Bonham forty acres of land in the southeast quarter of section 31, Portage township. The first elders of the class were Mahlon Whitacre and John Mercer, and Edward Whitacre and William Mercer, deacons. Meetings were then held in the Mercer schoolhouse in Liberty township. A year or so later John Whitacre came from Columbiana County and held services in a schoolhouse northwest of present Mermill. Among additions to the class were Charles Mercer, Jane Mercer, Mary Ann McCrory, Harriet Mercer, David, Ellisa and Elizabeth Mercer. A minister named William Wilson arrived in 1850, followed by Joseph Wade, Thomas Holmes and Zophar Green, of the Christian Bible Society. April 11, 1858, a regular society was organized with Daniel and John Mercer elders and Abraham Mercer and James McCrory deacons. There were twenty-nine members, not including the Whitacres who still maintained their separate class.

The first preachers were evidently not regularly ordained, others following being Dana Call, Orange Higgins, Michael Riddle, William and Jackson Dowling. The first church, known as the Bethel, was built in 1865 at the present town site of Rudolph, under Dowling's pastorate. After 1880, Rev. J. V. Updike, a regularly ordained minister was the pastor until 1886. In 1888, the society was incorporated, with Daniel Mercer, Robert Miller, Joseph Horn and William Kinney, trustees, and Andrew Welton, clerk. In 1889, Rev. William Dowling resumed the pastorate, followed in 1890, by Rev. G. W. Cline. From 1858 to 1890, some 600 members were received into this organization and a fine brick church now occupies the site of the first structure.

When the oil industry became an important factor in Liberty township, prosperity came to many farmers of that section who later retired to village or city life. Among these were the families of Daniel Mercer, Robert Place and Robert Miller, prominent in the Bethel organization. Mercer and Place located in Bowling Green and the story of the Christian Church there in which they were prominent, is related in the chapter on Wood County. Robert Miller's family located in Tiffin, where Mr. Miller sponsored the building of a fine edifice of the Church of Christ denomination.

At Milton Center, Wood County, a Christian Church Society was organized early. In pioneer days the mode of baptism was by some considered a vital factor in the plan of salvation, and debates were held between the then so called Campbellites and ministers of denominations using other modes of baptism than immersion. One such, in a series, was held between Rev. G. W. Cline, then pastor at the Christian Church at Milton Center and Rev. J. W. Trimble of the Presbyterian denomination there. The debates created much excitement and drew packed houses; and it may be said that pastor Trimble was reluctant to enter the contest, but was rather forced into the public discussion by his partisan church members.

As noted, Putnam County's field was early covered by the "Disciples" as were some other sections, including now Fulton County. As early as in the '30s, long before Fulton County was organized, a William Jones preached to the followers there of that faith. Of the five or six Christian Church societies in Toledo, The Central Church on Eleventh Street is the oldest. It was organized in September, 1872, with Rev. F. M. Green as pastor. It has a membership of about one thousand with Rev. Grant W.

Speer, the able pastor. More details of the Christian societies are found in the story of Toledo and the various county articles.

As indicated, no matter how desirable, it is impossible to go into details of all the worthy church organizations, and a number not mentioned here are spoken of in the various individual county chapters. The able article of Rev. Francis J. Macelwane closes this chapter.

HISTORY OF CATHOLIC DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHWESTERN OHIO

BY REV. FRANCIS J. MACELWANE

The material progress of Northwestern Ohio in the past one hundred and twenty-five years has been remarkable. At the same time the religious growth has kept step with this material progress. Among the forces contributing to spiritual advancement in this part of the state the Catholic Church has been an influential factor.

French Missions. Prior to settlement by the whites, which began about 1800, Northwestern Ohio was a dense forest inhabited by two or three Indian tribes. This territory was a part of New France from the time of its exploration until the close of the French and Indian war. It was ceded to the English by the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

While the country was in the control of the French, traders and missionaries frequently traveled by canoe along the south shore of Lake Erie and up the Maumee and Sandusky Rivers. While the French Jesuits had no mission station nearer than Detroit, records seem to indicate that they frequently visited the Indians of Northwestern Ohio.

An old map drawn by the Jesuits in 1660 shows that they were familiar with the location of Sandusky Bay and the Maumee River.

Jesuit missionaries were known to have been along the Maumee River in 1670 and in 1676.

After 1700 the French adopted the Maumee-Wabash route as an inland passage to the Illinois country. It is probable that missionaries frequently accompanied the expeditions which passed along this route.

Three distinguished Jesuit missionaries who were stationed at Detroit and carried on missionary activities among the In-

dians of Northwestern Ohio, were John de la Richardie, Peter Potier and Joseph Peter de Bonnécamps.

Father de la Richardie came to Detroit to work among the Huron Indians as early as 1738. Father Potier joined him in his work at Detroit in 1749. Both these men knew the Huron language well and did effective work among these tribes. Due to constant war with the Iroquois, a branch of the Hurons withdrew from the country around Georgian Bay and migrated to Northwestern Ohio. These Indians were known in Ohio as the Wyandots. They settled at the head of Sandusky Bay, near the present site of Fremont in 1751. It was Father de la Richardie who persuaded them to make this settlement. Prior to this, in 1749, Father Potier had accompanied the Wyandots on an exploring trip into Northwestern Ohio and said Mass for them here. This is the first definite record of Mass being said in this territory, although earlier missionaries probably said Mass here on their journeys through this country. It was also in 1749 that Father Bonnécamps passed through this district of Ohio. He accompanied the expedition of Celeron de Bienville into the Ohio country. Captain Celeron left Montreal with 250 men on June 15, 1749. The expedition went up Lake Ontario and from Niagara struck out through the woods for the source of the Ohio River. After his negotiations in southern Ohio his party moved northwest to the Maumee River at Fort Wayne. Leaving Fort Wayne they traveled down the Maumee in canoes, reaching Maumee Bay about the end of September 1749. Father Bonnécamps, as chaplain of this expedition probably said Mass on the banks of the Maumee.

Father de la Richardie built a log chapel for the Wyandots near the present site of Sandusky in 1751. He resided at this mission for several years, where the Indians became deeply attached to him. Due to the hostility of Chief Nicholas, he was finally forced to leave and died March 23, 1758.

During this time Father Potier was stationed at Detroit and later at Sandwich, Ont. He worked with untiring zeal among the Indians and at intervals visited the Wyandots along the Sandusky River. Father Potier died at Sandwich, July 16, 1781. The death of Father Potier marks the passing of that great band of the Jesuit missionaries who for more than one hundred years worked among the Indians of the Great Lakes region. With the exception of Father Burke's brief activities during the period of English occupation, no Catholic missionary effort was

undertaken in Northwestern Ohio until the advent of the white settlers.

Period of English Occupation. Northwestern Ohio was British territory from 1763 until the close of the Revolutionary war in 1783. The English government, however, continued to hold trading posts and forts in American territory until 1796, when, according to the terms of Jay's treaty, they were evacuated. One of these posts was located on the west bank of the Maumee River, about one and one-half miles below Maumee, near the present site of the Lucas County Children's Home. It was known as Fort Miami.

During the brief period of English control the only Catholic activity in Northwestern Ohio of which we have a record is that of Father Burke near Fort Miami.

In September 1795 Reverend Edmund Burke left Quebec, where he was a professor in the Seminary, and came West. His aim was to carry on the Missions established among the Indians by the Jesuit Fathers, which had been neglected since the suppression of the Order.

In 1796 he was living near the present site of Maumee, as he says, "within a few miles of the Miami fort." He seems to have devoted earnest efforts to spiritual work among the Indians and Canadians living around this army post and probably to whatever Catholic soldiers there may have been in the English garrison. It is probable that Father Burke did not remain more than a year, for in 1797 we find him at Fort Niagara, and shortly afterward he was back at Quebec.

Prior to 1830. After 1800 settlers began to come into the woods of Northern Ohio, and among them there were naturally some Catholic families. Priests, however, were very scarce, and for some years no one could be spared to look after the spiritual welfare of the few Catholic families scattered through the Northern woods. The first step toward organizing the Missions of Ohio occurred in 1808 when Pope Pius VII established the Diocese of Bardstown, Kentucky, and made Reverend Benedict Flaget the first Bishop. Bishop Flaget in 1812 entrusted to Reverend Edward Fenwick the task of attending to the spiritual welfare of the Catholics of the entire State of Ohio.

In 1818, Father Fenwick, who was a member of the Dominican Order, established a Dominican Convent at Somerset, in Perry County. Here he was joined by a number of Dominican priests; and the members of this little community at Somerset

travelled long distances through the woods to say Mass and administer the Sacraments to the scattered Catholic population. They visited the more numerous Catholic settlements of the southern part of the state, as well as those of Columbiana County, Stark County, and others in the Northeastern portion. There is no record however of a visit by any of the Missionaries to Northwestern Ohio during this time.

In 1822, at the request of Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, the Diocese of Cincinnati was established and Father Fenwick was appointed as its first bishop. This new diocese included the entire states of Ohio and Michigan and the eastern part of Wisconsin.

The first record of a visit to this part of the state is in 1827, when Bishop Fenwick, together with Rev. Ignatius I. Mullon, remained for several days at Tiffin. Father Mullon said Mass and preached in the Courthouse at Tiffin on the following Sunday, while Bishop Fenwick proceeded on his way through the woods to Green Bay. About this time Rev. Ignatius Mullon also visited the Catholics at Fremont.

Bishop Fenwick came to Northwestern Ohio several times between 1824 and his death in 1832. Entries of marriages and baptisms made by him are found in the parish records of St. Mary's Parish, Tiffin. During these years Bishop Fenwick visited the Catholic settlers at Fremont, Maumee, Toledo, Toussaint, and La Prairie.

At the end of this decade Northwestern Ohio was still very sparsely settled. The greater part of the territory was covered with virgin forest and only a few roads had been constructed. The Catholic settlers were few and there was no resident pastor in the entire district.

1830-1840. In the decade between 1830 and 1840 a more rapid development took place in this part of the state. Many new settlers, both from eastern United States and from Europe came to make their homes in Northwestern Ohio. Of this group the Catholic settlers were mostly Irish and German. The German families for the most part settled at Peru, Norwalk, Glandorf, New Riegel and Shelby Settlement. They settled in smaller numbers in the rural districts of Erie, Seneca, Huron and Crawford counties.

The Irish settlers took up residence chiefly in Tiffin, McCutchenville, and after work began on the Miami-Erie Canal,

in the towns along the Canal, Maumee, Providence, Napoleon and Defiance.

Before Bishop Fenwick's death, he sent his Vicar-General, Very Rev. Frederick Rese to Europe to secure priests for the missions of Ohio and Michigan. In compliance with this request, Father Rese went to Vienna where he secured the promise of the Redemptorist Fathers to send several priests to assist Bishop Fenwick in his diocese.

In 1831 Bishop Fenwick appointed Rev. Edmund Quinn, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Tiffin. Father Quinn is the first resident pastor in the territory now included in the Diocese of Toledo. In the fall of 1832 he began construction of a brick church on property purchased from Josiah Hedges, by Bishop Fenwick in 1829. This property was located in the rear of the present Ursuline Convent and Calvert High School. The outline of the original foundation can still be observed.

In 1832 Bishop Fenwick died and was succeeded by the Rt. Rev. John B. Purcell who entered upon his duties as bishop, October 13, 1833. Bishop Purcell visited the Catholic settlements of Northern Ohio in the summer of 1834. On this tour the bishop visited Father Quinn's parish at Tiffin, where he reports he found a membership of about 100. Bishop Purcell, in his letter to the Catholic Telegraph of Cincinnati in 1834, wrote that Father Quinn "has had to administer to the spiritual wants of the Catholics of a circumference of nearly 40 miles, the roads at any season of the year, but particularly in winter, being of the very worst description."

Father Quinn was a zealous missionary and traveled over many miles of Northwestern Ohio during the term of his pastorate at Tiffin. He contracted malaria on one of these missionary journeys and died September 5, 1835 at St. Mary's, Auglaize County.

While Father Quinn was laboring in and around Tiffin, a settlement composed largely of Catholics was being formed about nine miles south of Tiffin called McCutchenville. In 1834 a tract of two and three-fourth acres was donated to the bishop by Mr. William Arnold, as a site for a church in the village. Father Tschenhens attended McCutchenville from Peru and in 1837 built a frame church there. Bishop Purcell mentions this parish in the report of his visit in 1836. He says, "The Tiffin and McCutchenville congregations are comprised of the very best mate-

rials; they have been lately much augmented by emigrants from Maryland, Pennsylvania and some parts of Europe."

This parish never had a resident pastor and in time the Catholic people moved away. At present the parish is entirely extinct, although the cemetery may still be seen. The church burned in the summer of 1871 and was never rebuilt.

Shortly before the death of Bishop Fenwick, the Redemptorist Fathers who had promised to come to America, arrived in New York, June 20, 1832. They were Rev. Simon Saenderl, Rev. Francis X. Haetscher and Rev. Francis X. Tschenhens. They made their way at once to Cincinnati where they reported for duty.

Father Haetscher was sent at once to northern Ohio to provide pastoral care for the German Catholic pioneers who had lately moved in large numbers into Erie, Huron, Seneca and the neighboring counties. The Redemptorist Fathers chose Peru and Huron County as their place of residence. After a year of labor in this territory, Father Haetscher was replaced by Father Tschenhens. During his pastorate at Peru, Father Tschenhens was a very active missionary and did a great deal to develop parishes throughout the entire Sandusky River Valley. As early as 1833 he built a log chapel for the settlers at Wolf's Creek, now known as New Riegel. This was a little settlement made under the leadership of John Houck, Anthony Sanders and Matthias Weisenberger in the heavily forested district south of Tiffin. In the following year he built a frame church at Peru. In 1836 Father Tschenhens built a log church at Shelby Settlement and shortly afterward he constructed a log school there, which was the first school to be opened in that district. As was mentioned above, a frame church was erected under his direction at McCutchenville in 1837. Two years later under his guidance a log chapel was constructed at Thompson in Seneca County. While Father Tschenhens was devoting his attention to these larger centers, he was also visiting Catholic settlers scattered throughout these counties from Sandusky as far south as Bucyrus.

While settlement was thus going on in the Sandusky Valley a very interesting development was taking place in the western part of the state. In 1833 Rev. William J. Horstmann left Germany with several young men to seek homes in the new world. They came by boat to Detroit and set out on foot southward, seeking suitable land for homesteads. They finally decided to

locate in Putnam County, near the Blachard River. At the suggestion of Father Horstmann the settlement was named Glandorf. Log cabins were built here and a log church and school were constructed in the spring of 1834. Father Horstmann was the first schoolmaster.

The settlement of Toledo was begun in 1832. The construction of the Wabash and Erie Canal, as well as the Miami-Erie Canal gave great impetus to this new community. Many Irish immigrants came to this vicnity to work on the canals. Bishop Purcell sent Rev. Emanuel Thienpont from Dayton in 1837 and Rev. Edward Collins from Cincinnati in 1838 to say Mass and administer the Sacraments for these people. These two missionaries traveled on horseback from Toledo as far west as the Indiana line.

At the end of this decade, 1830-1840, there were churches at Tiffin, Glandorf, New Riegel, Peru, Shelby Settlement, McCutchenville and Thompson. Resident pastors were stationed at Tiffin, Peru and Glandorf. Although there were so few parishes established at this time, nevertheless, Northwestern Ohio had developed a great deal during this decade Catholic settlers were rather numerous throughout the whole extent of this territory.

1840-1850. The decade between 1840 and 1850 continued to be a pioneer period, as was the one before it. It was however a transition period; the Wabash Canal and the Miami and Erie Canal were completed during this period, railroads were under construction and a splendid macadamized road had been built between Fremont and Perrysburg. These public developments naturally attracted many settlers. Irish immigrants came in large numbers seeking employment on the public works and many of them were Catholics. At the same time a steady growth was taking place in the rural districts. The scattered German families who had previously located in the woods and villages of Erie, Huron and Seneca counties, as well as in the neighborhood of Putnam County, were constantly augmented by relatives and friends who joined them from abroad.

The greatest Catholic development during this period occurred in the vicinity of Tiffin, Sandusky, Glandorf, Delphos, Toledo and in those places where the Precious Blood Fathers made their home, namely New Riegel and Thompson. The amount of missionary work done by Rev. Amadeus Rappe during this time throughout the entire Maumee River Valley is

astonishing. This decade saw the establishment of the Diocese of Cleveland, comprising all of Northern Ohio, and the appointment of Father Rappe as the first bishop. It was during this period also that the first parish school taught by Sisters was established in Northwestern Ohio, at St. Francis de Sales, Toledo.

Tiffin continued to develop. After the death of Father Quinn, spoken of above, Father Tschenhens attended St. Mary's parish, Tiffin until 1839. In that year Rev. Joseph McNamee was appointed pastor by Bishop Purcell. The church was already too small for the congregation. Bishop Purcell wrote in the report of his visit to Northern Ohio in 1841, "The church at Tiffin, which was visited on Sunday, June 27th, is so small that not more than one-third part of the congregation can find place in it." The bishop also says that at this time, McCutchenville, New Riegel, Attica, Maumee, Perrysburg, Toledo and Defiance were attended from Tiffin or from Norwalk.

From 1839 until December of 1840, Father McNamee had as his assistant, Rev. Projectus J. Machebeuf, a young French priest who had come to America at the earnest request of Bishop Purcell. This young man later became the first bishop of Denver, Colo. During the one and one-half years of his appointment at Tiffin, Father Machebeuf took care of the distant missions at Fremont, Sandusky, Maumee, etc., while Father McNamee attended to the spiritual wants of the people in the immediate vicinity of Tiffin. Bishop Machebeuf's memoirs give the following account of one of his visits to the missions, "In the beginning of November, 1839, I visited for the first time the Irish laborers working on the National or macadamized road, then being built through the 'Black Swamp,' from Lower Sandusky (Fremont) to Perrysburg, on the Maumee River. I first visited Lower Sandusky (Fremont), where I received the kind hospitality of Mrs. Dickinson and of Mrs. Rawson, very respectable French ladies, married to Protestant gentlemen.

"In Lower Sandusky I learned that nine or ten miles down the river a good number of Canadian farmers had settled on Mud Creek (La Prairie). I went there immediately and found over thirty families, mostly from Detroit and Monroe, Mich. In the few days I spent with them I had the greatest consolation. All of them received the sacraments and showed the best disposition. I appointed some pious ladies to teach catechism on Sundays and two or three times during the week, to a large number

of children. A good widow lady gave a beautiful site on the bank of the river for a church or rather a chapel."

In 1840 Father Machebeuf was sent to Sandusky to organize a parish and was made the first resident pastor there. Father McNamee was thus left without an assistant in Tiffin. In 1844 Father McNamee built a large frame addition to the original brick church in Tiffin. Bishop Purcell says on the occasion of his visit in 1846, "There were 60 persons confirmed in St. Mary's church, Tiffin, to which an adition twice the size of the original building, and in better style of finish, has been recently made."

OLD CATHOLIC CEMETERY AT LA PRAIRIE,
RICE TOWNSHIP, SANDUSKY COUNTY

Most of the names on the stones are French. The earliest date is 1843, Ellen LaPoint, 52 years. The latest, Monica Quisno, 1888, 78 years. Then there are Bisnetts, DeMars, Wagoners, etc. Some of the stones are laying over, and most of them are overgrown with bushes, and long grass.

Due to the fact that a large number of German settlers had located at Tiffin, Bishop Purcell gave them permission to organize a parish of their own. The leaders in the organization of the new parish were: Joseph Kuebler, Michael Theissen, Joseph Vollmer, Dr. Joseph Bohler, John Houck and John Bormuth. Property was bought at the corner of Melmore and South Washington streets and a brick church was built here during the summer of 1845. Bishop Purcell wrote in 1846, "The Roman

Catholic Germans have also built at Tiffin a new, large and beautiful church of brick, which was dedicated to God on the same day, in honor of St. Joseph." A parish school was opened at St. Joseph's in 1847. It was housed in a log schoolhouse on the rear of the church property. The Precious Blood Fathers attended St. Joseph's church until 1852, when the first resident pastor was appointed.

While this activity was taking place in Tiffin, a great development was going on in the neighborhood of Tiffin due to advent of the Precious Blood Fathers. The Precious Blood Fathers came to America in response to the urgent appeal of Bishop Purcell. Under the leadership of Rev. Francis de Sales Brunner, they reached Cincinnati in January of 1844 and were immediately assigned to St. Alphonsus Church, Peru, Huron County.

Father Brunner established a convent for his order at New Riegel in 1844, one at Thompson in Seneca County in 1845 and a third at Glandorf in 1847. Some of the original buildings are still standing. After the coming of the Precious Blood Fathers, the spiritual wants of the German settlers in Northern Ohio were well taken care of. The Precious Blood Fathers organized the parish and supervised the building of St. Joseph's church, Tiffin in 1845, while in 1846 they built a log church at Bismarck in Huron County. As the same time they were equally busy in the missions south of Tiffin. In 1845 Father Brunner built a church in St. Stephens, Seneca County and the following year at New Washington. In addition to this they took care of Shelby Settlement, Bucyrus and other mission stations.

After 1830, Sandusky became a center of development. The Catholics residing there were attended from Peru and Tiffin until 1840, when Father Machebeuf was appointed the first resident pastor. He said Mass for a time in the U. S. Customs building, but in 1841 a tract of land was donated to him by Mr. W. H. Mills, a non-Catholic, for the purpose of erecting a church. The corner-stone of Holy Angels' Church was laid in 1841, but due to a lack of funds the church was not completed until 1845. In the memoirs of Bishop Machebeuf we read, "I went to Sandusky to take pastoral charge of the place on the first day of January, 1840. From Sandusky I continued for some time to visit Lower Sandusky (Fremont), Maumee, Toledo, and all the missions of the northwest." Father Machebeuf was a very active missionary. In addition to his work in Sandusky, he built churches at La Prairie and Toussaint in Ottawa county, rented

halls for religious service in Fremont and Toledo and said Mass at regular intervals in Port Clinton, Maumee and other centers.

The development of a Catholic parish in Lower Sandusky (Fremont) is particularly interesting. The first Catholics to settle in Fremont were three Momenay brothers, who came there in 1816. They were joined in 1822 by John B. Beaugrand. These early settlers came from Detroit. Rev. Gabriel Richard of Detroit visited them and said Mass and preached for them and for the French Catholics at La Prairie in 1823. Bishop Fenwick visited Fremont several times on the occasion of his journeys to Northern Ohio between 1826 and 1831. After this the growing parish was attended by Father Quinn, Father McNamee, Father Tschenhens and Father Machebeuf. After Father Machebeuf went to Sandusky, he assumed full responsibility for the growing congregation at Fremont.

In the early years of the mission, Mass was said in the home of Mr. Beaugrand and in that of Joseph Hunsinger. When the congregation had become too large for these accommodations, a hall was rented. In 1841 Father Machebeuf took steps toward the erection of a permanent church. He was greatly aided by L. Q. Rawson and A. Dickinson, non-Catholics, married to the daughters of Mr. and Mrs. Beaugrand. The church was completed in 1844 and dedicated to St. Ann. The first resident pastor of St. Ann's Church was Rev. William L. Nightingale, who took charge in 1848.

While the development around Sandusky, Fremont and Tiffin during this decade was steadily but relatively slow, the Maumee Valley had become the center of great activity. Father Machebeuf visited Toledo in 1839. He described this visit as follows, "Only a few Catholics were in Toledo at the time. There being no suitable house wherein to hold divine service, I rented a room over a drug store, constructed an altar with some boxes, which I covered with calico." The prospects here however were promising for Bishop Purcell wrote in 1841, "This place is in all probability destined to be one of the most populous commercial cities in the Northwest."

Bishop Purcell was so convinced of the future of Toledo that immediately after his visit in 1841 he appointed Rev. Amadeus Rappe as resident pastor. In spite of its promise, Toledo was still only a struggling village. Father Machebeuf wrote in his memoirs, "Toledo was a real mud hole on the banks of the Maumee. It comprised a few frame houses, some log cabins,

swamps, ponds of muddy water, and worse yet, a number of persons sick with Maumee fever."

Rev. Amadeus Rappe was a young man who had come from France to work in the missions of the United States. He arrived in 1840 and devoted the first year to the study of English. Upon his arrival in Toledo in 1841, he took charge of all the missions in the Maumee Valley as far as the Indiana line, with exception of the German settlements at Glandorf and Delphos. He remained in Toledo until 1847, when the Diocese of Cleveland was established and he was made the first Bishop of Cleveland. The amount of work done by Father Rappe in the Maumee Valley is most surprising.

Father Rappe attended Defiance throughout the entire time of his pastorate in Toledo. In the fall of 1844 a lot was donated by Mr. H. G. Phillips for the erection of a church. The church was begun at once under the direction of Father Rappe and completed early in 1845. It was dedicated to St. John. This parish received its first resident pastor, Rev. Louis J. Filiere, in 1850.

Maumee also came under the care of Father Rappe in 1841. Previous to this time the Catholics of Maumee had been served by the priests from St. Mary's parish, Tiffin. Shortly before Father Rappe took charge, Father McNamee had bought an unfinished Episcopalian church which he had completed and dedicated to St. Joseph. The first resident pastor of Maumee was Rev. Sebastian Sanner who went there in 1849.

Providence was another mission station to which Father Rappe devoted himself in whole-hearted manner. Providence was a thriving canal town in the early forties, located on the north bank of the Maumee River, opposite the present site of Grand Rapids. It was platted by Peter Manor in 1835, and the Catholics living there had been visited by the priests from St. Mary's, Tiffin as early as 1832. Father Machebeuf speaks of Providence as a small village composed of canal workers in the account of his first visit in 1839. After Father Rappe's appointment to Toledo, he visited Providence regularly. The town developed steadily and among the settlers were a great many Irish Catholics. In 1845 Peter Manor deeded to Bishop Purcell a two-acre tract of land for the erection of a church. Father Rappe began the construction of a church at once and completed it the same year. The church was an attractive little brick structure which may still be seen from the river road. The church has remained in constant use since it was built and is

the oldest church building in use at the present time in the diocese. The first resident pastor of Providence was Rev. L. J. Filiere who took charge of the parish in 1854. During this decade the village was devastated by a cholera epidemic and by a very destructive fire, from which it never recovered.

ST. PATRICK'S CATHOLIC CHURCH, PROVIDENCE, LUCAS COUNTY

In addition to the above towns, Father Rappe visited at regular intervals Delaware Bend, Hicksville, Junction, Napoleon and New Bavaria. For a time he also attended Toussaint, Oak Harbor and Fremont.

In 1846 Rev. Louis De Goesbriand was appointed assistant to Father Rappe at Toledo. When Father Rappe was made Bishop of Cleveland in 1847, Father De Goesbriand was made pastor of St. Francis de Sales church, Toledo. He later became Bishop of Burlington, Vermont.

During the time of his stay in Toledo Father De Goesbriand assisted Father Rappe in the care of the Maumee Valley missions. Father De Goesbriand also visited Archbold and Six-Mile-Wood (Raab's Corners). He constructed a log church at Six-Mile-Wood in 1847. This building served the congregation until 1864 when it was replaced by a larger, frame structure.

When Father Rappe came to Toledo in 1841 he made use of the hall over the drug store which Father Machebeuf had rented. He at once set about securing a permanent church. Father Rappe

himself wrote, February 14, 1842, "My prospects for building a church are encouraging. Fourteen hundred dollars have been subscribed in Toledo and I reckon upon four hundred more from the public works." In the fall of 1842 however a Presbyterian church on Superior street was offered for sale and was purchased by Father Rappe for his congregation. The interior was remodeled and the church dedicated to St. Francis de Sales. There was a basement under the building which Father Rappe fitted out as a residence for himself. This building is still in use, housing St. Francis de Sales school. It is one of the best preserved monuments of pioneer days in Toledo.

From the time of his appointment to Toledo Father Rappe was anxious to open a parish school but he did not succeed in doing this until 1845. He had been endeavoring in the meantime to secure the services of the Notre Dame Sisters in Cincinnati as teachers for the proposed school. These Sisters had come from Namur, Belgium in 1840 at the request of Bishop Purcell. Finally in 1845, with an increase in the membership of the community in Cincinnati, Father Rappe secured the appointment of five Sisters to conduct a school in Toledo. Mother Louis Gonzaga was named superior and the five Sisters came to Toledo by canal boat in September of that year. Father Rappe secured for them two frame houses at the corner of Cherry and Erie streets. One of these houses was used as a residence while the other served as a school. Classes began on October 20.

The first year was very successful and after a visit to Toledo the following April, Bishop Purcell wrote, "The Sisters and scholars are blessed with excellent health." The late spring of 1846 and the entire year of 1847 were fever stricken times in Toledo and both the teachers and children suffered severely. During the fever epidemic of 1846-47 two of the Sisters died, of whom one, Sister Xavier, is buried in St. Francis de Sales cemetery. As a result of this heavy loss and continued sickness, the Sisters were withdrawn from Toledo in the summer of 1848. After the withdrawal of the Notre Dame Sisters the school was conducted by lay teachers in the basement of the church until the arrival of the Ursulines in 1854.

In the summer of 1847 Rev. Amadeus Rappe was named first bishop of the newly established diocese of Cleveland. Father De Goesbriand then became pastor of St. Francis de Sales and served in this capacity until the following year, when he was

appointed pastor of the cathedral in Cleveland. Rev. Philip Foley was placed in charge of St. Francis de Sales.

Due to the political disturbances in Germany in 1848, a great many German immigrants came to America during that year and the years immediately following. A large delegation of these thrifty people took up their residence in Toledo. In 1849 Father Foley enlarged St. Francis de Sales church to make room for these new parishioners. Separate services with sermons in their native language were held for them by Father Sanner and later by Rev. Philip Flum, both pastors of Maumee. In 1854 Bishop Rappe appointed Rev. Charles Evard as resident pastor to establish a parish for the German Catholics in Toledo. Father Evard at once bought lots at the corner of Michigan street, extending from Cherry to Orange street. He began the construction of a brick church which was used for the first time in the fall of 1856. It was formally dedicated to St. Mary in March of 1857. A few years later Father Evard opened a school in the basement of the church. The basement was used as a school until 1873 when a three-story brick school was built on Orange Street. St. Mary's church has been greatly enlarged since 1856 but the original brick work still remains a part of the present structure. The parish was placed in charge of the Jesuit Fathers in 1869 and has remained in their custody since that time.

In a previous paragraph mention was made of the settlement of Glandorf in 1833-34, under the direction of Rev. William J. Horstmann. Those who accompanied Father Horstmann were John F. Kahle, A. Iburg, C. Strop, J. Wischmann, F. Breideck, M. Bockrath and W. Guelcher. They made their little settlement in the woods of Putnam County in January and February of 1834. A log church was completed early in March. The pioneers received considerable help from the friendly Ottawa Indians, who lived in the neighborhood at the time. During the years which immediately followed the original settlement a number of other families came to join the little colony. In 1837 a second log church was constructed to replace the first chapel which had been outgrown in the meantime. The following year Father Horstmann built a grist mill on Cranberry Creek at his own expense.

In 1841, Rev. George Boehne came to St. John's, Glandorf, as assistant to Father Horstmann, whose health was beginning to fail. Two years later Father Horstmann died, deeply mourned by the entire settlement. Father Boehne succeeded him as pas-

ter. Bishop Purcell describes a visit to Glandorf in 1840, and states that at that time there were 122 families in the parish. He continues, "the church, in point of material and style, is well suited to forest scene around." In 1846 Father Boehne with the coöperation of the entire parish began the construction of a brick church. The material and labor were donated by the congregation and the attractive structure was completed in 1848.

During the years of their pastorate at Glandorf, both Father Boehne and Father Horstmann attended to the spiritual wants of a little settlement about 18 miles distant. This was Fort Jennings, named after the fort constructed by Colonel Jennings in the war of 1812. A settlement was begun here in 1830. Among the pioneers were J. F. Wellman, H. J. Boehmer, F. H. Gerking and F. Von der Embse. A very interesting arrangement existed here in the fact that in 1840 the Catholics and Protestants united for the construction of a church and school. The school was held jointly with separate religious instruction while the church was used in the forenoon by the Catholics for Mass and in the afternoon for Protestant services. This arrangement continued until 1854. In 1848 Father Boehne was made the first resident pastor of Fort Jennings, while the Precious Blood Fathers took charge of Glandorf, building a convent there the same year.

In the little band of pioneers who accompanied Father Horstmann to Glandorf was Frederick Bredeick. Shortly after 1840 Frederick Bredeick secured land near the western boundary of Allen County, on the route of the Miami-Erie Canal. The tract was known as Ten-Mile-Woods. He interested a number of his former countrymen in coming here to make their homes. A party of over forty German settlers arrived at Defiance in the fall of 1842, under the leadership of Theodore Wrocklage. They were guided by Mr. Wrocklage and Mr. Bredeick from Defiance through the woods to their new homes in Allen County. In 1844 the colony was greatly strengthened by the arrival of Rev. John O. Bredeick with an additional party of settlers. Father Bredeick also brought to the colony considerable personal means with which he was able to produce many improvements in the settlement.

A log church was built in 1844 and enlarged in 1846 to take care of the growing needs. In the same year Father Bredeick began the construction of a new church. This was a very unusual building. It was made of solid timber cut in the nearby forest. The building was over 100 ft. in length and 60 ft. in

width. The work involved in hewing the timbers and raising them aloft was tremendous. The building was not completed until 1853. It was used until 1878, when it was replaced by a brick church. The settlement was originally known as Ten-Mile-Woods or Section Ten, but the name Delphos was given to it at the suggestion of Father Bredeick.

In 1858 the parish suffered a severe blow in the death of Father Bredeick. He was succeeded by Rev. Francis Westerholt, who had been pastor of Defiance since 1855.

1850-1911. The pioneer period, in the strict sense of the word, ended about 1850. It had been an era of scattered log cabins, trails through wet and tangled woods, few missionaries, long trips from place to place, Mass and instruction in the cabins of the settlers, a few rude churches, but courage and faith amid the most difficult surroundings.

Just prior to 1850, a more rapid development had begun. The first waves of German and Irish immigration were being felt and the settlement of Northwestern Ohio was well under way. Towns and villages were being established, churches built and resident pastors appointed. At the middle of the century everything was in readiness for the steady, organized progress which followed.

The period between 1850 and 1911 was one of the consistent growth in which the Catholic church kept pace with the increase in the general population and material development in this part of the state. Outstanding features in the development of Catholicity during this time were: the steady Irish and German immigration between 1850 and 1880, the Polish immigration after 1870, the Hungarian immigration in the late nineties, the coming of religious orders of women, the establishment of a number of charitable institutions, the introduction of the Sisters as teachers in the parish schools and finally the founding of St. John's College.

In 1911 Northwestern Ohio was made an independent diocese with headquarters in Toledo. It had remained a part of the diocese of Cleveland until that time. In 1911 Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, who had been Vicar-General of the Diocese of Grand Rapids, Mich., was named first bishop of Toledo.

The immigration which began in large numbers about 1850 brought many Catholics into this part of the state. In some localities the pioneers were predominantly German, while in other places they were chiefly Irish. In every instance the Bishop of

Cleveland tried to supply them with the religious care which they desired. During the first decade after 1850 parishes were organized at Archbold, Bellevue, Clyde, Custar, Lima, Millersville, Port Clinton, Upper Sandusky, and in a number of other centers. A brief statement of the development in a few of these places might be of interest.

A small number of Catholics settled in the woods at Archbold shortly after 1845. Rev. Louis J. Filiere, stationed at St. John's, Defiance, visited them and said Mass for them there. In 1850, he bought a small piece of property and erected a log chapel. This chapel served the congregation until 1868 when Father Becker secured a more suitable site and built a frame church.

At about this same time settlements were growing up along the road between Fremont and Norwalk. In 1853 Rev. Thomas J. Walsh of St. Ann's, Fremont, said Mass and preached for the first time in the village of Clyde. He used a log house which stood on the site of the present New York Central freight depot. In 1859 property was obtained and a church was built. The parish was attended regularly from Fremont and later from Bellevue until 1872 when the first resident pastor was sent there.

The settlement at Bellevue was visited regularly from Norwalk. Finally in 1859, Rev. Narcissus Ponchel of St. Mary's, Norwalk, purchased an old warehouse and fitted it out as a church. In 1861 Rev. James Monahan went to Bellevue as the first resident pastor. He opened a parish school shortly after his arrival. The warehouse building served as a church until 1884.

Due to the railroad development at this time, Crestline had become a thriving village. A parish was established there in 1854. A few years later Peter Dousset donated a lot for a church which was completed in 1861.

One of the most interesting foundations of this period, due to its later rise, was that of Lima. This village was laid out by James Riley in 1831. Catholics began to settle there after 1843. Mass was said by Precious Blood priests in the homes of Lawrence O'Connell and Nicholas Gunckel. This continued until 1857, when Nicholas Gunckel donated property for the erection of a church. A great deal of work on the new church was done free of charge by John Goebel. The first resident pastor was Rev. Edward J. Murphy, who came to Lima in 1861. He purchased additional land and also received a donation of property from Matthias H. Nichols, a non-Catholic. Father Murphy

opened a parish school in 1865. The parish rapidly outgrew its first church and in 1871 a large, new church was constructed.

These few examples give an idea of the development which was taking place throughout Northwestern Ohio about 1850. It was a stable, healthy growth, which promised much for the future.

During the next decade, between 1860 and 1870, a still more rapid increase took place. Twenty-five new parishes were established during those ten years, including Bowling Green, Carey, Hamler, Kelley's Island, Ottawa, Caragher, Ottoville, Perrysburg, Wauseon. Toledo had grown in the meantime from a village of 5,000 in the fifties to a city of considerable proportions.

The parish at Bowling Green was organized in 1860 and attended by the priests at Maumee and Perrysburg until 1869. After that date it was attached to Providence as a mission. The first church was built in 1881 by Rev. H. Kolopp. A few Catholic families settled at Carey prior to 1860. For several years they attended Mass at Berwick or Crawfordsville. In 1868 Rev. E. J. Vattmann, pastor of Findlay, assembled the Catholic inhabitants for the purpose of establishing a parish. This infant congregation, after a short time, was placed in charge of Rev. Joseph P. Gloden, pastor at the nearby village of Berwick, now known as Adrian. Father Gloden was a very energetic man. He had built up the parish at Berwick and opened a parish school there in 1871. He carried the same energy to Carey, where he completed the church which had been begun in 1867. Father Gloden asked to have the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, under the title of Our Lady of Consolation. Due to his zeal and devotion the little church became a place of pilgrimage for those who sought the prayers of the Blessed Virgin.

Kelley's Island, formerly known as Cunningham's Island, attracted a number of settlers about the middle of the century. A Catholic parish was organized there in 1861. It was attended by Rev. George A. Verlet, pastor at Port Clinton, who built a stone church there in 1863. The first resident pastor was Rev. Charles Kuemin who took charge in 1865. Kelley's Island has had a number of distinguished men as pastors, among them Rev. Nicholas A. Moes, later Rector of the Cleveland Seminary, and Rev. John T. O'Connell, the present Vicar-General of the Diocese of Toledo.

Two parishes in Putnam County took shape at this time, one at Ottawa, the other at Ottoville. The Catholics at Ottawa for-

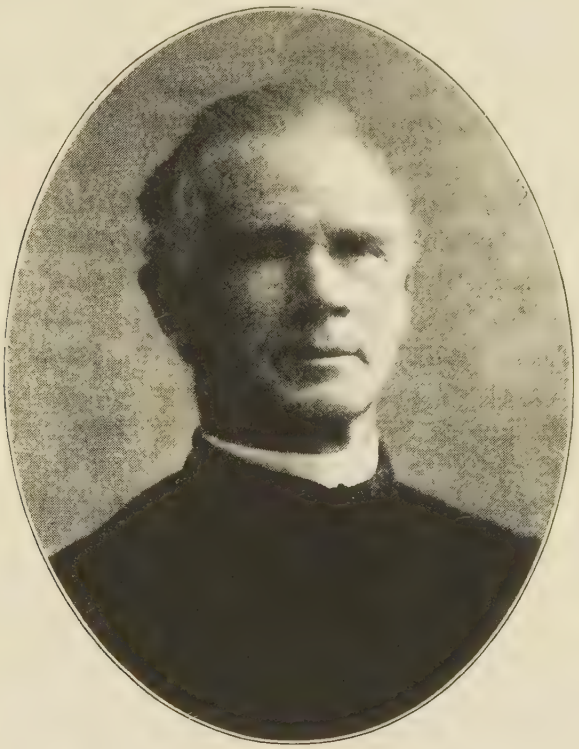
merly attended the church at Glandorf but in 1861 Matthias Mueller donated land for a church in the village. The new church was begun in 1868. The parish has been in charge of the Precious Blood Fathers who have developed it into a very prosperous and thriving congregation. The parish at Ottoville was originally laid out by Rev. John Otto Bredeick, pioneer priest at Delphos. Father Bredeick bought 40 acres, which he platted in lots and sold, thereby creating a fund for the erection of a church. He died before the task was completed but his successor, Father Westerholt built a church with the funds in 1860. The first resident pastor was Rev. A. J. Abel, who assumed charge of the parish in 1864. The present, magnificent church was built by Rev. Michael Mueller 1885-1887.

While general progress was going on throughout the entire area of Northwestern Ohio, a marked change was taking place in Toledo itself. It had been a notoriously unhealthy village with numerous swamps and pools in the forties. But it was made the terminal of the canals and later the central point in railroad construction. The opportunities for employment and business brought many inhabitants. A large number of splendid citizens were included in the Irish and German settlers who located here between 1850 and 1870.

The original German settlement was along Cherry Street and resulted in the founding of St. Mary's Parish, described in a previous paragraph. About 1850 an additional German settlement grew up along South St. Clair Street. The Catholics in this neighborhood attended St. Mary's church for several years. Finally in 1866, Bishop Rappe appointed Rev. Peter Danenhoffer pastor of a new parish to be organized on South St. Clair Street. Four lots were bought and a temporary church and school erected at once. The parish grew so rapidly that in 1873 a large new church was begun. The parish was known as St. Peter's and has continued to prosper, although many of the inhabitants have moved to other parts of the city due to the encroachment of business and industry.

The Irish settlers who came to Toledo at this time were also forced to seek homes on the outskirts of the city. A colony was thus formed on what was known as "The Hill," high ground along the west bank of the Swan Creek Valley. These people were mostly Catholics and for a time attended St. Francis de Sales Church. In 1862 Rev. Edward Hannin was sent to Toledo to organize a parish in this district. Father Hannin bought

property and began the erection of a church in the summer of the same year. The site was at the corner of Lafayette and Thirteenth streets and the church when completed was dedicated to St. Patrick. Father Hannin also opened a parish school in the fall of 1863. The school was known as St. Patrick's Academy and for a long time held a prominent place among the educational institutions of the city. Father Hannin was a remarkable char-



REV. EDWARD HANNIN (1826-1902)
Founder and Rector of St. Patrick's Parish, Toledo

acter and did a great deal to build up a spirit of thrift and ambition as well as good morals among the new settlers who formed his parish. The confidence reposed in him by his superiors in the Church is evidenced by the fact that he was named administrator of the Diocese of Cleveland after the resignation of Bishop Rappe in 1870 and filled that office with tact and ability for two years. The last years of Father Hannin's life were devoted to the building of the magnificent stone church which stands on the site of the original pioneer structure.

Another Irish settlement was made in the sixties on the west

bank of the Maumee River about a mile above the mouth of Swan Creek. In 1867 Father Hannin bought land at the corner of Western Avenue and Sumner Street and built a small church for these people. Rev. John Quinn was sent as the first resident pastor in 1868. The church was known as the Immaculate Conception. This part of the city developed very rapidly and in 1870 Father Quinn bought property at the corner of Dix and Jervis streets where he built a larger church and a school. From 1878 to 1889, Rev. Patrick O'Brien, whose name is prominent in the civic life of Toledo, was pastor of the Immaculate Conception Parish. The present church, at the corner of Maumee and Eastern avenues, was built by Rev. T. P. McCarthy and dedicated in 1896.

It would be impossible in the short limits of this narrative to describe in detail the steady progress which continued during the succeeding years. Parishes were established at Cecil, Willard, Deshler, Kalida, Leipsic, Oak Harbor, Cloverdale, Gibsonburg, North Baltimore, Swanton, Moneneetown, Huron, Payne, and in a number of other centers. In Toledo, the Good Shepherd parish was founded to accommodate the Irish settlers who had located in East Toledo. A few years later the Sacred Heart parish was organized for the Germans of the same locality. St. Joseph's parish was established in 1854 to serve the French speaking people on the west side of the river. In 1871 St. Louis' church was built for the French settlers on the East Side. Later growth of the city brought about the establishment of St. Ann's, near the corner of Cancroft Street and Monroe; St. Michael's in North Toledo; St. Ignatius', now Holy Rosary, in Ironville; St. Charles' at Air Line Junction; and St. Agnes' in West Toledo.

A very interesting and promising addition to the population of Toledo was made about 1870 with the coming of the Polish immigration. These people have been greatly handicapped by the strange language and customs of the country but have developed rapidly and will be an important factor in the civic life of the very near future.

Two Polish settlements were made in Toledo about the same time, the one was along Nebraska Avenue, beyond the Irish and German settlements of the previous decade, the other was on Lagrange Street, some distance beyond Forest Cemetery.

The settlers along Lagrange Street attended St. Mary's Church until 1874, when they were given permission to organize

ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH, TOLEDO

a parish of their own. Rev. V. Lewandowski was appointed pastor. In 1876 he built a combination church and school at the corner of Bronson and Dexter streets. The parish grew and prospered until 1885, when serious discord occurred which retarded progress for a time. Rev. J. M. Koudelka then took charge of the parish and restored peace and harmony. Before 1890 the parish had completely outgrown its old home. In that year new property was bought on the corner of Lagrange and Dexter streets and the construction of a beautiful, new St. Hedwig's church was begun. It was dedicated in 1893. Since that time the number of Polish Catholics in the Lagrange street district has increased enormously. St. Adalbert's parish was founded later and at the present time both these churches and schools are very much overcrowded.

The Polish settlers along Nebraska Avenue at first attended Mass at St. Peter's church on South St. Clair Street. After the founding of St. Hedwig's parish they came to this church where they could hear sermons in their own language. By 1881 the number of families in this district had become sufficiently large to warrant a parish there. Rev. V. Lewandowski of St. Hedwig's organized the congregation and secured property for them on the corner of Nebraska and Junction avenues. A church was built and dedicated to St. Anthony in the summer of 1882. This parish also grew very rapidly and in the course of time a new church and a large school were built on the site. The Polish-American population of this district has increased even more rapidly than that of the Lagrange street district. Four additional parishes have been founded in this territory, Nativity, St. Stanislaus, St. Hyacinth's and Our Lady of Lourdes.

Another important immigration began about 1888. This was the Hungarian settlement which located near Consaul Street in East Toledo. These people, like the Polish people, were handicapped by language and customs but are a thrifty and energetic race and will be heard from in the future. A Hungarian parish was established in East Toledo in 1892 and was attended at regular intervals by Rev. C. Boehm of Cleveland. This arrangement continued until 1898, when Rev. R. Paulovits was sent to Toledo as the first resident pastor. He at once obtained property and built a church which was dedicated to St. Stephen. In recent years, under the direction of Rev. Elmer Eordogh, a complete set of splendid brick buildings has been erected for the parish.

A series of events which had a great deal of influence on the

development of Catholicity in Northwestern Ohio was the establishment of the various religious orders in this part of the state.

We have seen how the Notre Dame Sisters of Cincinnati came to Toledo in the forties but were forced to withdraw on account of sickness and death in the community.

The first permanent establishment of Sisters was founded at New Riegel (Wolf's Creek) in 1844. The first convent consisted of a log cabin with a log chapel attached to it. The original Sisters came from Europe but they were soon joined by young women from the neighboring district. These Sisters taught in the parish school and conducted an orphanage for girls in the convent.

The second convent of the Precious Blood Sisters was at Thompson in Seneca County. This institution was founded by Sisters from the New Riegel community in 1845. The original buildings were of logs but were replaced in 1870 by a large brick structure. These Sisters likewise taught school and conducted an orphanage for girls. In 1850 the Sisters built a chapel in the woods on their property about one mile from the convent, which has since become very noted as a place of pilgirmage under the name "Maria Steig." This same community also founded a convent at Glandorf in 1849.

Another interesting foundation was that of the Ursuline Sisters, who came to Cleveland in 1850. Bishop Rappe went to Europe in 1849 to secure Sisters to conduct schools and charitable institutions in his pioneer diocese. He obtained the consent of the Ursulines at Boulogne-sur-mer and the following year the little colony arrived in Cleveland. In 1854, at the request of the bishop, they established a house in Toledo, occupying the property at the corner of Erie and Cherry streets, left vacant by the withdrawal of the Notre Dame Sisters. The Ursulines took charge of the two parochial schools in operation in Toledo which at that time was a town of 8,000 inhabitants. A few years later they opened a boarding school in the convent. As years went by the community grew and prospered, furnishing teachers for very many of the parish schools of the city, as these increased in number. Shortly before 1900 property for a new convent was secured on Collingwood Avenue and eventually the entire institution was transferred to this new location.

In 1863, the Ursuline Sisters of Cleveland also founded a branch of the community in Tiffin. These Sisters immediately

took charge of the two parochial schools in Tiffin and at the same time opened an academy in the convent building.

Through the influence of Father Campion, pastor of St. Francis de Sales parish, the Grey Nuns of Montreal established a branch in Toledo. They came to Toledo in 1855 and occupied temporary frame quarters downtown until 1858 when the first part of the new orphan asylum on Cherry Street was completed. This was a frame building located on a two-acre piece of property where St. Anthony's Orphanage now stands. It was known at

URSULINE ACADEMY OF THE SACRED HEART, TOLEDO

that time as St. Vincent's Orphanage. The third floor of the orphanage was used for housing the sick, who were cared for by the Sisters. From this modest beginning has grown the large St. Vincent's Hospital of the present day.

Probably the most interesting of all the religious foundations in this part of the state is that of St. Francis Home in Tiffin. This institution was established by Rev. Joseph L. Bihn, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Tiffin, in 1867. He was very much concerned in having an institution to care for dependent children

and for aged people. Father Bihn interested a number of women in this good cause and they adopted the rule of St. Francis.

Father Bihn bought a 58-acre farm east of Tiffin, which was increased by gifts from John Greiveldinger and his widowed daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Schaefer, bringing the total acreage to 400. The original members of the community were Mrs. Schaefer and her two daughters. Mrs. Schaefer took the name of Sister Frances and was Mother Superior of the community until 1893. The Sisters of St. Francis have conducted an orphanage and an old people's home in the convent buildings since the foundation of the institution. They also operated a hospital at Lorain and furnished teachers for a number of schools.

The Notre Dame Sisters have taught many schools in Toledo and vicinity. This community was forced to leave Germany by the anti-religious movement known as the "Kultur-Kampf." They came to Cleveland and founded a house there in 1874. In the same year they took charge of St. John's school, Delphos, in 1877 they took over St. Mary's school, Toledo, and since that time they have furnished teachers for a large number of schools in Northwestern Ohio. In 1901 the Notre Dame Sisters purchased property on the corner of Monroe and Bancroft streets, Toledo, where they built a convent and academy. This academy has held a prominent place among the educational institutions of Toledo.

In 1898, the Jesuit Fathers, who had been in charge of St. Mary's parish, Toledo, since 1869, opened St. John's College in the Carrington residence on the corner of Walnut and Superior streets. There was a demand for a boys' school of this type and within the next few years the increased enrollment required the erection of two additional buildings. Since that time the entire block, bounded by Superior, Locust, Huron and Walnut streets, has been purchased by the college, together with a gymnasium on the opposite corner. In recent years the diocese deeded to the Jesuit Fathers a tract of land opposite Ottawa Park where new college buildings will be erected as soon as circumstances permit.

From 1911 to 1921. The development of Northwestern Ohio was so rapid after 1900 that it was thought necessary for the welfare of religion in this part of the state to organize a separate Diocese at Toledo. In accordance with this plan the Cleveland Diocese was divided and the sixteen counties of Northwestern Ohio were formed into the new Diocese of Toledo.

In the summer of 1911, Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, Vicar-General of Grand Rapids, Mich., was appointed first bishop of the new diocese. He arrived to take up his duties in October of that year. Bishop Schrembs was a man of unusual energy and ability and he set about at once establishing the organization of the new diocese. His interest and tireless labor was an inspiration to pastors and people. The amount of work accomplished during the ten years in which he was Bishop of Toledo surpasses all expectation.

One of the first acts of Bishop Schrembs was to secure additional hospital facilities for the diocese, a want which was keenly felt. Early in 1912 the Mercy Sisters of Big Rapids, Mich., sent a small band to Toledo Diocese. These Sisters, with the aid of a citizens committee, secured land at Tiffin and began at once the erection of Mercy Hospital, Tiffin. In 1916 the Reynolds homestead and adjoining property on Madison Avenue in Toledo were purchased and work begun on Mercy Hospital, Toledo. In the following year St. Rita's Hospital, Lima, was built.

In the summer of 1915, the bishop secured the foundation of a branch of the Visitation Order in Toledo. This is a community devoted entirely to prayer. The Visitation Sisters resided on Collingwood Avenue until the completion of their new convent on the boulevard in 1918.

The Ursuline Sisters at Tiffin and at Toledo were united to form one community in July of 1914. In May of 1916 the Redemptorist Fathers were welcomed to the diocese and given charge of St. Gerard's parish, Lima. They built a combination church and school at once and in 1919 completed a beautiful large convent building. The Redemptorist Fathers have stationed a number of priests at Lima and have given a great deal of assistance to all the parishes of Northwestern Ohio by furnishing preachers for special occasions, such as missions and retreats.

On December 8, 1916, a branch of the Franciscan Sisters from Rochester, Minn., was established in Toledo. These Sisters devote themselves to teaching in schools of Polish-American parishes. A large tract of land was purchased near Sylvania and a temporary Mother House constructed.

Some idea of the growth which took place during this time may be obtained by comparing the first annual report of the diocese published in 1913 with the report of 1920. In 1913 there 88 parishes with resident pastors, while in 1920 there were 102.

In 1913 there were 68 parish schools with an enrollment of 14,096, while in 1920 there were 84 parish schools with an enrollment of 18,050. In the meantime the number of diocesan priests had increased from 94 to 122 and the number of elementary school teachers from 335 to 465.

Upon his arrival in Toledo, Bishop Schrembs appointed Rev. R. I. Kinnane, D. D., as temporary Secretary and Chancellor. Rev. John T. O'Connell, LL. D., was appointed Vicar-General. In 1913, owing to ill health Father Kinnane was transferred to the pastorate of Port Clinton and Rev. August J. Schwertner was named permanent Chancellor and Rev. Barry O'Toole Secretary to the bishop.

In 1912 property was purchased on the corner of Collingwood avenue and Islington street as a site for the bishop's residence, the Chancery Office and the new cathedral. Work was begun on the bishop's residence and Chancery Office in the autumn of 1912. Ground was broken for the new Cathedral School in the summer of 1913. This building contained a basement chapel capable of seating over 1,000 and in March of 1915 was made the parish church of the newly organized Cathedral Chapel parish.

In 1915 the office of Diocesan Director of Charities and Cemeteries was organized and Rev. Karl J. Alter was appointed director. Father Alter was given supervision of all the charitable organizations and institutions in the diocese with offices in St. Anthony's Orphanage.

In 1915 the schools of the diocese were organized in a unified system under the management of the Diocesan School Board. Uniform textbooks and uniform course of study were adopted. Prior to this time each order of Sisters had managed its own schools more or less independently. In the same year Rev. George Johnson was appointed Diocesan Superintendent of Schools. He was given leave of absence to specialize in education. He completed his course and received a Ph.D. in education in June 1919. Doctor Johnson's work in the organization of the school system of the diocese was outstanding and as a result of this prestige he was named instructor in education at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C., in September of 1921.

In June, 1915, the Braun residence on the corner of Seventeenth and Monroe streets was purchased and remodeled to serve as a business girls' home. It was conducted by the Mercy Sisters and known as St. Philomena's Home. This institution was oper-

ated until 1921, when the task of providing a residence for girls working in Toledo was taken over by the National Catholic Community House. The National Catholic Community House was opened in September of 1919 in the old Ursuline Convent building on the corner of Cherry and Erie streets, Toledo. Its original purpose was to aid in carrying out the post-war reconstruction program of the National Catholic War Council. It has since been developed into a boarding home for girls and a general welfare center. In addition to the central community house on Cherry street, a branch known as the East Toledo Community House has been conducted near St. Stephen's church in East Toledo.

Owing to the prevailing lack of knowledge and sometimes suspicion of Catholic doctrine on the part of the general population, it was thought advisable to appoint a mission band who would devote their entire time to holding lectures for non-Catholics on the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. Rev. R. C. Goebel and Rev. A. J. Sawkins were appointed to this work and began with an open meeting of information at Spencerville in the fall of 1915. They continued their educational activity along this line until 1918 when a shortage of priests in the diocese required the appointment of Father Goebel to the pastorate of Bowling Green and the withdrawal of Father Sawkins to serve as chaplain in the Army.

A great deal of building was done during the ten years between 1911 and 1921. During that time 24 new churches and 27 new schools were completed and put into service in Northwestern Ohio. Besides churches and schools a large number of other parish buildings were constructed. It would be impossible in the brief space of this article to enumerate any of these buildings although many of them were magnificent structures.

The church at St. Patrick's Settlement, near Bascom, and the pilgrimage chapel at Maria Steig in Seneca County were destroyed by fire in 1913. Both of these buildings were rebuilt, although the location of St. Patrick's Church was changed to Bascom. On March 9, 1918, a tornado destroyed the church at Miller City and on March 28, 1920, an equally severe tornado demolished the church at Raab and greatly damaged the church at Swanton. All of these churches were immediately replaced by larger and more beautiful buildings.

The development at Carey is deserving of particular mention. Shortly after the arrival of Bishop Schrembs the pilgrimage

church at Carey was entrusted to the care of the Franciscan Fathers. Carey had becc me a great center of devotion and thousands of people came there each year at the time of the pilgrimages. Improvements were needed to take care of the large crowds which visited the shrine. The Franciscan Fathers began at once to enlarge the facilities by the purchase of additional property. A new school was completed in 1915. Two years later a convent for the Franciscan Fathers was built capable of housing the priests needed on the occasion of the pilgrimages. In 1919 the Pilgrim House was ready for use. This is a large hospice owned by the Franciscan Sisters of Tiffin at which pilgrims to the shrine may obtain room and board. Shortly after this a magnificent new church was begun and completed in 1925. The buildings at Carey are uniform in style and material and present a splendid appearance.

While the country was engaged in war during 1917-1918 the parishes carried on extensive patriotic activity. Red Cross centers were established in every parish and a great deal of material was prepared for the men in service. The parish schools carried on extensive publicity campaigns on behalf of the Liberty Loan drives and the national welfare drive. Government announcements relative to the draft and other common undertakings were made from the pulpits. A solemn Field Mass was held in Ottawa Park, Toledo, on June 30, 1918, at which prayers were offered for the success of the war and for the men engaged in it. Over 50,000 people attended the service. On October 17, 1919, Cardinal Mercier visited Toledo. It was the occasion for a great civic as well as religious celebration.

In September of 1920 the Central Catholic High School was founded. This school began with a commercial course in the old Cathedral school building on Superior street. It was moved to the new Cathedral Chapel building on Collingwood Avenue and developed into a four-year high school. Students were attracted to the school from all parts of the city so that before 1920 it had outgrown its quarters at the Cathedral Chapel. In September of 1920 Bishop Schrembs leased the Toledo University building on the corner of Cherry and Page streets and established the school on an inter-parish basis. A gift of $5,000 for the new undertaking was received from Theodore F. MacManus of Detroit. The high school opened with an enrollment of 386.

Changes occurred in the spring of 1921 which deeply affected the Catholic church in Northwestern Ohio. The first announce-

ment was that of the appointment of Monsignor August J. Schwertner to the bishopric of Wichita, Kas. Monsignor Schwertner had filled the office of Chancellor in a distinguished manner since 1913 and his transfer was regarded as a serious loss to Toledo and Northwestern Ohio. He was consecrated bishop in St. Francis de Sales Cathedral on June 8, 1921 and shortly after left to take charge of his diocese in Kansas.

On May 11, 1921, shortly after the announcement of Monsignor Schwertner's transfer, the news was made public that Bishop Schrembs had been made Bishop of Cleveland. This announcement was a blow both to the Catholic and non-Catholic population in this part of the state. On September 4, 1921, Bishop Schrembs bade farewell to Toledo and left to take up his duties in the larger Diocese of Cleveland.

From 1921 to 1930. Shortly before Bishop Schrembs left for Cleveland word arrived from Rome that Rev. Samuel A. Stritch, Chancellor of the Diocese of Nashville, was appointed Bishop of Toledo. The consecration of the new bishop took place in St. Francis de Sales Cathedral, Toledo, on November 30, 1921.

Bishop Stritch was the youngest bishop in the United States at the time of his appointment, being only thirty-five years of age. He had been particularly fitted for his work, however, by his experience in the Diocese of Nashville. Ordained young, he had been pastor of a large parish in Memphis for a number of years when his outstanding merit led to his appointment as Chancellor of the Diocese. In the Diocese of Nashville, the Chancellor is at the same time Superintendent of Schools and Director of Charities. He thus became acquainted with the most important aspects of diocesan administration.

Bishop Stritch proved to be a man of kind disposition, a tireless student of history and literature and a keen observer of current affairs, both civic and religious. The first confirmation tour in the spring of 1922 gave Bishop Stritch an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the priests of his diocese and it is doubtful if any bishop ever succeeded in establishing such whole-hearted trust on the part of a large body of clergy as Bishop Stritch did on this original tour. This respect and trust have been increased in the seven years of successful administration since that time.

The seven years since 1922 have formed a period of steady growth. During that time 16 new churches and 23 new schools have been built, the hospital and school facilities have been greatly

increased, charitable and welfare work have been organized and extended and the administrative departments of the diocese have been considerably strengthened.

Soon after his appointment, Bishop Stritch undertook to extend the college facilities of the diocese. He called together a meeting of those interested in education at which plans were drawn up for the establishment of Mary Manse and the Teachers'

MARY MANSE COLLEGE, TOLEDO

Mary Manse is the woman's college of St. John's University, Toledo, Ohio. It was founded in 1922 by the Rt. Rev. Samuel A. Stritch, D.D., Bishop of Toledo, and given to the Ursuline Nuns to conduct as a diocesan college where the young women of Northwestern Ohio who desire a Catholic college education might obtain it at home or within a short distance of home.

The college graduated its first class in 1926 at a joint commencement with St. John's college, Toledo. Seventeen professors are now on the faculty and forty-one courses are being offered to one hundred twenty students enrolled.

Rt. Rev. Samuel A. Stritch, D.D., is chairman of the Board of Directors; Very Reverend William H. Fitzgerald is President; Mother Marguerita is Vice-President; and Sister Mary Aquinas is Dean.

The college, which is recognized by the State and meets all the requirements of standardizing agencies for its enrollment, is located at 2441-2447 Collingwood Avenue, Toledo, Ohio.

College. Both of these institutions were organized as departments of St. John's University. The Teachers' College opened in the summer of 1922 with an enrollment of 149 students. Mary Manse began operations in September of 1922 with 36 freshman students.

Mary Manse was placed in charge of the Ursuline Nuns and housed in buildings purchased by them on Collingwood avenue adjacent to their convent. Additional buildings have been constructed on the property and the attendance has continued to increase until, during the school year 1929-1930, 87 young women are enrolled in the college.

During the same period the Teachers' College underwent a rapid development. During the first two years after its organization the part-time classes were held in the Central Catholic High School building at the corner of Page and Cherry streets but were later transferred to the Cathedral Chapel School on Collingwood Avenue. The full-time classes were conducted in the various convents. In the spring of 1929 provision was made for holding the full-time classes in the Curtis residence on Cherry Street and the part-time classes in the new Central Catholic High School building. The attendance at the Teachers' College in 1929 was as follows: Summer session 506, Saturday session 235, full-time session 45.

A noteworthy event which occurred in September of 1922 was the transfer of three counties, Erie, Huron and Richland, from the jurisdiction of Cleveland to the Toledo Diocese. The transfer was made officially in St. Peter's Church, Mansfield. In the three counties there were 18 parishes, 13 elementary schools and 3 high schools. The elementary schools had an enrollment of 2,355 and the high schools an enrollment of 181. The Catholic population in the three counties numbered about 13,000.

The first definite steps toward the erection of the new cathedral were taken in June of 1922. Several years prior to this time Bishop Schrembs had engaged the architect firm of Comes, Perry and McMillan of Pittsburgh to draw the plans. They had begun work on the plans immediately after the completion of the Cathedral Chapel school and the bishop's residence. In June of 1922 a campaign was conducted in the Cathedral Chapel parish to raise funds for the new building. The drive was under the management of Rev. Anthony J. Dean, pastor of the Cathedral Chapel, assisted by Rev. Raymond G. Kirsch and Rev. Harold P. Chilcote. The sum of $537,000 was subscribed by members of the parish. The amount contributed by the parish was later increased to more than $800,000 and in 1929 plans were being formulated by which the other parishes of the diocese might contribute toward the completion of the building. Ground was

broken for the new building in the fall of 1924 and the corner stone was laid by Cardinal John Czernoch, Primate of Hungary, June 27, 1926. At the present time work is progressing rapidly on the interior of the building, which will be ready for occupancy before the end of 1930. It will be a center of religious devotion and a beautiful addition to the fine buildings of Toledo.

In keeping with the general interest in foreign mission work throughout the country, Bishop Stritch organized in November of 1923 the diocesan office for Home and Foreign Missions. Rev. Herman S. Gabel was named Director. During the first year

CATHEDRAL OF OUR LADY QUEEN OF THE ROSARY, TOLEDO

$21,789 were collected for the missions. Father Gabel has filled this office so capably that interest in missionary work has decidedly increased. The contributions made during the past year amounted to $50,578.

In November of 1923 the Toledo Catholic Charities was organized as a separate corporation. This corporation has supervision of all hospitals, charitable institutions and welfare organizations in the diocese. Father Alter continued as Director of Cemeteries and Charities. Under his direction, a very unique campaign was held during September of 1924. This was a cam-

paign urging all people to make some contribution to charity in their wills. The response since that date has been very good. In 1925 Rev. Harold P. Chilcote was appointed assistant to Father Alter and placed in charge of juvenile guidance. Father Alter's work in Toledo attracted so much attention that in 1929 he was named President of the National Service School in Washington, D. C., a graduate school for the training of social workers. He was suceeded locally by Rev. Harold P. Chilcote.

Another event of importance in 1923 was the establishment of Calvert High School, Tiffin. In that year the Ursuline Sisters discontinued their academy, which they had conducted for many years and turned the building over to the diocese for use as a centralized high school. Rev. Anthony J. Gallagher was appointed principal and the high school opened in September of 1923 with an enrollment of 74 freshman students. The high school has continued to develop since that time and now has an attendance of more than 240.

When Erie, Huron and Richland counties were transferred to the Toledo Diocese in 1922, this transfer included Providence Hospital, Sandusky. This hospital had been founded as an emergency hospital by the District Nurses Association in 1902. Shortly after its foundation, the Sisters of Charity of Cleveland were invited to take charge of the institution. They conducted the hospital until the transfer of Erie County to Toledo Diocese. At that time the Charity Sisters of Cleveland were replaced by the Franciscan Sisters of Sylvania, Ohio. A new modern hospital building was begun in June of 1925 and completed the following year.

During 1924-1925 St. Vincent's Hospital, Toledo, was also enlarged by the addition of a large wing. This addition increased the capacity of St. Vincent's Hospital to 347 beds.

The growth in the hospital facilities of the diocese can be best seen by comparing the number of patients cared for in 1922 with that of 1928. In 1922, 9,624 patients were cared for in the hospitals of the diocese, while in 1928 this number had increased to 16,089.

Two new novitiate buildings were erected during 1924-1925, the one was that of the Notre Dame Sisters at the corner of Monroe Street and Secor Road, the other was the new home of the Mercy Sisters at Fremont. Prior to 1924 the Notre Dame Sisters of Toledo were merely a branch of the Cleveland com-

munity, but in that year Toledo was made a separate province of the order and the new novitiate on Secor Road was the result of this separation. The Mercy Sisters purchased an estate on the Ballville Road just outside of Fremont. Here they erected a new building and named the institution Our Lady of the Pines, suggested by the pine covered knoll on which it stands.

While the Notre Dame and Mercy Sisters were erecting their now novitiates, the Good Shepherd Sisters were busily engaged in the removal of their convent and home for girls from Lagrange Street to a more suitable location on the Chicago Pike. The Good Shepherd Order is a community of Sisters devoted to welfare work among wayward or delinquent girls. They were persuaded to establish an institution in Toledo in 1906. They bought property on Lagrange Street and later built a convent building there. In 1920, they purchased a tract of farm land at the corner of Chicago Pike and Reynolds Road. Building was delayed until more funds were available but in 1925 a part of the community was moved to the new site and the construction of a school building was begun. The main building was completed the following year and the entire institution moved to the new location.

Honor was shed upon the Diocese of Toledo in 1924 by the appointment of Rev. George Barry O'Toole as President of the Catholic University of Peking, China. Doctor O'Toole, formerly secretary to Bishop Schrembs and later professor at St. Vincent's Seminary, Beatty, Pa., was instrumental in founding the Catholic University of Peking. He traveled through China in 1920 and upon his return, via Rome, brought to the attention of the church authorities the necessity of a university in that country. The task of founding the institution was entrusted to the American Benedictines in 1923 and the following year the actual organization was begun. Doctor O'Toole left Toledo to take up his duties in China in the fall of 1924.

An important development of recent years was the construction of the Central Catholic High School. Bishop Schrembs had no sooner secured the Toledo University building on Cherry Street than the school had outgrown the location. In order to relieve the congestion, portable buildings were erected on St. Mary's School yard, located a block away on Page street. In the meantime the officials of the diocese were seeking a suitable site for a new building. Finally through the courtesy of the Board of Directors of Toledo Hospital and the trustees of the Curtis estate, the Curtis property on Cherry Street was purchased in

the early part of 1926. This tract consisted of nine acres, ideally located, and its purchase met with general approval.

Immediately after the purchase of the property, a campaign was organized to raise $1,000,000 for the new school. The campaign was held in June of 1926 and a total of $1,124,000 was pledged. Intensive work on the plans was begun at once. The architect firm which had prepared the plans for the new Cathedral was employed. This firm was known as Perry and McMillan since the death of Mr. Comes.

In the summer of 1926 a six-room brick building was erected on the new property and an athletic field laid out. At the same time some of the portable buildings were removed from St. Mary's on Page Street to the new site. As the plans progressed, the architect firm of McLaughlin of Lima was engaged as consulting and supervising architects.

In the spring of 1928 ground was broken for the new building. A. Bentley and Sons Co. were the general contractors. The work progressed very rapidly so that it was possible to house the Freshman and Sophomore classes in the new building in September of the same year. In January of 1929 the entire school was removed to its new home.

Rev. Raymond G. Kirsch is principal of the high school and Rev. Norbert M. Shumaker is assistant principal. The staff numbers 54 instructors and the enrollment during the school year 1929-1930 numbers over 1,300 students.

An interesting event which occurred during 1926 was the rebuilding of St. Peter's Church, Norwalk. This was done at the personal expense of Mrs. Margaret Fisher. St. Peter's parish was a parish to which considerable historic interest was attached. This parish was begun by Father Czakert, one of the Redemptorist Fathers associated with Father Tschenhens at Peru, in 1836. Father Czakert said Mass and instructed the people in a log cabin on East League Street from 1836 to 1838. In 1840 Rev. Joseph Freigang became pastor of Peru and he immediately bought property for a church in Norwalk. The following year he built the first church, a frame structure, which he named St. Peter's. A parish school was opened there in 1843. The congregation flourished until 1856 when the numbers were considerably reduced by the founding of St. Mary's parish by the English speaking portion of the congregation. Owing to the inconvenient location of St. Peter's Church, on the western edge of the city, a large part of the people withdrew in 1868 and established St.

Paul's parish. St. Peter's continued as a separate parish until 1891, when owing to the small attendance, it was made a mission attached to St. Paul's. The restoration of this church through the generosity of Mrs. Fisher was welcomed by all interested in the early history of religion in this part of the state.

A new type of institution was added to the educational system of the diocese in September of 1928 with the opening of Nazareth Hall at Grand Rapids, Ohio. The need of a boarding school for

NAZARETH HALL

Nazareth Hall is the new boarding and day school for boys in the elementary grades, opened September, 1928, by the Ursuline Nuns of Toledo, Ohio, at Ladyglen-on-the-Maumee, their new site at Grand Rapids, Ohio.

The building is of Italian architecture of the later Renaissance in buff-colored brick. Situated picturesquely on the east bank of the Maumee River at one of its most beautiful spots, Nazareth Hall is surrounded by nearly four hundred acres of countryside extending for one and one-half miles along the river.

The school aims not only to provide thorough preparation for high school, but through its mild but firm discipline to develop manly character and self reliance.

Indoor recreation for the boys is provided for in the one hundred foot gymnasium wing. Baseball, Track, Pony-Riding, Rowing, Fishing, Skiing and Swimming, carefully supervised, afford plenty of outdoor sports.

boys of elementary school age was felt for a long time and the opening of the schools by the Ursuline nuns met with general approval. A site was purchased on the east bank of the Maumee River about two miles below Grand Rapids. The building is a splendid brick structure erected on an elevation overlooking the river. The Ursuline community expects to build the novitiate on this property in the near future.

The national convention of the Catholic Educational Association was held in Toledo, June 25 to 27, 1929. Over 1,400 dele-

gates from all parts of the country attended the sessions. The meeting opened with a Solemn Mass in the Cathedral, celebrated by Bishop Robinson of Boston with a sermon by Bishop Stritch of Toledo. The meetings were held in the new Central Catholic High School building and in the auditorium of St. Anthony's Orphanage.

Toledo was honored at the convention in the fact that Rev. George Johnson, Ph. D. was elected Secretary General by the trustees of the National Catholic Educational Association. Dr. Johnson is a native of Toledo and was the first superintendent of diocesan schools here. He held this office from 1916 to 1921, when he became an instructor in the Department of Education at the Catholic University, Washington, D. C. Early in 1929 he was appointed Executive Secretary in the department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Council. In his office as Secretary General of the National Catholic Educational Association he succeeds Bishop Howard of Covington, Ky., who has held the office with distinction for a number of years.

On June 4, 1929, the state convention of the Knights of St. John was held in Tiffin, Ohio. The meeting opened with a Pontifical Field Mass in Hedges Park, celebrated by Rt. Rev. Samuel A. Stritch. The sessions were attended by several thousand knights and the Mass drew a vast crowd of visitors. Bishop Stritch, in his sermon, pointed out that 1929 was the centennial anniversary of the founding of Catholicity in Tiffin, for it was on September 1, 1829 that Bishop Fenwick purchased from Josiah Hedges an acre of land for the building of the first church.

On September 15, 1929, Bishop Stritch dedicated the new Knights of Columbus athletic building. This building stands on Sixteenth street near the corner of Jefferson street and was erected at the cost of $235,000. It contains a large swimming pool, gymnasium, handball courts, running track, bowling alleys, as well as a library, lodge rooms and lounging rooms.

On June 19, 1929 Toledo and Northwestern Ohio suffered a heavy loss in the death of Monsignor Francis E. Malone. When Bishop Stritch came to Toledo in the fall of 1921, he found the office of Chancellor vacant, owing to recent appointment of Rt. Rev. August J. Schwertner as bishop of Wichita, Kas. The duties of Chancellor were being performed by Dr. Malone who had been secretary to Bishop Schrembs since 1917. Bishop Stritch immediately appointed Dr. Malone Chancellor and named Rev. Max

J. Walz secretary. In 1925 Dr. Malone was made a Monsignor. In the office of Chancellor he was respected for his ability and loved for his characteristic kindness. He was but thirty-nine years of age when he died and his death was a severe blow to the community as well as to the diocese.

Summary. The Diocese of Toledo comprises the nineteen counties of Northwestern Ohio, extending as far as the boundary of Erie County on the east, Richland County on the southeast and Allen and Van Wert counties on the Southwest. The other boundaries are formed by the Indiana and Michigan state lines. In this territory there are 8,222 square miles and about 162,000 Catholic people.

In the Diocese of Toledo there are 126 parishes with resident pastors, in addition to which there are 22 parishes with churches but without resident pastors. These latter churches are attended at regular intervals by priests from larger, neighboring parishes.

The diocesan priests in active service now number 185 with an additional 15 who are sick or retired. Besides the diocesan priests, there are 52 priests of religious orders working in the diocese. These include the Jesuit Fathers at St. John's College; the Redemptorist Fathers at St. Gerard's Convent, Lima; the Franciscan Fathers at Our Lady of Consolation, Carey; and the Precious Blood Fathers in charge of the following parishes: Alvada, Frank, Reed, Glandorf, Ottawa, Kalida, New Riegel and St. Stephens.

The diocese has 109 elementary schools with an enrollment of approximately 24,000, 24 high schools with an enrollment of 3,800, and one university with 800 students in all departments. This includes St. John's College for Men, Mary Manse College and the Teachers' College.

The charitable and welfare institutions of the diocese are the following: 2 homes for the aged, the Little Sisters of the Poor on Starr avenue, Toledo and St. Francis Home, Tiffin; 2 homes for orphans and dependent children, St. Anthony's Orphanage, Toledo and St. Francis Home, Tiffin; one Good Shepherd Home; 2 community houses, the National Catholic Community House on Cherry Street and the East Side Community House, Toledo; 5 hospitals, St. Vincent's and Mercy Hospital, Toledo, St. Rita's Hospital, Lima, Mercy Hospital, Tiffin and Providence Hospital, Sandusky.

The diocesan officials at the present time are as follows: Rt.

Rev. Msgr. J. T. O'Connell, LL. D. is Vicar General. Monsignor O'Connell was appointed to this office in 1912 by Bishop Schrembs and was reappointed by Bishop Stritch upon his arrival in Toledo in 1921. Dr. O'Connell was made a Monsignor in 1916 in recognition of his long, distinguished service in the diocese. Rev. Max J. Walz is Secretary to the Bishop. He has served in this capacity since 1924.

The Diocesan Consultors are: Rt. Rev. Msgr. J. T. O'Connell, Rt. Rev. Msgr. R. I. Kinnane, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Maumee; Rev. F. L. Hultgen, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, Tiffin; Rev. J. P. Haupert, pastor of Sacred Heart Church, Toledo; Rev. Edward M. O'Hare, Ecclesiastical Superior of the Mercy Sisters, and Rev. F. A. Houck, pastor of St. Ann's Church, Toledo.

The Deans of the five deaneries are: Rt. Rev. Msgr. B. Rosinski for Lucas County; Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. E. Manning, LL. D. for Allen, Van Wert, Putnam and Hancock counties; Rev. F. L. Hultgen for Seneca, Sandusky, Wyandot, Crawford and Wood counties; Rev. W. F. Murphy for Erie, Ottawa and Huron counties; Rev. George H. Lang for Defiance, Henry, Paulding, Williams, and Fulton counties.

The Diocesan Director of Charities and Cemeteries is Rev. Harold P. Chilcote. The Diocesan Director of Missions is Rev. Herman S. Gabel. The Diocesan Superintendent of Schools is Rev. Francis J. Macelwane, together with Rev. Norbert M. Shumaker, Assistant Superintendent.

Thus we come to the end of our sketch of the development of Catholicity in Northwestern Ohio. It has been indeed a tremendous change from the few missionaries and scattered cabins of 100 years ago to the numerous, magnificent parish buildings of today. The splendid churches, schools, convents and charitable institutions scattered throughout Northwestern Ohio are too numerous to be given the mention they deserve in the brief space of an article of this kind. It is a matter also of sincere regret that the many earnest priests and wholehearted lay people who have labored so long and effectively for the welfare and progress of this part of the state cannot be named and given the credit they have richly merited.

Confidence for the future lies in the hope that the younger generation may, with the aid of religion, grow up into a group of virtuous, law-abiding citizens, who will carry on and perfect the good things, both spiritual and material, which their forefathers have bequeathed to them.

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